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NOTES AND QUERIES,

CONCERNING THE

ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

OF

AMERICA.

VOL. II. SECOND SERIES.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.
HENRY B. DAWSON.
1867.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The end of another volume, which closes also the eleventh yearly issue of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, affords a fit opportunity for returning our thanks to those of our friends who have assisted us in our labors and sustained us by their subscriptions; and we gladly discharge that duty, trusting that they will continue both the contributions to our pages and the support of our subscriptions lists with which we have hitherto been favored, as their several opportunities shall admit.

We take pleasure, also, in recording the fact that, with here and there an exception, those who, at the close of the last year, had refused to recognize our just claims upon them for copies of the work supplied to them on their orders, because it contained, sometimes, articles which were distasteful to them, have obeyed either the demands of their consciences or the promptings of their fears, and ceased to be repudiators. Even the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has overruled the action of her insolent "Acting Librarian," and paid our bill in the legal currency of the country instead of the clippings from *The Congregationalist*, denunciatory of the work, with which he had previously attempted to liquidate the claim. Truly, the world moves, taking even Boston with it; and for this, also, we desire to be duly thankful.

We close our volumes for 1867, with very much more pleasure than we closed that for 1866, since Falsehood, in one of its favorite fields of adventure, has found in our pages a greater obstacle than it has usually encountered, and the Truth has been thereby more signally vindicated. Besides, we have, individually, one year less to labor, and are one year nearer our rest; and we are enabled to look forward with greater satisfaction to the day when the jeers of the ignorant and the shamelessness of the more intelligent, as they respectively cast the Truth from them and dally with Falsehood, shall no longer mock us in our struggle nor confirm, before our eyes, their own worldly success.

MORRISANIA, N. Y. HENRY B. DAWSON.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME.

1.—Original Articles.

Hon. E. E. Bourne, President of the Maine Historical Society.
Rev. Pliny H. White, President of the Vermont Historical Society.
Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, President of the Connecticut Historical Society.
Hon. Thomas Ewbank, Vice-president of the American Ethnological Society.
George Henry Moore, Librarian of the New York Historical Society.
Rev. Doctor Ballard, Secretary of the Maine Historical Society.
S. F. Haven, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society.
H. A. Homes, State Librarian, Albany.
E. B. O'Callaghan, LL.D.
J. Gilmary Shea, LL.D., New York City.
Doctor E. H. Davis, the Ethnologist.
Doctor D. G. Brinton, Westchester, Penn.
J. Wingate Thornton, Boston.
Professor George W. Greene, of Rhode Island.
Hon. William Willis, Portland, Me.
W. Gilmore Simms, LL.D., of South Carolina.
William Swinton, New York City.
William H. Whitmore, Boston.
Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D., Harlem, N. Y.
Professor E. F. Rockwell, Davidson College, N. C.
J. R. Simms, Fort Plain, N. Y.
James Riker, Harlem, N. Y.
Charles Edwards, New York.
Captain E. C. Boynton, U.S.A., West Point.
Colonel Thomas F. De Voe, "the historical "Butcher."
Captain George Henry Preble, U.S.N.
Joseph Sabin, New York.
Henry O'Reilly, New York.
Doctor Joseph Comstock, Liberty Hill, Conn.
J. Williamson, Belfast, Me.
Rev. A. H. Quint, D.D., New Bedford, Mass.
Rudolph Garrigue, Morrisania, N. Y.
Editors of *The Methodist*, New York.

2.—Inedited Articles.

Samuel L. Boardman, Augusta, Me.
F. W. Seward, Assistant Secretary of State of the United States.
The Corporation of the City of New York.
Buckingham Smith, St. Augustine, Fla.
Professor George W. Greene.
Hon. John Sullivan, Exeter, N. H.
Professor Rau, New York.
E. F. De Lancey, New York.

3.—Writers of Inedited Papers.

Captain Henry Sewall, of the Revolutionary Army.
Seu-Ki-Yu, Governor of Fuh-Kien, China.
Harrison Gray Otis.
Jefferson Davis.
John Adams.
General Wade Hampton, U.S.A.
The Citizen Genet.
General Washington.
Colonel David Crockett.
General La Fayette.
Rufus King.
General Winfield Scott, U.S.A.
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Colonel Henry Murray, R.A.
Charles V. of Spain.
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Reverend J. H. Livingston, D.D.
Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.
Samuel Huntington, President of the Continental Congress.
General William Heath, of the Revolutionary Army.
General M. Gist, of the same.
Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, of the same.
Doctor B. Rush.
Governor Thomas Nelson, of Virginia.
Solomon Drowne, M.D., of the Revolutionary Army.
Lieutenant-governor Colden, of New York.
General John Sullivan, of the Revolutionary Army.
Henry Clay.
William J. Duane.
Colonel Richard M. Johnson.
Jared Sparks, LL.D.
Hon. Alexander H. Everett.
Major Henry Lee.
Aaron Burr.
James Monroe,
etc. etc. etc.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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I.—FIRST CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN NEW ENGLAND.

By Hon. E. E. Bourne, President of the Maine Historical Society.

Editor of the Historical Magazine:

The following communication was sent to the *Congregational Quarterly* soon after I was notified of, and had read, the article of Mr. Cushman. I have just had it returned to me, for the reason that it was a little too sharp. I have always supposed that one of the material attributes of truth was its sharpness, and that when coming in contact with error, its pungency should be felt. At any rate, the Apostle Paul had some notion of this kind, and I have not felt that I was out of the way in following him. But the Editor takes a different view of the matter; and I have no disposition to quarrel with him for his opinion. Liberty is the appurtenance of every man. If he thinks that error had better go unanswered than to be corrected by the sharpness of truth, he has the right to exercise his liberty in that direction. The common law with publishers, I trust, is not of that stamp. E. E. B.

My attention has been called to the article in the last number of the *Congregational Journal* entitled "The First Christian Worship in "New England." The same substantially (I presume by the same author), was published in one of the newspapers of the State, soon after the delivery of the Address referred to. It was not then regarded as meriting notice. But this writer was followed by another, with no more discrimination, in the use of the same historical facts, and by the same train of argument, reaching the similar conclusion, that the statements of the Address were not sustained by history. To both of these I replied, and I supposed conclusively, in The Historical Magazine. No replication to that answer has been observed. The renewal of the subject in your widely circulated Journal seems to render necessary a repetition of what was there fully stated.

I have not been aware of being under the influence of any special zeal to magnify the importance of the Popham Colony, or of the results of its attempt at Colonization; neither is it to me a matter of special interest to establish the fact, that the First Religious Services on the shores of New England, were according to the formula and mode of the Mother Church; or were Episcopalian in their character. The large and highly respectable communion of Christians of that denomination has not drawn me into its fold. Yet, though claiming sympathy with Congregationalism, I trust I have sufficient respect for my Christian manhood, honestly to recognize historical facts, though they may, as some imagine, tend to give encouragement and strength to another Denomination.

But the truth that the first religious services here were Episcopal does not, in my view, impart any sanction to the doctrines and modes of worship adopted by that Church. Religion, in none of its manifestations, forms, or professions, gains any prestige by its antiquity. God's Law is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. As it was in the beginning, so it is now. Human action can give no strength to it, nor detract, in any measure, from its demands. So it is in regard to God's truth, which is but a synonym for his Law. If it is embodied in Episcopacy, established a thousand years ago, it has no stronger claim upon the reverence, sympathy, and hearty embrace of the human family, than though it was an institution of yesterday. Congregationalism, if in its forms and structure it conforms to the inspired word, is as worthy the acceptance and support of every rational man, if first addressed to his intellect and conscience to-day, as if it had been a familiar institution of human society from the birth of Creation. The only question is, What is Truth in relation to the matter in question? Whether it helps one denomination or another, is a point of no importance to the historical student.

Since the delivery of the Address, we have seen no reason for qualifying any of its positions: we must therefore reaffirm them all. The title-page sets forth its object, "The Character of "the Popham Colony." The remainder, to use a legal term, is but inducement, and also incident, such as the occasion required. The statements controverted come under the last class.

The inducement, as stated in the Address, is in the following words: "It is claimed for the Sa- "gadahock Colony, that it was the first attempt "at Colonization; that it secured this territory to "King James, and began the Settlement of New "England." This position I was not called

upon to argue. But without this assumption, all the rest of the Discourse would have been unimportant. There was no object in the examination of the character of the Popham Colony, as its whole action was without effect.

Now, no man acquainted with the first principles of National and International Law, or Comity, can fail to see, in a moment, that all the quotations, of which your Author, in his criticism, has made such a display, have no bearing whatever on the statements of the Address. Any action, on any Island, was entirely irrelevant; as much so as if it was situated on the coast of England or France; and therefore no allusion was made to Neutral, St. George's, or Elizabeth Islands. The words "shore" or "shores," in the Address, are everywhere used in a marine sense, in contradistinction from the Islands; and as synonymous with Main, or the Continent; and every lawyer would readily so understand it, from the necessity of the case. Suppose that De Montz did occupy Neutral Island, and continued to occupy it year after year; that his Company planted grain, built houses, erected a Fort, and also a Church for the worship of God; and that from week to week, or from day to day, there went up from it the prayer and the song of praise and thanksgiving to the God of Nations—and the preacher cheered the hearts of his suffering hearers, by those heavenly utterances with which it his province to address them; what had all this to do with the Shore or Main land? How did it dedicate the territory of New England to the great cause of Civilization? How did it impart or secure any possession, or interest in it, to France? How did this public worship consecrate Maine to the service and worship of God? Or suppose that George Popham, Gosnald, Weymouth, or any English navigator or voyager, on the Elizabeth Islands, George's Islands, Boon Island, or the Isle of Shoals, had done the same things, under British authority; or suppose, as at Sabino, on either of those Islands, they had built fifty houses, a store house, a strong fortification, a pinnace, and also a chapel for the worship of God, and at the beginning proclaimed the Laws of England for the government of the people—under what law, or what theory of right, could such action have been made to attach to the main land or shores of New England? Did France ever pretend that the proceedings of De Montz on Neutral Island, or England, on the Elizabeth or George's Islands, gave them any possession or title to these Western shores?

Every one ought to know, and surely educated Ministers of the Gospel cannot be absolved from the requirement, that individuals or nations, when they set up a right by occupancy or possession, can acquire no title beyond the territory of which possession is proved. This position carries with it so much common sense, that, without instruction, it must necessarily suggest itself to every considerate mind. The possession of an island never draws with it the shore; but by the Comity of Nations, the converse of the position is so far admitted, that the shore draws to it the adjacent islands.

As to the religious services in the cabin of Weymouth's vessel, necessarily at anchor in the stream, no comments can be necessary. No sane man would give them any significancy on the question of the occupation of the Territory. But it may not be amiss to add, that neither Weymouth, nor De Montz, nor Gosnald, nor any one before Popham, attempted to secure the main by any actual occupancy or possession; for the very good reason that the Bed men of the Wilderness were too numerous, and of a nature too savage, to justify such a fearful hazard. What was done by George Popham was effectual only because it was done on the shore. De Montz gained nothing for France by his possession of Neutral Island but the island itself. So also is this poatulate indisputable in regard to England's claim of St. George's and the Elizabeth Islands. They became small isolated dependencies of France and England while thus in their possession. The Continent was not New England till the foot of Civilization was planted upon it with the purpose of holding it for King James. When that was done, the islands near the shore became appurtenances of the territory.

It is presumed that what has been said will be sufficient to satisfy the reader as to the meaning and force of the incidental remarks in the conclusion of the Address. But the communication of Mr. Cushman can hardly commend itself to the intelligent Christian, from the misapprehensions of fact, and erroneous positions, which have a part in it. De Montz's Island, as it is now called, was not a part of New England until within the present century. Although England, by the action of the Popham Colonists, and other agencies, in securing the possession of the territory, became established in the title, the island was not regarded as appendant to it. It lies between Maine and New Brunswick, and was so situated as to acquire the name of Neutral Island. It was first annexed to the United States in 1811, when Maine made it a part of Robbinstown. Were Newfoundland, the Isle of Sable, Bermuda, St. Thomas, or even Canada now annexed to the Union, the position would not find very ready acceptance with the Christian world, that the first Christian worship in any of those places was the first in the United States.

But the aid which the references to Brereton and Haklyt bring to the Author in his enterprise is of still less avail; and one cannot but wonder that he should so peril his reputation as a his-

torical student, or as an astute member of his profession, as to deduce from it his first position. Every one knows that one of the prominent objects of the early voyages to the New World, was to plant among the Heathen the Christian Religion; no extracts were needed to sustain a postulate of that description. But the inference, that men are to be presumed to have done what they engaged to do, or set out to do, is surely a novelty in historical, political, or religious investigations. How long would Truth, Right, and Justice maintain their hold on society, if such a principle should be recognized? If the Author's congregation have promised to pay him an annual stipend for his ministrations, would it meet his views to apply the principle to his case? Suppose he was one of a jury, would his conscience be satisfied in rendering a verdict on a civil contract, that the Respondent fulfilled his agreement because he engaged to do so? Would he, in writing history, think himself justified in saying, that De Montz landed on Neutral Island, or Gosnald on Elizabeth Islands, because they embarked for that special purpose? Or would he be willing, in his sober senses, to sit down and enter upon his Diary, that one of his parishioners had repented of his sins, and become a Christian, because he said he would? I sometimes think that humanity may be tending heavenward. But its present status is so far short of the realization of that high destiny, that I can give no credit to the assumption as a principle, that men will do what they agree to do.

But this strange position finds more than its counterpart in what follows:—that it would be difficult to prove that there were not religious Christian services on these shores before those of the Popham Colonists. We are of the same opinion, and, at present, are not disposed to attempt any such Quixotism. But we cannot but admire the courage of a logician who can advance such a position as evidence of the allegation, that such services had been performed. How much respect would one's Theology be entitled to, which had no better basis than his naked averment that it could not be proved that it was not true? To one of the legal profession, these assumptions, as evidence of facts, would be regarded as ministerial waggery, rather than as emanations of sober, honest thought. History is to be based on Truth; and an act known to have been done is not bereft of its precedency by the argument, that another cannot be proved not to have been done before it. Proof of a negative is not required in Law or Morals. We might as well say that Civilization and the Christian Religion were planted on these shores before discovered by Columbus, and that it could not be proved otherwise, as to say that the solemnities at Sabino, in 1607, were not the first, because it cannot be proved that there were not like services here before.

Any further comment on this labor of love for the Truth from Mr. Cushman cannot be necessary. One who would criticise either the sentiment or the truth of the statements of an Author, must first assure himself that he understands him. The voyages of Gosnald, De Montz, and Weymouth, are familiar to all with whom reading is a habit of life. They have been in our little Town libraries, under the title of Belknap's *American Biography*, for more than half a Century, and were before the writer of the Address at the time of its preparation; and it was believed that there was no discord in their respective historical averments. If Mr. Cushman did not comprehend the true import of the Address, his misapprehension is perhaps excusable from the circumstances of his life. If he had lived in a Commercial community, he would hiave learned that the Shore of a Country does not include its Islands, which are denominated such only because they are off from the shore.

E. E. Bourne.

Kennebunk, 1867.

II.—THE MYTHS OF MANIBOZHO AND IOSKEHA.*

By D. G. Brinton, M.D.

From the remotest wilds of the Northwest to the coast of the Atlantic, from the Southern boundaries of Carolina to the cheerless swamps of Hudson's Bay, the Algonkins were never tired of gathering around the winter fire and repeating the story of Manibozho or Michabo, the Great Hare. With like unanimity their various branches, the Powhattans, of Virginia, the Lenni Lenape, of the Delaware, the warlike hordes of New England, the Ottawas of the far North, and the Western tribes, perhaps without exception, spoke of "this chimerical beast," as one of the old missionaries calls it, as their common ancestor, and the totem or clan that bore his name was looked up to with peculiar respect.

In many of the tales which the whites have preserved of Michabo he seems half a wizard, half a simpleton. He is full of pranks and wiles, but often at a loss for a meal of victuals; ever itching to try his arts magic on great beasts, and often meeting ludicrous failures therein; envious of the powers of others, and constantly striving to outdo them in what they did best; in short, little more than a malicious buffoon, delighting in practical jokes, and abusing his superhuman powers for selfish and ignoble ends. But this is

* From a work in preparation on American Mythology.

a low, modern, and corrupt version of the character of Michabo, bearing no more resemblance to his real and ancient one than the language and acts of our Saviour and the Apostles in the coarse Mystery Plays of the Middle Ages do to those recorded by the Evangelist.

What he really was we must seek in the accounts of older travelers, in the invocations of the Jossakeeds or Prophets, and in the part assigned to him in the solemn mysteries of religion. In these we find him portrayed as the patron and founder of the Meda worship, the inventor of picture writing, the father and guardian of their nation, the ruler of the winds, even the maker and preserver of the world, and creator of the sun and moon. From a grain of sand brought from the bottom of the primeval ocean he fashioned the habitable land and set it floating on the waters. Under the name Michabo Ovisaketchak, the Great Hare who created the Earth, he was originally the highest divinity recognized by them, "powerful and beneficent "beyond all others, maker of the heavens and "the world." He was founder of the medicine hunt, in which, after appropriate ceremonies and incantations, the Indian sleeps, and Michabo appears to him in a dream, and tells him where he may readily kill game. He himself was a mighty hunter of old; one of his footsteps measured Eight leagues; the Great Lakes were the beaver dams he built; and when the cataracts impeded his progress he tore them away with his hands. Attentively watching the spider spread its web to trap unwary flies, he devised the art of knitting nets to catch fish, and the signs and charms he tested and handed down to his descendants are of marvelous efficacy in the chase. Sometimes he was said to dwell in the skies with his brother the snow, or like many great spirits to have built his wigwam in the far North on some floe of ice in the Arctic Ocean; while the Chippewas localized his birth-place and former home to the island Michilimakinac, at the outlet of Lake Superior. But in the oldest account of the missionaries he was alleged to reside toward the East, and in the holy formulas of the Meda craft, when the winds are invoked to the Medicine lodge, the East is summoned in his name, the door opens in that direction, and there, at the edge of the earth, where the sun rises, on the shore of the infinite ocean that surrounds the land, he has his house, and sends the luminaries forth on their daily journeys.*

It is passing strange that such an insignificant creature as the rabbit should have received this apotheosis. No explanation of it in the least satisfactory has ever been offered. Some have pointed it out as a senseless, meaningless brute worship. It leads to the suspicion that there may lurk here one of those confusions of words which have so often led to confusion of ideas in theology. Manibozho, Nanibojon, Missibizi, Michabo, Messon, all variations of the same name, in different dialects, rendered according to different orthographies, scrutinize them close as we may, they all seem composed, according to well ascertained laws of Algonkin euphony, from the words corresponding to *great* and *hare* or *rabbit*, or the first two perhaps from *spirit* and *hare*, (*michi*, great, *nabos*, hare, *manito nabos*, spirit hare, Chippewa dialect), and so they have been invariably translated even by the Indians themselves. But looking more narrowly at the second member of the word, it is clearly capable of another and very different interpretation—of an interpretation which discloses at once the origin and secret meaning of the whole story of Michabo, in the light of which it appears no longer the incoherent fable of savages, but a true myth, instinct with nature, pregnant with matter no wise inferior to those which fascinate in the chants of the *Rig Veda*, or the weird pages of the *Edda*.

I have elsewhere emphasized with what might have seemed superfluous force, how prominent in primitive Mythology is the East, the source of the morning, the day-spring on high, the cardinal point which determines and controls all others. But I did not lay as much stress on it as others have. "The whole theog-"ony and philosophy of the ancient world," says Max Müller, "centered in the Dawn, the mother "of the bright gods, of the sun in his various as-"pects, of the morn, the day, the spring; herself "the brilliant image and visage of immortality."* Now it appears on attentively examining the Algonkin root *wab* that it gives rise to words of very diverse meanings; that like many others in all languages, while presenting but one form it represents ideas of wholly unlike origin and application; that in fact there are two distinct roots having this sound. One is the initial syllable of the word translated *Hare* or *Rabbit*, but the other means *White*, and from it are derived the words for the East, the Dawn, the Light, the Day, and the Morning.† Beyond a doubt this is the

* For these particulars see the *Rel. de la Nouv. France*, 1667, 12; 1670, 93. Charlevoix, *Journal Historique*, p. 344. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, v., 420, sq. These are the best authorities. I may add Henry, *Travels*, p. 212, sq., as another of value.

* *Science of Language*, Second Series, 518.

† Dialectic forms in Algonkin for white are *wabi*, *wape waubish*, *oppai*; for morning, *wapau*, *wapauch*, *opah*; for east, *wapa*, *waubun*, *waubamo*; for dawn, *wapa*, *waubun*; for day *wompau*, *oppan*; for light, *oppung*; and many others similar. In the Abnaki dialect *waubighen*, it is white, is the customary idiom to express the breaking of the day (Vetromile, *The Abnakis and their History*, p. 27). The loss in composition of the vowel sound represented by the English w, and in the French writers by the figure 8, is supported by frequent analogy.

compound in the names Michabo and Manibozho, which therefore mean the Great Light, the Spirit of Light, of the Dawn, or the East, and, in the literal sense of the word, the Great White One, as indeed he has sometimes been called.

In this sense, all the ancient and authentic Myths concerning him are plain and full of meaning. They divide themselves into two distinct cycles. In the one, Michabo is the Spirit of Light, who dispels the darkness; in the other, as chief of the cardinal points, he is lord of the winds, prince of the powers of the air, whose voice is the thunder, whose weapon the lightning, the supreme figure in the encounter of the air currents, in the unending conflict which the Dakotas described as being waged by the waters and the winds.

In the first, he is grandson of the Moon, his father is the West Wind, and his mother, a maiden, dies in giving him birth at the moment of conception. For the Moon is the goddess of Night, the Dawn is her daughter who brings forth the Morning and perishes herself in the act, and the West, the Spirit of Darkness as the East is of Light, precedes and as it were begets the latter, as the evening does the morning. Straightway, however, continues the legend, the son sought the unnatural father to revenge the death of his mother, and then commenced a long and desperate struggle. "It began on the moun-"tains. The West was forced to give ground. "Manibozho drove him across rivers and over "mountains and lakes, until at last he came "to the brink of this world. 'Hold,' cried "he, 'my son, you know my power, and that "'it is impossible to kill me.'"[1] What is this but the diurnal combat of light and darkness carried on from what time "the "jocund morn stands tiptoe on the misty "mountain tops," across the wide world to the sunset, the struggle that knows no end, for both the opponents are immortal? In the second, and evidently to the native mind more important cycle of legends, he was represented as one of four brothers, the North, the South, the East, and the West, all born at a birth, whose mother died in ushering them into the world! for hardly has the kindling orient served to fix the cardinal points than it is lost and dies in the advancing day. Yet it is clear that he was something more than a personification of the East or the East wind, for it is repeatedly said that it was he who assigned their duties to all the winds, to that of the East as well as the others. This is a blending of his two characters. Here too his life is a battle. No longer with his father, indeed, but with his brother Chokanipok, the flint stone, whom he broke in pieces and scattered over the land, changing his entrails into fruitful vines. The conflict was long and terrible. The face of nature was desolated as by a tornado, and the gigantic boulders and loose rocks found on the prairies* are the missiles hurled by the mighty combatants.† Or else his foe was the glittering Prince of Serpents, whose abode was the lake; or the shining Manito, whose home was guarded by fiery serpents and a deep sea; or the great King of Fishes; all symbols of the atmospheric waters, all figurative descriptions of the wars of the elements. In these affrays the thunder and lightning are at his command, and with them he destroys his enemies. For this reason the Chippewa pictography represents him brandishing a rattlesnake, the symbol of the electric flash,‡ and sometimes called him the Northwest Wind, which in the region they inhabit brings the thunder-storms.

As ruler of the winds he was like Quetzalcoatl, father and protector of all species of birds, their symbols.§ He was patron of hunters, for their course is guided by the cardinal points. Therefore when the medicine hunt had been successful the prescribed sign of gratitude to him was to scatter a handful of the animal's blood toward each of these.‖ As daylight brings vision, and to see is to know, it was no fable that gave him as the author of their arts, their wisdom, and their institutions.

In effect, his story is a world-wide truth veiled under a thin garb of fancy; it is but a variation of that narrative which every race has to tell out of gratitude to that beneficent Father who everywhere had cared for his children. Michabo, giver of life and light, creator and preserver, is no apotheosis of a prudent chieftain, still less the fabrication of an idle fancy or a designing priestcraft, but in origin, deeds and name, the not unworthy personification of the purest conceptions they possessed concerning the Father of All.

To him at early dawn the Indian stretched forth his hands in prayer, and to the sky or the sun as his homes he first pointed the pipe in his ceremonies, rites often misinterpreted by travelers as indicative of sun worship. As later observers tell us, this day the Algonkin Prophet builds the Medicine lodge to face the sunrise, and in the name of Michabo, who there has his home, summons the Spirits of the four quarters of the world and Gizhigooke, the day maker, to come to his fire and disclose the hidden things of the distant and the future. So the earliest explorers relate that when they asked the native priest who it was they invoked, what demon or familiar, the invariable reply was, "the Kichi-

* Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches*, i., 135-142.
† *Ibid.*, ii., 214. *Indian Tribes*, i., 317.
‡ *Narrative of John Tanner*, 351.
§ Schoolcraft, *Algic Res.* i., 216.
‖ *Narrative of John Tanner*, 354.

"gouai, the genii of Light, those who make the day."*

Our authorities on Iroquois traditions, though numerous enough, are not so satisfactory. The best, perhaps, is Father Brebeuf, a Jesuit missionary who resided among the Hurons, in 1626. Their culture myth, which he has recorded is strikingly similar to that of the Algonkins. Two brothers appear in it, Joskeha and Tawiscava, names which find their meaning in the Oneida dialect as the White One and the Dark One.† They are twins born of a virgin mother, who died in giving them life. Their grandmother was the Moon, called by the Hurons *Ataeusic*, a word which signifies literally, *she bathes herself*, and which, in the opinion of Father Bruyas, a most competent authority, is derived from the word for water.‡

The brothers quarreled, and finally came to blows, the former using the horns of a stag, the latter the wild rose. He of the weaker weapon was very naturally discomfited and sorely wounded. Fleeing for life, the blood gushed from him at every step, and as it fell turned into flint stones. The victor returned to his grandmother and established his lodge in the far East, on the borders of the great ocean whence the sun comes. In time he became the father of mankind and special guardian of the Iroquois. The earth was at first arid and sterile, but he destroyed the gigantic frog which had swallowed all the waters, and guided the torrents into smooth streams and lakes § The woods he stocked with game, and having learned from the great tortoise who supports the world how to make fire, taught his children, the Indians, this indispensable art. He it was who watched and watered their crops, and indeed without his aid, says the old missionary, quite out of patience with such puerilities, "they think they could "not boil a pot." Sometimes they spoke of him as the sun, but this only figuratively.‖

From other writers of early date we learn that the essential outlines of this myth were received by the Tuscaroras and the Mohawks, and as the proper names of the two brothers are in the Oneida dialect, we cannot err in considering this the national legend of the Iroquois stock. There is strong likelihood that the Taronhiawagon, *He who comes from the Sky*, of the Onondagas, who was their supreme God, who spoke to them in dreams, and in whose honor the chief festival of their calendar was celebrated about the winter solstice, was in fact Ioskeha under another name.* As to the legend of the Good and Bad Minds given by Cusic, the native historian of the Tuscaroras, and the latter and wholly spurious myth of Hiawatha, first made public by Mr. Clark in his *History of Onondaga* (1849), and which, in the graceful poem of Longfellow, is now familiar to the world, they are but pale and incorrect reflections of the early native traditions. So strong is the resemblance Ioskeha bears to Michabo, that what has been said in explanation of the latter will be sufficient for both. Yet I do not imagine that the one was copied or borrowed from the other. We cannot be too cautious in adopting such a conclusion. The two nations were remote in everything but geographical position. I call to mind another similar myth. In it a mother is also said to have brought forth twins or a pair of twins, and to have paid for them with her life. Again the one is described as the bright, the other as the dark twin; again it is said that they struggled one with the other for the mastery. Scholars likewise have interpreted the Mother to mean the Dawn, the twins either Light and Darkness, or the Four Winds. Yet this is not Algonkin theology; nor is it at all related to that of the Iroquois. It is the story of Sarama in the *Rig Veda*, and was written in Sanscrit, under the shadow of the Himalayas, centuries before Homer.

* * * * * *

III.—CAPT. HENRY SEWALL.

To the Editor of the Historical Magazine:

I send you for publication, if you deem them of sufficient interest to warrant their insertion, copies of three letters written from Ticonderoga, in the summer of 1777, by Henry Sewall, then a member of the Continental Army, to his parents. The original letters, from which I have made these copies, were found in a parcel of old letters, among a quantity of paper stock at one of the tin and hardware stores in this city; and I regret exceedingly that these were all that have been thus rescued. How many letters and documents of as much or more value to the antiquarian and historian than these I have copied, doubtless find their way into the paper mill!

For the facts contained in the following sketch of Capt. Sewall, I am indebted to Hon. James W. North, who has long

* Compare the *Rel. de la Nouv. France* 1634, 14. and 1636 46, with Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, v., 419.

† The names *Isskeha* and *TaSiscara* I venture to identify with the Oneida *owissk*e or *owiska*, white, and *tetiucalas* (*tyokaras*, *tewhgarlars*, Mohawk), dark, or darkness. The prefix i to *owissk*e is the impersonal third person singular; the suffix *ha* gives a future sense; so that *i-owissk*e-*ha* or *iouskeha* means "it is going to become white." Brebeuf translates *gaon*, *vieux*, *agaonha*, *il va devenir vieux*. (*Rel. Nouv. France*, 1636, p. 99). But "it is going to become white" meant to the Iroquois that the dawn was about to appear, just as *waubighen*, it is white, did to the Abnakis (Vetromile, *u. s.*), and as *kau ma wok*, it is white, does in Eskimo (Richardson, *Vocab.* of *Labrador Eskimo*). Therefore Ioskeha is clearly the impersonation of the light.

‡ Bruyas, *Radices Verborum Iroquæorum*, 30, 31.

§ This offers an instance of the uniformity which obtained in the symbolism of the red race. The Aztecs adored the goddess of water under the figure of a frog carved from an emerald; or she was in human form and held in her hand the leaf of a water lily ornamented with frogs. (Brasseur [de Bourbourg], *Hist. des Nations Civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amerique Centrale*, i. 324).

‖ *Rel. de la Nouv. France*, 1636, 101.

* *Rel de la Nouv. France*, 1671, 17.

been engaged upon, and is soon to publish, a history of this city.

Henry Sewall was born at "old York," Maine, on the twenty-fourth of October, 1752. At the age of twenty-three, he enlisted as a private soldier in a company which went to Cambridge in May, 1775. He was promoted through the various grades to that of Captain, which rank he sustained during the war. He was in the battle of Hubbardston, and in one of the skirmishes previous to the surrender of Burgoyne. He went with the Northern troops when ordered South, after that event, and joined the main army under Washington at White Marsh; wintered at Valley Forge in 1778; and passed the remainder of the war in New Jersey and the highlands of New York. During the last years of the war he was Aid-de-Camp to Major-General Heath of Massachusetts. He came to Fort Western and settled in Hallowell in 1783, engaging in trade. He was Register of Deeds of Kennebec County, for many years; Clerk of the District Court of Maine; Major-General of the Eighth Division of the Militia of Maine; and died on the fourth of September, 1845, aged ninety-three years.

S. L. Boardman.

Augusta, Me., June, 1867.

Way 2, 16
P[d] by M[r] Barn.

Tyconderoga, 4[th] June 1777

Hon[d] Parents,

I rec[d] your kind favor by Col[o] Littlefield, since my Arrival at this place. I wrote to you from Worcester, from which time and place I shall now endeavor to give you a detail of my long & tedious March, viz[t].

We left Worcester, Sunday morning, May 4[th], & after surmounting much Difficulty in getting Teams to carry our Baggage—arriv'd at Hadley (joining to Northampton) Wednesday 7[th] where we receiv'd Orders to march by the way of Albany.—drew 7 days Allowance, & after much Difficulty in obtaining Waggons, proceeded, through Northampton towards Albany—under the Disadvantages of as Bad a Road as ever nature Form'd, together with incessant Rains, &c—however—arriv'd at Albany, Wednesday 14[th] where was Gen[l] Gates & 2 Continental Reg[ts] suppressing the Tories, &c. After applying for Cloathing, Camp Equpage, &c (the former Article to no purpose) we were order'd off by Gen[l] Gates, to escort 20 odd pieces of Cannon from Albany to Ticonderoga. Set off friday 16[th] (together with Capt. Wheelwright's party who joyn'd us at Boston)—by Land,—made but slow Progress, as we were oblig'd to go no faster than the Cannon went by Water, & against stream too. were oblig'd to mount a Guard over them every night. & turn out a fatigue Party to weigh them at every Carrying place, & load on land Carriages,—& then to disload them, & embark them on board the Batteaus again, when the tide would admit of Water Carriage.

This fatigue we had to do at Half moon, Stillwater, Saratoga, Fort miller, Fort Edward, Fort George, & Ty Landing.

Going over some Rapids above Fort Miller, we had the missfortune to drown one of the Batteau men,—& wound 2 others. The Case was this. viz[t]. They let the Batteau take a shear across the Stream, & it being shoal Water, one jump'd out to help her along, the tide being so rapid it sweep'd the Batteau round, carry'd one man down Stream & drown'd him, grounded the Batteau & heal'd her down so far that the Cannot roll'd to the other side & squat another man. a third lifted to that degree, to help the other, that tis tho[t] he'll not recover. I myself happen'd to come by Water from fort Miller to fort Edward, & came over the same Rapid's, just before them, with little Difficulty. We got the Cannon again with some Difficulty. Neither the man that was drown'd, nor the man that lifted, belong'd to our Party. he that was jam'd with the Batteau, belong'd to Capt. Wheelwright's party, & is in a likely way to recover.—However,—

When we arriv'd at Fort George, we found Capt. Donnel & the men whom he had inlisted, together with Capt. Jenkins Comp[y] of our Reg[t] station'd there. But Major Fernald, pursuant to his orders from Gen[l]. Gates, insisted upon all the men belong[g] to his Detatchment's going to Ticonderoga, to Escort the Cannon over the Lake. We arrived at this place Friday 30[th] May, where we now are & cannot get to Fort George to join our Comp[y]. The Reg[t] is here, except those 2 Companies at Fort George, and 1 at Skeensborough. We are station'd at present on Ty side. Gen[l] Poor has the Command of the whole at present. It is much pleasanter this year than last,—& the Troops are very healthy. But I can't help mentioning the *Neglect* of our Great & Gen[l] Assembly, in the fulfilment of their Engagements, to us, Continental Soldiers.—At Albany, we could have had Cloathing, if we would consent to have it stop'd out of our Wages.—& were told by the Gen[l] [*Gates*] that there was a plenty at Ty.— —Now there is no Cloathing here, except a few Oznabrig Shirts & Breeches, & them cannot be drawn without a Stoppage from the mens Wages,—Not a pair of Shoes or Stockings on the Ground. Rum 10 shillings L. M. pr Quart. —Sugar 2/6 pr pound.—Cheese & Butter2/6

From your affectionate & dutiful Son

Henry Sewall.

To
M[r] Henry Sewall,
York
Massachusetts Bay

Ticonderoga, Tuesday 10[th] June 1777

Hon[d] Parents,

Although I wrote yesterday by the Boston Post, yet I take the freedom to write again by another Opp[y]—which I presume you'l not take amis.

I am, through Divine Goodness in tolerable Health and Strength, & the Voice of Health is heard through this Encampment.

We are employ'd in making a Bridge over to M[t] Independance, by sinking Peers of Wood & Stone—besides other Fatigue,—building additional Redoubts &c.

Capt Donnel, is here from Fort George, trying to get his Company together, either here, or at Fort George. The Reg[t] is scatter'd amazingly, & can't tell when we shall be so happy as to be together.

Col[o] Francis Regiment (in which are many Eastern Officers with whom I am acquainted) is station'd in the Fort at Ty. & in our Brigade.

I have some Money, which I should be glad to send home, but am loth to trust it with any one.

I can't forbear mentioning again, the Impositions on our Soldiers—Notwithstanding the fair Promises of our Gen[l] Court, &c. I have known Rum sold for a Dollar a pint, Sugar & Cheese 1/2 a Dollar per pound &c.—& moreover, we can't get a Shoe, Shirt, or Stocking or any Species of Cloothing that was promiss'd to the men yearly ;—there being none in the Public Stores, Except a few Oznabrig Shirts, & them rais'd 5 per cent, lately, & ordered to be stop'd from the Soldiers Wages,—& moreover the Paymasters have Gen[l] Schuyler's positive Orders to make a monthly Stopage of 1 Dollar & 1/2 from every Capt, 1 Dollar from every Subaltern, and 4/ from every non Com[d] Officer & Soldier to pay for Camp Kettles &, *which things are &* ought to be *allow'd them* Our men enjoy Health, thro' mercy,—but are miserably Cloathed—oblig'd to go on Duty, & even on Scouting Parties, without Shoes. These things, unless speedily remedied, will I fear, produce a Mutiny in our Army, and give the Enemy cause to say, that the Americans cannot stand it long, as they can't cloath, or equip their Men.

I don't mean to discourage the Service, by these things, but only mean to State Facts, that you at home may not think that the Soldiers don't earn their Money, or that the Officers are making Estates, by the Service.

Besides, Cloathing that was sent from Boston to Bennington, for our States Troops, was order'd by Gen[l] Gates to Albany, & there deliver'd to Southern Troops,—& we must be contented with the *refuse* of said Cloathing,—which will be sent here prehaps, towards Fall.—And the new French Arms sent chiefly by the way of Springfield, & center to the Southward.

The first division of Troops who arriv'd here from Boston came without Blankets, & are still destitute of Blankets, & some of Arms, there being neither of them Articles in the Store.

Without swelling the Catalogue of our Grievances to any greater Bulk, I beg leave to subscribe myself your Affectionate Son

HENRY SEWALL.

Gen[l] Gates we hear is not to have the Command here, as was expected,—Gen[l] S[t] Clair is to have the immediate Command of this Post, under the direction of Gen[l] Schuyler, who is to be at Albany. We have had one or two Deserters not belonging to our Reg[t] punished here since my arrival. One sat on the Gallows with a Rope round his neck, one hour, & then rec[d] 100 lashes at the Post. All deserters are put in Irons hand & foot as soon as they are taken,—& dealt with in every Respect, very severely.

To
M[r] HENRY SEWALL
York
massachusetts Bay.

TICONDEROGA, Wednesday 18[th] June 1777

HON[D] PARENTS,

Whenever an Opp[y] presents, I take pleasure in transmitting the Occurrencies of this Camp.

Yesterday, about 10 o'Clock, A. M. this Encampment was Alarm[d] by a Party of Savages, who fir'd upon our out-Sentries, killed 2 (one of whom they Scalp'd) & carry'd off 2 Prisoners.—on their retreat from their bloody Executions, they were attacked by a small Scouting Party, commanded by a Lieut. who stood them 3 or 4 fires, when being wounded & overpower'd by Numbers, made his best Retreat to this Garrison with 3 or 4 of his men :—the rest being scattered by the Disorder of the Attack.—last night our Guard-Boat found 7 of s[d] Party on a Point 4 or 5 miles down the Lake,—one of whom was dead: —the rest cannot at present be accounted for—3 are certainly kill'd—one of whom I have seen. —They belong'd to the N. Hampshire Forces.

Maj. Gen[l] Schuyler arriv d here this Day from Albany—& has the Command

I must Defer sending money till a better Opp[y] offers

This place is much pleasanter than it was last Year. We can get Greens plenty.—There are several Continental & Regimental Gardens here. —My Garden seeds, together with a number other necessary Articles I left at Fort George; —& can't get them here

From your youthful Son
HENRY SEWALL.

To
M[r] HENRY SEWALL
York
Massachusetts State.

p[r] favor of the Bearer.

IV.—WORK AND MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN HISTORY.—Continued.

By George H. Moore.

4.—Notes on the Maintenance of the Ministry and Poor in New York—The Colonial Ministry Acts—The Vestry of the City of New York—The Minister of the City of New York—Trinity Church and its first resident Rector.

But although called as a dissenter, by a dissenting vestry in 1695, Mr. Vesey does not appear to have been settled at this time. Nearly two years elapsed before the matter was adjusted, and still a third went by before he became the actual incumbent of the living provided for the Minister of the City of New York and assigned to the resident Rector of Trinity Church. No further action was taken by the dissenting Church Wardens and Vestrymen, who appear to have been discouraged, if not intimidated by the peremptory action of the Governor against their sympathetic Assembly, and at the next election a new set of men appear in office, who were evidently in the interest of that party, if indeed they were not themselves "the Mannagers of the "Affaires of the Church of England in the Citty "of New-York."* It was at this time that the Dutch Church were favored with a liberal charter from Governor Fletcher. That Church had long desired to obtain an act of incorporation, and had moved in the matter before, without success. The original petition of the Minister, Elders and Deacons (or what remains of it) is in the *Colonial MSS.*, xl., 121. The order in Council of 9th. January, 1696, is endorsed on the petition. The Charter is dated May 11, 1696. For his condescension in this matter, Governor Fletcher accepted a considerable present of plate. *Col. Hist.* IV. 463. It was found expedient, if not necessary to obtain a confirmation of this Charter —which was accomplished by an act of assembly 12 December, 1753, confirmed by the King, 25 February, 1755.

On the 14th January, 1696, Col. Stephen Van Cortlandt and William Pinhorne were elected *Churchwardens* and Capt. Ebenezer Wilson, Capt. Lawrence Reade, Capt. William Morris, Mr. Samuel Burte, Mr. James Evetts, Mr. John Crooke, Mr. Giles Gaudineau, Mr. John Van Cortlandt, Mr. Dirck Vanderburgh and Mr. Nathaniel Marston, *Vestrymen.* At the meeting of Justices and Vestrymen, on the 22d January, 1696, they unanimously agreed to levy and collect a tax "for y^e^ maintenance of a good sufficient "Protestant Minister," in accordance with the act of 1693. As provision had already been made for raising one hundred pounds for the maintenance of the poor, by virtue of another act of the General Assembly,* no poor tax was levied by this board for the year 1696. A committee was charged with the duty of going through all the Wards of the City and making "an Estimate "of the Estates of all and every the Inhabitants "and Residenters within the said Citty, and make "a Role thereof, and return the same to y^e^ Clerke "of the Vestry, on or before the second Tuesday "of February" following. They were likewise to "Desire of the Church Wardens and Vestry-"men what sum of Money will be Needfull to be "Raised for y^e^ Year ensueing for y^e^ Purposes "aforesaid."

The Board then adjourned until the second Tuesday in February, but they do not appear to have met until Friday, the 21st February, 1696, when "by Majority of Votes" it was agreed that "the sum of One Hundred Pounds Current "Money of New-Yorke" should be raised for the Maintenance of the Minister for one year. The estimates of the Committee of Assessment were brought in, examined and approved; and the Justices were ordered to issue warrants for the collection of the tax, in pursuance of which the Constables were to proceed, complete their work and make returns on or before the 25th day of April. The following is a copy of the assessment.

By Vertue of an Act of Gen^ll^ Assembly Entituled an Act for the Settling a Ministry & Raising a Maintenance for them in the Citty of New Yorke, &^c^. wee have made an Assessment of y^e^ Estates Real and Personal of all & Every the Freeholders Inhabitants & Residenters within the said Citty for y^e^ Raiseing of one hundred pounds att y^e^ Rate of one halfe penny ℔ pound for y^e^ Mainteinance of a Minister for one year to Officiate & have y^e^ Care of Souls within the said Citty. Pursuant to the said Act. Viz't. February y^e^ 21st, 1695 [1696].

East Ward	8420	15	11	08
South Ward	16421	34	05	11
Dock Ward	12129	25	05	02½
West Ward	6172	12	17	02
North Ward	5353	11	03	

* Humphreys states, in his *History of the Venerable Society*, referring to the Ministry Act of 1693, that "it was some time "before there was a Vestry composed of men of such principles, "as would choose a Church of England minister. About the "year 1697, there was such a Vestry."

* An Act to enable the City and County of New-York, to relieve the Poor, and defray their necessary and publick charge. Passed the 3d. of July, 1695.

Bowry Precinct	2644	05	10	02
Harlem Precinct	929	01	18	08½

WILL MERRETT
ROBT DARKINS
JAMES EVETTS
SAMLL BURTE
GILES GAUDINEAU
WILL MORRIS
EBENEZER WILLSON
LAWR READE
JOHN CROOKE
NATHANIEL MARSTON

As we have said before, the Church of England was little known in the Province at this time—its adherents being very few in number, principally those connected with the administration of the government. The English garrison had a Chaplain allowed upon the establishment. The old Church in the Fort continued to be used by the Dutch inhabitants for their service in the old way. After the Dutch service, the Chaplain read service according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, to the Governor and the garrison in the same place. This was all the footing that the Church of England had in the Province prior to the Act of 1693. *Doc. Hist. III.* 265. Domine Selyns, in a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, October 28th, 1682, says "We and the English inhabitants use the same "church. They perform their services at the "conclusion of ours, by reading the Common "Prayer. They have a clerk, but no minister, "except one who marries and baptizes in private "houses, but does not preach." *Murphy's Memoir of Selyns: p.* 94.

In 1693, Governor Fletcher finding the Old Church (King's Chapel) in the Fort "ready to "fall down to the danger of many lives thought it "convenient to pull it down." He had previously persuaded the Dutch Church to erect a new edifice for themselves out of the Fort, which they did in 1693. *Doc. Hist. III.* 265. Domine Selyns' letter to the Classis, 12th October, 1692, quoted by Mr. Murphy in his memoir of Selyns, p. 119, makes it 1692. "In this year of troubles, "there has been built, outside of the fort, a new "Dutch Church, of stone, and larger than the old "one." At the meeting of the Legislature, 12 Sept. the Governor addressed the Assembly on the subject and said "if you will give something "towards the rebuilding of it, we will all join in "soe good a worke. If his Maty were not en-"gaged in an expensive warr, I should not doubt "to have orders to rebuild it at his own charge."

In October, 1694, the Governor, with advice of the Council, presented to the Assembly a letter from their Majesties on the subject with a request that they would provide for rebuilding the Chapel accordingly. The House very promptly furnished him with their opinion "that his Ex-"cellency send his Orders to the several Officers "in each respective County throughout the Prov-"ince, for a free Contribution," for the object proposed.

The Governor and Council responded (22 Oct.) that the message was not to entreat the advice of the Assembly in what manner his Excellency should proceed in effecting his Majesty's pleasure, but to know of the Assembly what they will contribute by establishing some fund for that purpose, "it being the opinion of the Board that "the most loyall and proper way for all their "Majesties subjects freely to contribute, is by "Act of Assembly." The Assembly concluded to provide for raising Six Hundred Pounds, of which Four Hundred and Fifty were to be employed for the rebuilding the Chapel.

Dirck Van Burg's petition to be paid for building the Chapel, etc. 14 March, 1696, is in *Doc. Hist. III.* 246.

In April, 1696, the Governor again recommended the subject to the attention of the Assembly, urging provision for the completion of the work. The Assembly declined to proceed until the Accounts and Debts of the Government were laid before them, but promised "upon the perfect "knowledge of the State of the Debts of the "Government, the building of the Chapel will be "also then taken into consideration." From the statement of the joint Committee of the Council and Representatives, it appears that the sum of £450 had been paid "To the building "the Chapel."

But the efforts to promote the interests of the Church of England and to utilize the tax provided by the Ministry Act took another shape. It had already been settled that the Chaplain of the Forces was not entitled to the maintenance provided by the Act, and measures were now taken to organize a new English Church.

On the 19th March, 1696, ten members of the Church of England (some of whom were at this time Vestrymen of the City of New York) petitioned the Governor and Coucil for license to purchase a small piece of land without the north gate of the City of New York, between the King's Garden and the burying ground, on which to erect a Church for the use of the Protestants of the Church of England. Leave was granted and on the 23d July following they were further empowered to collect funds to carry on and finish the Church which they had begun to erect and build. *Doc. Hist. III.*, 247–48.

These are the earliest documents of the history of Trinity Church—the first formal tokens of the existence of the congregation which was the germ of that great Corporation since known as Trinity Church. The records of the Corpora-

tion do not preserve the proceedings of "the "Mannagers of the Affairs of the Church of "England in the City of New Yorke" prior to the 28th June, 1697—so that nothing is to be learned from that source concerning their history before the charter. Their petition for a grant of incorporation *and the maintenance provided for the Minister by the Act of* 1693 is extant among the Colonial Manuscripts at Albany (Vol. xli., 64,) though badly damaged by time. It is dated May 6, 1697, and printed in *Doc. Hist. III.*, 248. Their prayer was granted, and the Royal Charter of May 6, 1697 was duly drawn and executed under the great seal of the Province. It has been frequently reprinted, and its terms are familiar to all who have given any attention to the history of Trinity Church. The most extraordinary feature in it is the assignment of the benefit of the Ministry Act of 1693 to the Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church created by the Charter:

"And our Royal Pleasure is and we by these "presents do declare that the said Rector of the "said Parish Church is a good sufficient Protes- "tant Minister according to the true intent and "meaning of the said Act of Assembly made in "the aforesaid fifth year of our Reigne entitled "an Act for the settling of a ministry, &c., and "as such We do further of our like speciall "grace certaine Knowledge and meer motion "give grant Ratifye endow appropriate and con- "firm unto the said Rector of the Parish of Trin- "ity Church within our said City of New Yorke "and his successors for ever the aforesaid yearly "maintainance of one hundred pounds directed by "the said Act of Assembly to be yearly laid as- "sessed and paid unto the said sufficient Protes- "tant minister for his yearly maintenance, to "have and to hold the said yearly maintenance "of one hundred pounds aforesaid unto him the "said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church "within our said City of New Yorke and his "Successors to the sole and only proper use ben- "efit and behoofe of him the said Rector of the "Parish of Trinity Church within our said City "of New Yorke and his Successors forever. And "We doe by these presents strictly charge re- "quire and command the Church Wardens and "Vestrymen yearly constituted elected and ap- "pointed by the aforesaid Act of Assembly made "as aforesaid that they faithfully truly and with- "out fraud annually and once in every year for- "ever levey assess and collect the said yearly "maintenance of one hundred pounds current "money aforesaid according to the rules directions "and clauses in the said Act of Assembly men- "tioned and under the pains and penaltyes there- "in contained and that the said Church Wardens "mentioned in the aforesaid Act of Assembly do "annually in four quarterly payments pay the "said yearly maintainance of one hundred pounds "leveyed assessed and collected as aforesaid unto "the said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church "and to his successors for ever as of right they "ought to do without any delay, lett, hindrance "refusall disturbance or molestation whatsoever "as they and every of them will answer the con- "trary under the pains and penaltyes in the said "Act of Assembly ordained. And We further "declare that upon any neglect or refusall of the "said Church Wardens and Vestrymen (appointed "by the said Act) of their levying assessing col- "lecting and paying the said yearly mainte- "nance of one hundred pounds as aforesaid "that it shall and may be lawfull for the said "Rector or incumbent of the said Parish for "the time being to prosecute the said Church "Wardens and Vestrymen in an action of debt in "any of the Courts of Record within our said "province wherein no Essoine, protection or "wager of law shall be allowed anything con- "tained in the said Act to the contrary hereof "in any wayes notwithstanding."

There can be no doubt that these provisions of the instrument were illegal, and probably the charter itself was altogether void. It was an arbitrary exercise of an assumed prerogative, which was absolutely in defiance of the laws of England as well as the Province, and could not have been maintained for an instant in the Courts, had it been brought to the test. Sensible of its worthlessness, those who profited by its provisions sought and obtained a legal act of incorporation, a few years afterwards, which was the true Charter of Trinity Church—the Act of Assembly of 1704. This act carries in itself the evidence that due legal incorporation had been previously wanting, and that Trinity Church was up to that time incapable of taking a legal title. Various fictions have been invented from time to time, in connection with the suits against the Church, by both parties; but they have little or no historical importance at this time.

Lord Cornbury's own account of the motive for the act of 1704 is explicit enough. Writing to the Lords of Trade, June 30th, 1704, a letter to accompany the recent acts of the Assembly, which he transmitted, he says:

"The reason for my ascenting to the first of "these Acts [An Act granting sundry priviledges "and powers to the Rector and Inhabitants of "the City of New Yorke, of the Communion "of the Church of England as by law estab- "lished,] is because the Rector and Vestry of "Trinity Church have a charter from Coll: "Fletcher, when he was Gov^r here, and they "have been told *that Charter is defective*, so they "applyed to me for one that might be more "ficient; I told them *I did not perceive that by* "*my Commission I have any power to grant*

"*Charters of incorporation*, and that I would not "venture to do it without such a power, some "time afterwards they came to me again, and "desired I would give them leave to offer a Bill "to the General Assembly to be passed into an "Act for settling the Church, I told them I did "consent to it, because by that means the Queen "would have the matter fairly before her, and I "most humbly intreat Your Lordpps favourable "representation of that Act to Her Majesty that "it may be confirmed." *Col. Hist. IV.* 1114.

On the 2d November, 1696, a meeting of the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the City of New York was held, all the members being present excepting Mr. Samuel Burte. At this meeting they made and recorded the following important proceeding:

"Wee ye Church Wardens & Vestry men "Elected by Virtue of ye said Act having read a "Certificate under the hands of the Reverend Mr "Samuel Myles, Minister of ye Church of En- "gland in Boston in New England, and Mr Gyles "Dyer and Mr Benjamin Mountfort, Church "Wardens of ye said Church of the Learning & "Education, of the Pious, Sober, & Religious be- "haviour and conversation of Mr William Veazy "and of his often being a Communicant in the "Receiving ye most holy Sacrament in the said "Church, have called the said Mr William "Veazy to officiate, and have ye care of Souls in "this Citty of New Yorke. And ye said Mr Wil- "liam Veazy being sent for, and acquainted with "the Proceedings of this board, did return them "his hearty thanks for their great favor & affec- "tions shewd unto him, & did Assure them that "he readily Accepted of their Call & would with "all Convenient Expedition Repair to England, "and Apply himselfe to the Bishop of London "in Order to be Ordained according to the Lit- "urgy of ye Church of England, and would re- "turn to his Church here by the first Convenient "Opportunity."

This is the earliest record of Mr. Vesey's adhesion to the Church of England.* It is but just to infer that his course was dictated by honorable sentiments. There were not wanting in his lifetime those who could impugn his motives of action, and the violence of party charged him with inconsistency, a base regard for temporal interest, and want of fidelity to the principles to which he was supposed to be pledged by his birth and training among the Independents of New England: but a generous spirit cannot fail to sympathize in his emancipation from narrow prejudices and to applaud as judicious a conformity so amply vindicated by the success of his prolonged subsequent ministry.

Three days after he had accepted this *second* call to the Ministry of the City of New York, on the 5th November, 1696, the Justices and Vestrymen held another meeting, at which they adopted the following important resolution:

"Whereas there is Ninety Five Pounds in the "hands of ye Church Wardens, Raised by Vir- "tue of an Act of Genll Assembly for ye Main- "tainance of a Ministry; and Whereas Mr. Wil- "liam Veazy lately called to ye Ministry of this "Citty is not yet Ordained According to the "Liturgy of the Church of England, but hath "Assured the Church Wardens and Vestrymen "that he will Repair to London with all Con- "venient Expedition, and Apply himselfe to ye "Bishop of London for his Ordination, and Re- "turn hither by the first opportunity; where- "upon itt is Considered by this Board, that such "Parte of ye said Money that lyes in the Church "Wardens hands, & the sd Mr. William Veazy "shall have Occasion for, be lent to him, for the "Defraying his Charges in the said Voyage for "ye Procuring of his said Ordination, & yt he "give his bond for the same."

It is a significant fact which appears from the record that "Jacobus V. Cortlandt and "Brandt Schuyler, Esq's two of ye Justices De- "scent from the said Order." The dissent however of these stubborn Dutchmen was of little importance, and at a subsequent meeting on the 9th of November, 1696, at which they were not present, it was duly

"Ordered, that the Justices and Vestrymen "doe direct a Warrant to the Church Wardens "for to pay to Mr. William Veazy, (called to "officiate as Minister of this Citty) the sum of "Ninety five Pounds, Currt Money of New Yorke; "itt being Money now in their hands Raised by "virtue of an Act of Genll Assembly for ye "Maintenance of a Minister, and itt being to be "lent to the said Mr. William Veazy towards "the Defraying his Expenses in his Voyage for "England for ye Procureing his Ordination ac- "cording to ye Liturgy of ye Church of England "and that he give Bond for the same."

The election of Churchwardens and Vestrymen for the year 1697 continued the power in the hands of the Church of England party, there being no change among the Vestrymen. Capt. Thomas Wenham and Robert Lurting were elected Churchwardens, who not long after were constituted and appointed by the Charter the first Churchwardens of the Corporation and Parish of Trinity Church. Seven of the ten vestrymen were also named among the first Vestrymen of Trinity Church.

* Domine Selyns, in a letter to the Classis, 30th September 1696, mentions two English Churches as follows: "For the "two English churches in this city which have been formed, "since our new church was built,—one of our churches being "in the fort and the other in the city, and both of them very "neat, curious and all of stone,—there are two Episcopal Clergy- "men who by arrangement preach in our church after my "morning and evening service, and live with us in all friend- "ship." *Murphy's Memoir*, p. 126.

There was no meeting of the board until the 18th of November, when after providing for a Poor tax of Two Hundred and fifty Pounds—the records show that

"The Mayor of y^e^ Citty haveing proposed y^e^ "Raising of One Hundred Pounds pursuant to y^e^ "Act of Assembly for y^e^ Maintenance of *a Min-* "*ister for Trinity Church, for this Citty*, for this "present year. It is y^e^ opinion of y^e^ Justices & "Vestrymen that they do not proceed to y^e^ "levying of that summ till they hear of y^e^ "Ministers Induction."

We have no particulars concerning Mr. Vesey's voyage or stay in England, excepting those of his official appointments. Merton College, Oxford, bestowed on him, by diploma, the honorary degree of Master of Arts, July 8th, 1697. The license of the Bishop of London to Mr. Vesey—"Gulielmo Vesey, Clerico . . . ad peragen- "dum Officium Parochi in Ecclesiâ de New York "in partibus Occidentalibus," etc. is dated on the 2d of August, 1697. *Original MS. Also N. Y. Wills: II.* 100–104. On the same day, in accordance with the Act of Uniformity, he subscribed the acknowledgment or declaration of his conformity to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as by law established, in order to be admitted to the ministerial function in the City of New York. He was made a Deacon and Presbyter of the Church of England on the same day—August 2, 1697. The certificates of the Bishop of London are recorded in the *N. Y. Wills: II.* 100–104.

Returning to New York, he arrived in December, 1697. The Churchwardens and Vestrymen were speedily convened, and at their meeting on Friday the 24th day of December, 1697—all the members being present, the following proceedings are recorded.

Citty of New Yorke } Att a meeting of y^e^ Church Wardens and Vestrymen of y^e^ said Citty on Fryday the 24th day of Decem^r^. 1697.

Present:

Church-Wardens:

THOMAS WENHAM,
ROBERT LURTING,

Vestry-Men:

EBENEZER WILLSON, JOHN CROOKE,
WILLIAM MORRIS, SAMUEL BURTE,
NATHANIEL MARSTON, DIRECK VANDERBURGH,
JAMES EVETTS, GILES GAUDINEAU.
JOHN CORTLANDT,

Mr. William Vezey being arrived here lately from London delivered to this Board two letters, from the Right Reverend father in God Henry Ld. Bishop of London w^h^ contained as followeth (vizt):

Aug^t^ 10th, 1697.

Gentlemen,

Your choice was very welcome to me, and I hope I have Answered all that you Expected from me; for I doe Assure you itt has and e er shall be my Constant Care to Serve you to y^e^ uttmost of my power, Neither shall any choice be more Acceptable to me than what you make y^r^ selves. I thank you with all my heart that you have Pitched upon a Person whom I take to bee soe Every way fitted for y^r^ service. I pray God to Direct him in all the performances of his duty to y^e^ Edification and Comfort of you all. And I pray you to be assured that Nothing shall be wanting on my parte to answer all that lies in my power to doe for you: that itt will be therefore your fault if any parte of my Service be deficient to y^e^ best of my Ability. As to your Bells I will use my utmost Endeavour to procure them for you; though you cannot but know that the great Scarcity of Money here with us att Present will make itt Impossible to Accomplish such a Worke suddenly. In the meantime I should be glad to know whether you have considered what Defect you are able to make up of yourselves, and whether there are Carpenters with you skillful enough to hang them up, I pray God to reward you for your pious care you have already taken which shall want no Encouragement from the utmost care of

Gent^n^

Your most assured friend and faithfull Servant.

H: LONDON.

To
The Vestry and Church Wardens of the Church att New Yorke.

London, August 16th, 1697.

Gentlemen,

I doe most heartily thank you for your choice you have made of Mr. Vesey to be your Minister; for I take him to be a man every way capacitated to doe you Service by his Ministry, and therefore I have most gladly Conferr'd holy orders upon him, and Now Recommend him back to your favorable Reception Praying to God that the Exercise of his function amongst you may powerfully work to the Salvation of every one of you, and of all that hear him. And I beseech you to believe that I am most sincerely purposed to omit no occasion of doing you all the service that lyes in my way and power Nor

can you oblige me more than laying your commands for that purpose, upon

Gentlemen
Your most assured Friend
and hearty Servant
H: London.

To the Gentlemen of New Yorke
The Church Wardens & Vestry of
the Church there established

The before Letters being read, and the great Character and Recommendation his Lordship is please to give of Mr. William Vezey, the Board are of opinion that a fitter Person cannot be had to officiate, and have the care of Souls within this Citty than the said William Vezey; and therefore pursuant to the directions of an Act of Genl. Assembly of this province entituled An Act for the settling a Ministry and Raising a Maintenance for them in the Citty of New York, this Board doe unanimously Call* the said Mr. William Vezey to officiate and have the care of Souls within this City of New-Yorke & the said William Vezey personally came before this Board and informed them he was ready to execute the Function he was called to when he shall be Inducted into the same.

Whereupon itt is ordered that this board doe forthwith present the sd William Vezey & Petition his Excellency for his Induction to the said Ministry accordingly.

Tho. Wenham,	Will: Morris,
Robt. Lurting,	Direck Vanderburgh,
Ebenezer Willson,	Saml Burtt,
James Evetts,	Johan: Cortlandt,
Giles Gaudineau,	Jno. Crooke.
Nathll: Marston,	

To his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, Capt. Genll & Governour in Chiefe of his Majtys Province of New Yorke, &c

The humble Petition of ye Church-Wardens and Vestry Men of ye Citty of New Yorke

Most humbly Sheweth:

That by an Act of Genll Assembly of this Province, entituled an Act for ye settling a Ministry and Raising a Maintainance for them in the Citty of New Yorke &c: Itt is Directed that there shall be Called, Inducted and Established a Good Sufficient Protestant Minister to Officiate and have ye Care of Souls within the said Citty, & whereas Mr William Vezey was formerly by us called to the said Benefice but could not be Inducted thereto for want of being ordained in Priest's Orders, which after a troublesome Voyage by him made to England, & great Charge to your Excellencies Petitioners he hath Obtained; and is now returned hither, who wee have again called to ye said Ministry, and most humbly pray your Excellency will be most favourably Pleased with all Convenient Expedition to induct him to ye same, in Order he may Exercise his function accordingly.

William Morris,	Thomas Wenham,
John Cortlandt,	Robt. Lurting,
Direck Vanderburgh,	Ebenezer Willson,
Samuel Burte,	James Evetts,
Giles Gaudineau,	John Crooke,
	Nathaniel Marston.

Fletcher was not slow to move on his part, and on the next day (Christmas) 25 December, 1697, Mr. Vesey was duly inducted into his parish of Trinity Church. The documents are recorded in *N. Y. Wills, No. 5, pp.* 262–3. We print them in the order observed by the clerk. It is said that the ceremony of induction was performed in the Dutch Church in Garden street, a fact to which these documents bear testimony in the names of two of the Dutch clergy as subscribing witnesses.

Benjaminus Fletcher Provinciae Novi Eboraci in Americâ Strategus et Imperator ac Ejusdem Vice Thalassiarcha &c universis & Singulis Rectoribus Vicarijs Capellarijs Curatis Clericis & ministris quibuscunque in et per totam pdict Provinciam ubilibet constitutis ac etiam Thomae Wenham & Roberto Lurting Templi Trinitatis in Civitate Novi Eboraci pro hoc tempore Aedilibus Salutem Cum dilectum in Christo Gulielmum Vesey Clericum ad rectoriam sive Eccam proalem Novi Eboraci in Americâ Templi Trinitatis in dict provinciâ jam vacantem praesentatum rectorem ejusdem rectoriae sive Eccae Proalis in et de eâdem Institui Vobis conjunctim & divisim committo & firmiter injungendo mando quatenus eundem Gulielmum Vesey Clericum seu procuratorem suum legitimum ejus nomine &— in realem actualem & corporalem possessionem ipsius rectoriae sive Eccae Proalis Novi Ebor pdict jurumque & pertinentium suor universor conferatis inducatis inducive faciatis & defendatis inductum et quid in praemissis feceritis me aut alium quendam judicem in hoc parte competentem quemcunque debito (cum ad id congrue fueritis requisiti) certificatis seu — certificet illo vestrum qui praesen hoc meum mandatum fuerit ———— Dat sub sigillo praerogativo dict Provinciae 25° Die Decembris Anno Domini 1697°. David Jamison Jr D: Secry.

25° Decembris 1697°

Virtute infra scripti mandati in praesentia reverendi Domini Henrici Selyns Eccae Belgicae

* It will be observed that this was the *third* time Mr. Vezey was actually *called* under the Act of 1693, by the City Vestry.

in Civitate Novi Eboraci ministri & reverendi Domini Johis Peter Nucella Verbi Dei ministri infra nominati Thomas Wenham & Robertus Lurting Trinitatis Templi infra dict. Ediles contulerunt & induxerunt infra dictum reverendum Gulielmum Vesey Clericum in Templum Trinitatis infra nominatum more & consuetudine solitis et in omnia juria & pertinentia ejusdem 25° Decembris Anno Domini 1697° in Cujus rei testimonium praesentibus signavimus die & anno supra dictis Henricus Selyns minister Neo Eboracensis Belgicus Joannes Petrus Nucella Thomas Wenham Robert Lurting.

The new edifice for Trinity Church, to the erection of which both the French and Dutch churches contributed, (*Col. Hist. IV.* 463,) had been "built and covered" before the grant of the charter, but it was not completed and ready for occupation until the spring of 1698. It was first opened for public worship on Sunday, the 13th day of March, 1698. After the reading of the morning and evening service, Mr. Vesey declared before his congregation, his unfeigned assent, and consent, to all, and everything contained in and prescribed in and by the book, entitled the Book of Common Prayer. He also read the certificate of the Bishop of London of his declaration of Conformity. *Certificate of Gov. Fletcher*, 25 *March*, 1698. *N. Y. Wills: II.* 100-104.

The youthful Rector's entry upon these important duties was also signalized by his marriage about this time. "A Lycense of marriage "was granted unto Mr. William Vesey, of the "one party, and Mrs. Mary Reade, of the other "party, the first of March, 1697/8." *Wills, No.* 5, 274. It is not difficult to credit the tradition, which declares that this wealthy widow, with her connections, had taken a deep interest in the concerns of Trinity Church; and on the day it was first opened for public worship, that she appeared in it as a bride.

V.—THE THREE CASTLES OF THE MOHAWK INDIANS.

By J. R. Simms, Author of *The History of Schoharie County*, etc.

Friend Dawson:

I propose, with your approbation, to say something about the settlements of the Indians once in possession of the beautiful valley of the Mohawk, more especially of those known in history as "Castles." The term Castle evidently came into use with the advent of very early European adventurers to this country; but when the term, which was synonymous in common parlance with that of Fort, was first applied to an American Indian village, or by whom, may never be known; though we think it highly probable it came from some sprig of royalty, or a former resident of some French or English Castle. The name attached to the principal town of a Nation, in which was located some central place for defence; where representatives of the different Tribes making up the Nation assembled for consultation and concert of action, on warlike and other important occasions. Those Castles were comparatively frail, and untenable against fire-arms, until the whites, as allies, aided in their construction with the European axe and saw, sledge and drill.

All the Six Nations, constituting the great Indian Confederacy of New York, in the latter part of its history, (for it consisted of only five for a great length of time,) it is believed had their Castles; as the Oneida Castle, the Onondaga Castle, etc. The Mohawk Nation, the most Eastern one of the *Grand Confederacy*, dwelt principally in the Mohawk valley. Many families of them lived isolated, as suited their stoic and solitary habits, in localities favorable for hunting and fishing; while others were congregated in villages of greater or less importance. One of those villages was located in the present town of Florida, on the Eastern bank of the Schoharie, at its confluence with the Mohawk. This became known as the Lower Mohawk Castle.

It seems a pity that there has not been more pains taken to preserve local Indian names, and especially those of the several places at which their Castles were situated. We have not only robbed a once noble and happy race of the human family of their honest patrimony—theirs by birthright and theirs by long possession—but we have cheated posterity out of many, very many, of the euphonic and singularly significant names of their watercourses, mountains, valleys, and natural curiosities, once sacred to them; and which should now be cherished among our household gods. But such, alas! is the destiny of human events when the strong overpower the weak. By what name the settlement under consideration was known before the first white man entered it, cannot positively be determined; yet I believe it to have been Ti-on-on-de-ro-ga.*

* This is the manner in which this word is spelled in the *Colonial History of New York*, v., 960; and the same orthography is adopted by Mr. Munsell, in his *History of Albany*, i., 355, where he speaks of the effort made by the Indians, through Sir William Johnson, in 1773, to recover from the Common Council of Albany a thousand acres of the Tiononderoga Patent of lands, which the Indians claimed they never had had a just consideration for, when conveyed by Governor Dongan, in a charter, to the city of Albany, in July, 1686.

A design of the locality of this Patent, made 1712, is given in the *Documentary History of New York*, iii., 902, at which place the name is spelled Tienonderoga.

James Macauley, who, in 1829, published a *History of New*

Many streams in New York are called Creeks, that would have been called Rivers had they but had a New England paternity; and of the number is the Schoharie, which is as large again as are many rivers in the Eastern States, being more than One hundred and fifty feet wide at its mouth. It is not only the largest tributary to the Mohawk, but it is also its greatest competitor in the distance it courses. It is usually called a Creek at its outlet to distinguish it from the Mohawk; and probably always will be.

About two miles up the Schoharie from the Mohawk, the Eastern shore terminates with a bold bluff to the stream, which originated the significant Indian name *Ca-daugh-ri-ta*, meaning the *Steep Bank*, or *Perpendicular Wall*. The aboriginal name still attaches to this locality.

The Schoharie Tribe of Indians belonged to the Mohawk Nation, the last occupied of whose Castles was in the present town of Fulton, Schoharie county.

For a long period of time, intercourse was constantly kept up between the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys by two different routes—one from Tiononderoga, whence a foot-path led up the Schoharie above Cadaughrita, and thence, taking a South-westerly course, passed through the present towns of Glen and Charleston, and again entering the Schoharie valley in its sinuous course near Sloansville; the other, from the Central Mohawk, or Lower Canajoharie, Castle, situated twenty miles up the Mohawk from Tiononderoga Castle (to be noticed hereafter), went by a South-easterly course through the towns of Canajoharie, Root, and Charleston, uniting with the first near Sloansville.

The former path led directly past two Indian landmarks worthy of especial notice. About two miles up the Schoharie from Cadaughrita, once stood a majestic white Oak tree, upon the trunk of which was painted a canoe filled with warriors, on which account it was called The Warrior Tree. The painting was no doubt done by an Indian artist. It stood not far from where the path left the neighborhood of the Creek for a more Westerly course through the then dense forest; but whether at first painted as a guide upon the war-path, or to commemorate some event, tradition does not tell us. For several generations the figures were repainted and kept vivid, down to the time of the Revolution, when the Indians left for Canada.

A Patent for twenty-five thousand, four hundred acres of land granted in 1735, to William Corry and others, commenced its boundaries at this tree. It is also mentioned in a conveyance from Goldsbrow Banyar and Richard Shucksburgh to Francis Salts, and by Salts to Cornelius Putman in 1768. The tree is thus spoken of in one of the land titles referred to: "A large "White Oak tree, marked with three notches on "four sides, standing on the South side of the old "foot path or Indian trail from *Fort Hunter to "Schoharie*, and on which tree was formerly "painted a *Canoe* with *Warriors* in it, about "which tree were several other trees standing "marked as witnesses." The cuttings upon those trees were no doubt all done by surveyors. A friend who was born near this tree, and who once owned lands of which this tree was a corner bound, writes us that between forty and fifty years ago the tree had all disappeared except a few roots. Over twenty years ago I conversed with an old gentleman who remembered when a boy to have seen this patriarchal tree standing: and traces of the canoe were still visible upon it.

The other Indian monument was a large Mound of Stones, standing near Sloansville, which was reared long before the white settlers came into its neighborhood. A title to the lands upon which it was situated was called the *Stone Heap Patent.*

Tradition says that at this place two hunters of the Mohawk Nation had a quarrel; that one killed the other; and that the friends of the murdered man, to commemorate the event, erected a pile of stones upon his grave. A custom of the Nation required every warrior, afterwards passing it, to place an additional stone upon the heap, until in the lapse of generations it became one of very imposing dimensions. Not many years ago the land upon which it stood was owned by a man who cared little for the red man's altars; and he converted this long accumulating record of homicide into a stone wall or line fence. Such were the altars required to be erected at an early period in the history of human events among God's chosen people. (See *Exodus*, xx. 25.)

It is believed that the Indian trails from Tiononderoga and Canajoharie to Schoharie came together near the celebrated Stone Heap. The route pursued by Sir John Johnson and his army, in going from the Schoharie settlements to the Mohawk valley, in October, 1780, led past both of those Indian monuments.

York, in three volumes, wrote this word I-CAN-DE-RA-GO, but upon what authority is unknown.

I had several interviews with Mr. Macauley, at his resipence in Frankfort, N. Y., in 1845, and a few succeeding years. At one of our meetings I inquired if he could give me the signification of the Indian word, cited above. He replied that he could not, but that he had learned, I think from an educated Indian, the meaning of several aboriginal names, after the publication of his work, one of which he remembered to have been *Os-we-gatch-ie*, which signified *coming* or *going round the hill.*

Oswegatchie is a local name in the Easterly part of the town of Palatine, not far from where the brave Colonel Brown fell, in October, 1780. The curve in the hill made by the bend in the Mohawk, where the former approaches it so abruptly at the Nose, gives the key to the name.

For the greater security of the natives at Tiononderoga, or the Lower Mohawk Castle, and to foster and encourage white settlements in the neighborhood, a stronger defence than that of the Indians, was erected, of hewn timber, at a little distance from theirs, by Capt. John Scott, an English officer, about the year 1710, and called Fort Hunter, in honor of Robert Hunter, then Governor of the Colony; and, very soon after, under the patronage of Queen Anne, a small church was erected of stone near the Fort, to convert the children of the forest to the Episcopal faith. A stone parsonage built at that early day is still standing, perhaps one third of a mile to the Eastward of the Creek, near which stream stood the little Indian Church, called from the time of its erection until it was demolished, nearly a century later, QUEEN ANNE'S CHAPEL.

This, it is believed, was the first church edifice erected in the Colony for the especial benefit of the Indians. Colden says it was endowed, by the munificence of Queen Anne, "with furniture and "a valuable set of plate for the communion ta-"ble." Who knows whether this suit of service is still in existence? This mission was for a long period under the management of an Episcopal Society in the Mother Country, for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which Society supported a missionary among the Mohawk Indians, who resided at this place. It would be interesting if we could name the different ministers at this station, and give the result of their labors.*

The pulpit was provided with a sounding-board—a circular ceiling suspended a few feet over the head of the speaker in nearly every primitive house of worship in the land, intended to catch and send down upon the audience more effectively the voice of the speaker.

As in many early churches, the audience of the Chapel were seated upon movable benches. At a later period in its history, two pews were finished opposite to the pulpit for the especial use of the families of Sir Wm. Johnson and the minister, the floor of which was somewhat elevated. Johnson's pew was furnished with a wooden canopy, and both were probably thus finished at his private expense. The chapel was provided with a nice little bell, no doubt the first one ever heard in the colony west of Schenectada, and which is now in use in the Academy in Johnstown.

Those unlettered sons of the forest were no doubt improved in their English education and manners; but how much they were spiritually benefited by those missionary labors, eternity can only determine. There can be little doubt, however, that the novelty of the church worship and the dulcet tones of its bell—for the Indian was ever in ecstasy at the sound of a bell—filled the little Chapel on every favorable occasion for worship, not a few often attending who dwelt at the Upper Castles, twenty and thirty miles distant.

The Chapel was torn down about the year 1820, to give place to the Erie Canal, then being constructed, and the question is often asked—"Why was not this edifice spared, as a little di-"vergence would have saved it?" When the Canal was built, it was looked upon by timid men as a visionary project, and by a class of opposing politicians as a vast undertaking, calculated forever to impoverish the State. And although it was begun at the close of a three years war with England, still its friends were confident that it would not only place the State in an enviable position, but would in the end defray the expense of its construction. But rigid economy in every manner possible was adopted to lessen the cost; and to this system of economy it took for a key to the loss of the Chapel.

Here was a bridge across the Schoharie, one of the first of any note constructed in the Mohawk valley; which stream was to be used as a canal feeder, with necessary guard-locks upon each shore to lock boats through, to protect its banks in a freshet; and to save the expense of building a bridge at the time, as I infer, the bed of the Canal was located sufficiently near the Creek bridge, to make that for years subserve Canal purposes, which was done by changing the towing path from the North to the South shore, across it. To gain this desirable result the Indian Chapel was demolished. To use the Creek as a feeder, a dam was constructed across it a few rods below the Canal; and on enlarging it nearly twenty-five years ago, it was carried over the stream in an aqueduct, several rods below the dam. Thus the reader will perceive that the necessity for destroying the Chapel was at the time a justifiable one. In these days of reckless and profligate expenditure, when millions are considered of less importance than thousands were then, it seems necessary to make this explanation to antiquaries. For more than twenty years, and until the Canal had realized the expectations of its friends, the old bridge was in use; but soon after its necessity was obviated, a Spring freshet swept it away, and it has never been rebuilt. While it was in use, however, passenger packets were running; and during high water many a thrilling incident occurred, several canal boats having parted their towlines, and in some instances boats were swept

* In an early number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we shall endeavor to gratify our friend and correspondent, by giving not only the list which he has spoken of but some other particulars concerning this mission, which have evidently escaped his notice.—H. B. D.

over the dam into the Mohawk. Some of those accidents were attended with loss of property and loss of life.

From the time Fort Hunter was erected down to the Revolution, the place was known among the natives as the LOWER CASTLE, and among the whites, who began about that time to settle upon both sides of the river, as FORT HUNTER. For a Century before it became known, except as Tiononderoga or the Lower Mohawk Castle, this was a place of no little importance in the primitive history of the Colony. Here, at times, must have been assembled, in numbers, painted and feathered, the athletic Chiefs not only of the Mohawk Nation, but representatives of the entire Confederacy; and here must have been planned some of their most important enterprises. And after the whites settled at Schenectada, which place was for a long time upon the outskirts of Civilization, they cultivated the friendship of the Mohawks, secured their trade, and came to consider them as a barrier between themselves and their Canadian foes, which they proved to be, except when the place was so completely surprised in February, 1689.

As a military post, Fort Hunter was rejuvenated by Mars, early in the War for Independence. The timber of the old fort having become decayed, it was demolished, and the Chapel inclosed as a substitute in strong palisades, with block-house corners; mounting cannon; and was very properly suffered to retain its original English name, which still attaches to its little hamlet and Post-office.

Public whipping and confinement in stocks, an English mode of punishment for petty crimes, was in vogue in the States, some thirty or forty years after the Revolution; and not far from the Chapel, at Fort Hunter, says tradition, stood a Whipping-post and Stocks.

In the palmy days of the Mohawk Nation, Fort Hunter was a place of much importance. Speaking of Indian customs, says Colden, "An "officer of the Regular troops told me" [*probably Captain Scott*] "that while he was Commandant "of Fort Hunter, the Mohawks on one occasion" [*that of a war dance*] "told him, that they (the "Indians) expected the usual military honors as "they passed the Garrison. The men presented "their pieces as the Indians passed, and the "drum beat a march; and with less respect, the "officer said, they would have been dissatisfied. "The Indians passed in single row, one after "another, with great gravity and profound si-"lence; and every one of them, as he passed the "officer, took his gun from his shoulder, and "fired into the ground near the officer's feet. They "marched in this manner three or four miles "from their Castle. The women, on these oc-"casions, follow them with their old clothes; "and they send back by them their *finery* in "which they marched from the Castle."

Spafford, in his *Gazeteer*, speaking of the Indian Mission at Fort Hunter, after expressing his doubts about their being benefited by "theologi-"cal mysteries," says: "There are yet extant "most marvelous accounts of the reception of the "*Gospel*, and of the wonderful success of the first "Missionaries in converting the Mohawk In-"dians to *Christianity*, in the days of Queen "Anne! We have their Country, and the bells "and churches, and the *Church* has the mission-"ary farm."

After Sir William Johnson became the British Agent for the Indian Confederacy, and established his residence at Mount or Fort Johnson, on the opposite side of the river, and only two or three miles distant from Fort Hunter, as we may suppose, he was not only often there; but he manifested so real and so abiding an interest in the welfare of the natives, and especially at this Castle, that they placed implicit confidence in his integrity, and looked to him as children to a parent to right their public wrongs, and settle many of their private difficulties, which his remarkably playful and equitable temperament enabled him, satisfactorily, to do for nearly a quarter of a Century. In his correspondence, to distinguish this from the others, he often called it the Mohawk Castle. But time has wrought its wonderful changes here as elsewhere. The Agent and all his confiding forest children now sleep with their fathers, and the pleasant places of earth that have known them will know them no more forever. The last war-dance of the manly and vigorous Mohawk has long since transpired; and the echoes of his last warwhoop and terrific yell have forever died away among the hills that hem in Tiononderoga.

J. R. S.

FORT PLAIN, N. Y., May 20, 1867.

VI.—A CHINESE HISTORY OF AMERICA.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 26th June, 1867.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq^re^,
Morrisania,
New York.

DEAR SIR:

In the absence of the Secretary of State I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22^nd^ instant, inquiring as to the genuineness of a statement in regard to a translation of a Historical sketch of the United States by Seu-Ki-Yu, a Chinese writer, and in reply to inform you that such a translation was communicated to this Department from the Legation of the United States in China. I inclose a correct copy thereof and a copy of a dispatch which was addressed to M^r^ Burlingame on the subject, to which is prefixed an explanatory statement.

Very truly yours,
F. W. SEWARD,
Assistant Secretary.

[Inclosures.]

1.—EXPLANATORY STATEMENT.

It appears that Seu-Ki-Yu was, from 1844 to 1850, Governor of Fuh-Kien. During that time he wrote and published, in the Chinese language, a work on Universal Geography, giving an account of the establishment of America by Washington. For this publication, so favorable to the Western Powers, some of which were then in collision with China, and so favorable especially to the United States, Seu-Ki-Yu was dismissed from office by the Emperor Hien-Fung, on his accession to the throne of China in 1850.

His work and his sacrifices for the truth of history were made known to the Government at Washington by the late Chargé of the United States at Pekin, Mr. Williams. Through the efforts of the legation, the Imperial Government reversed its sentence of proscription against Seu-Ki-Yu, and recalled him into its employment as a member of the Foreign Office of the Government.

The Secretary of State presented him with a portrait of Washington.

2.—LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO MR. BURLINGAME, U. S. MINISTER TO CHINA.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, January 21, 1867.

SIR: Mr. S. Welles Williams, in a dispatch, No. 16, and in an unofficial letter of the 22d of February last, invited my attention to the fact that his Excellency Seu-Ki-Yu, a distinguished Chinese statesman, then recently appointed to the Foreign Office, had in various ways manifested a liberal and friendly appreciation of the importance of amicable relations between the United States and other Western Powers and China, and that he had written an eulogy upon the life and character of George Washington, which reflects great credit upon the author. When these facts became known to me they afforded me the liveliest satisfaction, and I thought it might be agreeable to his Excellency to possess a faithful portrait of the subject of his eulogy. I have accordingly caused an exact copy* to be made by one of our most skillful artists of the original likeness, painted by Gilbert Stuart from life. This copy, suitably framed, will be forwarded to your address by the first convenient opportunity, for presentation by you in such a manner as may seem most appropriate, to his Excellency, Seu-Ki-Yu, as a mark of the high appreciation entertained of the wisdom and virtue which have justly entitled him to the exalted station which he has attained.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

WM. H. SEWARD.

ANSON BURLINGAME, Esq[r].

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.†

By SEU-KI-YU, GOVERNOR OF FUH-KIEN.

Translated from the original Chinese, at the United States Legation at Pekin, and communicated to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE *by the Department of State of the United States.*

America is a vast country. Owing to its merchant ships carrying a variegated flag, it is usually known at Canton as the Hwa-ki-kwoh, or Flowery Flag Nation.‡ It is bounded on the north by the English territory, and on the south by Mexico and Texas; its eastern border lies along the Great Western ocean, while its western is on the vast ocean, a distance of about ten thousand *li*,* lying between them. From north to south the distance is between five thousand and six thousand *li* in the widest parts, and from three thousand to four thousand *li* in the narrowest. The Apalachian range winds along its eastern coast, and the great Rocky Mountains enclose its western borders, between which lies a vast level region many thousands of miles in extent.

The Mississippi is the chief of its rivers. Its sources are very remote, and after running more than a myriad *li* in serpentine course, it joins the Missouri river, and the great united river flows on south to the sea. The other celebrated rivers are the Columbia, Mobile, Apalachicola, and Delaware. Great lakes lie on the northern border towards the west. They are divided from each other by four streams, and are called Iroquois, or St. Clair, Huron, Superior, and Michigan. To the east lie two others, Erie and Ontario, which are joined to each other. These together form the boundary between the United States and the British possessions.

It was the English people who first discovered and took North America, and drove out the aborigines. The fertile and eligible lands were settled by emigrants moved over there from the three (British) islands, who thus occupied them. These emigrants hastened over with a force like that of the torrent running down the gully. Poor people from France, Holland, Denmark and Sweden also sailed over to join them, and as they all daily opened up new clearings, the country continually grew rich in its cultivated lands. High English officers held it for their sovereign, and as cities and towns sprung up all along the coasts, their revenues were collected for his benefit. Commerce constantly increased in extent and amount, so that thus the inhabitants rapidly became rich and powerful.

During the reign of Kemburg (A. D. 1736–1796) the English and French were at war for several years, during which the former exacted the duties throughout all their possessions, increasing the taxes more than previously. By the old tariff, for instance, the duty on tea was levied when it was sold; but the English now required that another tax should be paid by the buyer.

The people of America would not stand this, and in the year 1776 their gentry and leading men assembled together in order to consult with the (English) Governor how to arrange this matter; but he drove them from his presence, dispersed the assembly, and demanded that the tax be collected all the more strictly. The people thereupon rose in their wrath, threw all the tea in the ships into the sea, and then

* The copy was made by Henry C. Pratt, Esq[re], of Boston Mass.

† It is also called Collected Nations of America, United League Nations, Confederated Countries of America, and United all States, (*i. e.*, these different Chinese names have been used.)

‡ This flag is an oblong banner, with red and white stripes alternating; in the right-hand corner is a small square of a black color, wherein are drawn many white spots arranged in a form resembling the Constellation of the Dipper.

* This is a vague expression for a vast distance; three *li* are usually reckoned to equal an English mile.—*Translator's Note.*

consulted together how they could raise troops to expel the British.

There was at this time a man named Washington, a native of another colony, born in 1732, who had lost his father at the age of ten, but had been admirably trained by his mother. While a boy he showed a great spirit and aptitude for literary and martial pursuits, and his love for brave and adventurous deeds exceeded those of ordinary men. He had held a military commission under the English, and during the war with France, when the French leagued with the Indians, and made an irruption into the southern provinces, he led on a body of troops and drove them back; but the English general would not report this expeditious operation, so that his worthy deeds were not recorded (for his promotion).

The people of the land now wished to have him to be their leader, but he went home on plea of sickness and shut himself up. When they had actually raised the standard of rebellion, however, they compelled him to become their general.

Though neither troops nor depots, neither arms nor ammunition, stores nor forage, existed at this time, Washington so inspirited everybody by his own patriotism, and urged them on by his own energy, that the proper boards and departments were soon arranged, and he was thereby enabled to (bring up his forces) invest the capital. The British general had intrenched some marines outside the city, when a storm suddenly dispersed his ships. Washington improved the conjuncture by vigorously attacking the city, and succeeded in taking it.

The English then gathered a great army, and renewed the engagement. He lost the battle completely, and his men were so disheartened and terrified that they began to disperse. But his great heart maintained its composure, and he so rallied and reassured his army that they renewed the contest, and victory finally turned in their favor. Thus the bloody strife went on for eight years. Sometimes victorious and sometimes vanquished, Washington's determination and energy never quailed, while the English general began to grow old.

The King of France also sent a general across the sea to strengthen the tottering States. He joined his forces with those of Washington, and gave battle to the British army. The rulers of Spain and Holland likewise hampered their military operations, and advised them to conclude a peace. The English at last could no longer act freely, and ended the strife in the year 1783, by making a treaty with Washington. According to the stipulations, the boundary line was so drawn that they had the desolate and cold region on the north, while the fertile and genial southern portions were confirmed to him.

Washington, having thus established the States, gave up his military command for the purpose of returning to his farm, but the people would not permit him thus to retire, and obliged him to become their ruler. He, however, proposed a plan to them as follows: "It is very self-"ish for him who gets the power in the State to "hand it down to his posterity. In filling the "post of the shepherd of the people, it will be "most suitable to select a virtuous man."

Each of the old colonies was thereupon formed into a separate State, having its own Governor to direct its affairs, with a Lieutenant Governor to assist him,* each of whom held office for four years.† At the general meeting of the people of his State, if they regarded him as worthy, he is permitted to hold his post during another term of four years,‡ but if not, then the Lieutenant Governor takes his place. If, however, the latter does not obtain the approbation of the people, another man is chosen to the dignity when his time has expired. When the head men of the villages and towns are proposed for office, their names and surnames are written on tickets and thrown into a box. When everybody has done so the box is opened, and it is then known who is elected by his having the most votes, and he takes the office. Whether he has been an official or is a commoner, no examination is required as to his qualifications; and when an officer vacates his place he becomes in all respects one of the common people again.

From among all the Governors of the separate States one supreme Governor (or President) is chosen, to whom belongs the right to make treaties and carry on war, and whose orders each State is bound to obey. The manner of his election is the same as that for a Governor of a State. He holds his office four years, or, if re-elected, for eight. Since the days of Washington (who died in 1799) the country has existed sixty years; there have been nine Presidents, and the present incumbent (Tyler) was elected from Virginia.

When Washington made peace with the British he dismissed all the troops, and directed the attention of the country entirely to agriculture and commerce. He also issued a mandate saying: "If hereafter a President should covetously "plot how he can seize the forts or lands of "another kingdom, or harass and extort the peo-"ple's wealth, or raise troops to gratify his per-"sonal quarrels, let all the people put him to "death." He accordingly retained only twenty

* Sometimes the Lieutenant Governor is a single officer; in other cases several persons aid the Governor.

† They are also changed biennially and sometimes annually.

‡ When he has held the office for eight years he cannot be re-elected.

national war vessels, and limited the army to 10,000 men.

The area of the country is very great, and every one exerts himself to increase its fertility and riches. The several States have all one object, and act together in entire harmony; the other nations of the world have therefore maintained amicable relations with the United States, and have never presumed to despise or encroach on them. During the sixty years that have elapsed since peace with England there has been no internal war, and their trade has increased so that the number of American merchantmen resorting to Canton yearly is second only to those of Great Britain.

It appears from the above that Washington was a very remarkable man. In devising plans he was more daring than Chin Shing or Hain Kwang. In winning a country he was braver than Tson Tsan or Sin Pi. Wielding his four-foot falchion, he enlarged the frontier myriads of miles, and yet he refused to usurp regal dignity, or even to transmit it to posterity; but, on the contrary, first proposed the plan of electing men to office. Where in the world can be found a mode more equitable? It is the same idea in fact, that has been handed down to us (the Chinese) from three reigns of San, Shun and Yu. In ruling the State he honored and fostered good usages, and did not exalt military merit, a principle totally unlike what is found in other kingdoms. I have seen his portrait. His mien and countenance are grand and impressive in the highest degree. Oh, who is there that does not call *him* a hero ?*

VII.—"WOMAN'S RIGHTS" IN MASSACHUSETTS.†

To the Editors of the Commercial Advertiser:

It is a great mistake to suppose that this phase of modern progress is of very recent origin in America, or that the "fears of the wise" concerning the emancipation of women are new inventions. Who can forget the perils which the infant Colony of Massachusetts so narrowly escaped by suppressing the exercises of "that mas-"terpiece of woman's wit," Mistress Anne Hutchinson? And what student of our history can fail to remember the stern decision by which the first General Synod in America—the Assembly of all the Churches, called with the consent of the Magistrates, and confident in the power of the sword which they carried to enforce its decrees—condemned the public exercising of women's gifts (as was then the custom in Boston, though in a private house) as "disorderly and without "rule?" At that time, no less than fifty or sixty persons were in the habit of attending constantly every week, upon this one woman, who, in a prophetical way, would take upon her to resolve questions of doctrine and expound Scripture. Her melancholy fate was doubtless a stringent example and warning to the ambitious women of that day and generation, and not without its effects upon those who came after. At any rate, we find no development in that direction for a long time afterward. And when the great revolution in opinions came, which shook the ancient foundations of slavery in Massachusetts, and the great doctrine of the rights of man came to be preached there, a faint trace of women's rights is to be found, though its expression was very summarily treated. Still, we believe it *gives to Massachusetts the honor of the first recorded attempt to vindicate woman's right to vote.* Why the accredited champions of the historic fame of the old Bay State have not claimed it long ago, is a question which we leave them to answer. The evidence is far more direct and conclusive than that which they used to think sufficient to prove their early devotion to the doctrines of abolition; and it gives us great pleasure to be able to state, as we do upon sufficient authority, that in the Convention which framed the Constitution of Massachusetts in 1780, it was formally proposed on two separate occasions, to strike out the word "*male*" in the clauses determining the qualifications of the Electors. It is true that the proposition to "expunge" was voted down—but if anything better can be shown for any other State we should like to see it.

New Jersey has made some claim, but we have seen no evidence to show that the framers of her first Constitution *intended* to give the elective franchise to women; and it is a curious circumstance, that although under the provisions of that instrument a woman possessing the other qualifications might exercise the right of suffrage, and some subsequent legislation in that State continued to recognize it; it was summarily cut off, in 1820, by an Act of the Legislature, which repealed that provision of the Constitution; and in 1844, the Convention which framed the new Constitution took good care to keep it out, in spite of Petition and Remonstrance.

"Speakings of guns, &c.," we may as well add here the notice of another unsuccessful proposi-

* Ching Shing and Hang Kwang were two patriotic generals, who endeavored to overthrow the Tsin dynasty, (B. C. 208,) and restore the feudal system, and establish their own prince in his stead. Tsan Tsan and Sin Pi were rival chieftains, (A. D. 220,) the first of whom destroyed the great Han dynasty, and the second, after surviving all his own efforts to uphold it, founded a small State himself in the west of China. The four-foot falchion is an allusion to the celebrated sword of Sin Pan, the founder of the Han dynasty, (B. C. 202,) with which he clove in twain a huge serpent that crossed his path. The three monarchs, Yan, Shun and Yu, were among the earliest Chinese rulers, (B. C. 2357–2205,) and were chosen to fill the throne on account of their virtues.

† From the *Commercial Advertiser*, June 11, 1867.

tion in the Massachusetts Convention of 1780. One of the "literary and classical" members actually proposed to expunge the word "Massa-"chusetts," and to substitute the word "Oceana" in its stead. Harrington's *Oceana* was in those days regarded as one of the boasts of English literature, and had been pronounced by Hume to be "the only valuable model of a Common-"wealth that has yet been offered to the public." Whether the *dilettanti* of the Convention were seduced in their sacrilegious folly by Hume's opinion, does not appear; but "Massachusetts" was triumphantly retained in John Adams's model, which the majority thought good enough for them; and the word "Oceana" was voted down as promptly as "womanhood suffrage," or an equally heretical proposition submitted a few days later, to strike out the words "wise and "pious" before "Ancestors," in that part of the Constitution which commemorates the merits of the founders of Harvard College.

We trust that we shall not be accused of profaning the sacred temple of the history of Massachusetts, in "publishing the above before sub-"mitting it to some of our friends in Boston."

G. H. M.

VIII.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—Continued.

51.—The Hartford Convention.*

I.—*Hon. Harrison Gray Otis to Hon. Samuel Ward.*

Boston, October 26, 1818.

Dear Sir:

It has occurred to me that justice to the States, represented in the late Hartford Convention seems to require that the private journal of their proceedings, should be deposited in some place to which access may be had by any person disposed to give them publicity. You need not be informed of the disposition of a numerous class to impute to that Convention, projects which would not bear the light, and to produce if possible a general opinion that the things which are seen afford no clue to the unholy mysteries of our Conclave. While as individuals we regard these efforts with unconcern, we ought not perhaps to be indifferent to the effects of an erroneous public opinion on this subject, upon the present age and upon posterity, if the mere unvarnished Journal is sufficient for its correction.

Mr. Cabot, Mr Prescott and other members in this vicinity concur in these sentiments, and if you should be content that we may make such a disposition of that Journal as may be thought best for the object here expressed, I request of you the favour to signify your acquiescence by a line to Mr. Cabot with all convenient dispatch.

Respectfully

H. G. Otis.

[*Addressed*] Free H. G. Otis.
Hon: Samuel Ward,

II.—*Mr. Ivers to Mr. Ward.*

Providence, Novem: 2d 1818.

Dear Sir,

The enclosed letter for your Hond Father, I was requested to forward by a private conveyance, if one offered, otherwise by mail—will you have the goodness to cause it to be delivered, as soon as convenient.

I am with great regard

Your obedient friend

Tho: P. Ives.*

III.—*Mr. Ward to Hon. George Cabot.*†

7th Novr 1818.

[Dear Sir:]

I received on the 5th Inst. a letter from the Hon. H. G. Otis, which informs me it is your opinion and that of the other Gentlemen in the vicinity of Boston who were members of the Hartford Convention that the private Journal of their proceedings should be deposited in some place to which access may be had by any person disposed to give them publicity.—I have the honor to inform you that this proposal entirely meets my approbation.

52.—Jefferson Davis to R. Barnwell Rhett, Jr.‡

Warren County, Missi., Nov. 10, 1860.

Hon. R. B. Rhett, Jr.,

Dear Sir:—I had the honor to receive, last night, yours of the 27th ulto., and hasten to reply to the inquiries propounded. Reports of the election leave little doubt that the event you anticipated has occurred, that electors have been chosen securing the election of Lincoln, and I will answer on that supposition.

My home is so isolated that I have had no intercourse with those who might have aided me in forming an opinion as to the effect produced on the mind of our people by the result of the

* From the Ward Papers, through H. T. Drowne, Esq., of New York.

* Mr. Ives was a partner of the old House of Messrs. Brown & Ives, of Providence, R. I.; and his Letter was evidently addressed to *one* of the Sons of Col. Samuel Ward, of New York.—H. T. D.

† The following is a copy of the Letter written to Hon. George Cabot (as desired) by Samuel Ward, from the original draft.—H. T. D.

‡ From the original in the office of *The Evening Press*, Hartford, Connecticut.

recent election, and the impressions which I communicate are founded upon antecedent expressions.

1. I doubt not that the Gov'r of Missi. has convoked the Legislature to assemble within the present month, to decide upon the course which the State should adopt in the present emergency. Whether the Legislature will direct the call of a convention, of the State, or appoint delegates to a convention of such Southern States as may be willing to consult together for the adoption of a Southern plan of action, is doubtful.

2. If a convention, of the State, were assembled, the proposition to secede from the Union, independently of support from neighboring States, would probably fail.

3. If South Carolina should first secede, and she alone should take such action, the position of Missi. would not probably be changed by that fact. A powerful obstacle to the separate action of Missi. is the want of a port; from which follows the consequence that her trade being still conducted through the ports of the Union, her revenue would be diverted from her own support to that of a foreign government; and being geographically unconnected with South Carolina, an alliance with her would not vary that state of case. [*sic.*]

4. The propriety of separate secession by So. Ca. depends so much upon collateral questions that I find it difficult to respond to your last enquiry, for the want of knowledge which would enable me to estimate the value of the elements involved in the issue, though exterior to your state. Georgia is necessary to connect you with Alabama and thus to make effectual the co peration of Missi. If Georgia would be lost by immediate action, but could be gained by delay, it seems clear to me that you should wait. If the secession of So. Ca. should be followed by an attempt to coerce her back into the Union, that act of usurpation, folly and wickedness would enlist every true Southern man for her defence. If it were attempted to blockade her ports and destroy her trade, a like result would be produced, and the commercial world would probably be added to her allies. It is therefore probable that neither of those measures would be adopted by any administration, but that federal ships would be sent to collect the duties on imports outside of the bar; that the commercial nations would feel little interest in that; and the Southern States would have little power to counteract it.

The planting states have a common interest of such magnitude, that their union, sooner or later, for the protection of that interest is certain. United they will have ample power for their own protection, and their exports will make for them allies of all commercial and manufacturing powers.

The new states have a heterogeneous population, and will be slower and less unanimous than those in which there is less of the northern element in the body politic, but interest controls the policy of states, and finally all the planting communities must reach the same conclusion. My opinion is, therefore, as it has been, in favor of seeking to bring those states into coöperation before asking for a popular decision upon a new policy and relation to the nations of the earth. If So. Ca. should resolve to secede before that cooperation can be obtained, to go out leaving Georgia and Alabama and Louisiana in the Union, and without any reason to suppose they will follow her; there appears to me to be no advantage in waiting until the govt. has passed into hostile hands and men have become familiarized to that injurious and offensive perversion of the general government from the ends for which it was established. I have written with the freedom and carelessness of private correspondence, and regret that I could not give more precise information.

Very respectfully,
Yrs, etc.,
JEFFN DAVIS.

53.—JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. ABIGAIL ADAMS.*

PARIS, 4th Decemr 1782.

MY DEAREST FRIEND—

Your proposal of coming to Europe has long & tenderly affected me. The dangers & inconveniences are such & an European life would so disagreeable to you, that I have Suffered a great deal of anxiety in reflecting upon it. But upon the whole I think it will be most for the happiness of my family, & most for the honor of my Country that I should come home. I have therefore written this day to Congress a resignation of all my Employments, and as soon as I shall receive their acceptance of it, I will embark for America, which will be in the Spring or beginning of Summer—†

Our Son‡ is now on his journey from Petersburg thro' Sweden, Denmark & Germany, and, if it please God he come safe, he shall come with me & I pray we may all meet once more, You & I,n ever to Separate again—

I am most tenderly
Yrs.
JOHN ADAMS.

MRS. ABIGAIL ADAMS.

* From the original in the collection of Francis S. Hoffman, Esqr., of New York.

† Mr. Adams arrived in Boston June 17, 1786, after an absence of nine years.

‡ John Quincy Adams.

54.—Gen. Wade Hampton, of S. C., to R. G. Harper, Esq.*

Annapolis, Keating's, Sunday Even'g, 27 Feby 1803.

Sir,—The object of this letter is not to bring into view, the treatment I have lately experienced from you, nor the causes which I may think ought to have forbid it—It is merely intended to enquire of you, the footing upon which I stand, with respect to my demands against you. These consist of a balance on the original debt to J. B. Bond, and of different sums lent you. I have no evidence for the latter, but your recollection, nor any security, but your honor. They all originated in a confidence, that whenever you might have it in your power, you would not fail to be just towards a man, who had no motive for these advances, but a disposition to render you a kindness. How far the expectation has been fulfilled, *your own feelings*, and not my opinion, shall determine. But the moment has now arrived, when it ought not to be thought unreasonable in me, to ask how the account stands?—Upon giving me the acknowledgment I ask, should you wish to review the transaction upon which you have thought proper to institute your suit, the papers are all in my possession, and shall be submitted to that inspection, to which they have ever been open. I will add to them every explanation, and information, it is in my power to give. After w^ch^ should you be of opinion the suit ought to go on, I will join you in placing it, in any liberal shape, to avoid unnecessary trouble, & insure a Prompt decision.

I am Sir,
Yr hble Serv^t^
W. Hampton.

R. G. Harper, Esq.

IX.—THE BATTLE OF RAMSOUR'S MILL.

By Professor E. F. Rockwell.

A person would form a very imperfect idea of the Battle of Ramsour's Mill without a knowledge of the times and circumstances connected with it. Of these I will give as correct an account as I can.

Rowan County took an active part in the Revolution, but it will be remembered that large districts of what was then Rowan were not so friendly to the cause of Liberty as might have been desired. We know but little about that part of it now called Davidson County, except the lower portion called "The Flat Swamp;" which was the place of Colonel Bryant's retreat when driven out of the Fork of the Yadkin, as will be more fully noticed in the proper place.

This latter, for a considerable distance up the river, was originally settled by a mixed population from every direction, having no general trait of National character;—there were about as many Tories as Whigs among them; and a third party that, through cowardice, stood neutral. Following Hunting Creek up to the Brushy Mountains, you would have found the inhabitants nearly all Tories throughout the mountains to the Catawba River. For the first few years of the war, they took no active part in it; but some of them caused considerable annoyance to the Whigs by their robberies, especially by horse-stealing. Having committed depredations in this way, they would fly to the mountains, and were there concealed; but the Whigs of the Fork, assisted by their friends South of the South-Yadkin, and furnished with a sufficient force for protection, would pursue the rogues, often recover their property, and punish the offenders by Lynch law.

But as the seat of war seemed to be changing from North to South, the Tories became more active. In the beginning of the year 1780, they began to collect in companies, but the Whigs would always scatter them before they joined large bodies. In May, 1780, when Charleston surrendered to the British army, and Lord Cornwallis was full of hope that he would redeem his pledge made to his friends before he left England, (which was that if they would give him four regiments of Regulars, he would march triumphant from one end of the Continent to the other,) and he had marched up as far as Camden, many of the South Carolinians joining his standard, and the news had spread through all the upper country; then all the Tories were in motion. The encampment near Lincolnton was founded the latter part of that Spring, or the beginning of the Summer; for when taken in June, it was found to be an old camp. Their object was to be ready to join Cornwallis on his march; and a considerable body of men soon collected. The Tories were in motion in every direction. The Whigs, using all the means in their power to keep them down, succeeded in distressing them before they collected in large numbers; and the Whigs often ventured out in one direction in the evening, and before day the next morning would be called upon to go in another. But they were always ready and willing to go, never lying down at night without placing their arms so that they could lay their hands on them at any moment.

Colonel Bryant, a citizen of the Fork of the Yadkin, a man of some talents, had considerable

* From the collection of Mr. C. C. Helmick, Washington, D. C.

influence with the Tories of his vicinity; and he was not idle, but was afraid to come out publicly. He, however, caused it to be reported that the war would soon end; and that all the land belonging to the Rebels would be confiscated, and the King's friends would be the owners.

This drew off many of the neutral party: horse-stealing increased: horses were in greater demand; but, as the Brushy Mountains were not a safe retreat, they fled to Lincolnton, and there found a market for their horses and protection for their persons; as was evident from the fact that several horses, stolen in the Fork of the Yadkin, were recovered at the battle of Ramsour's Mill. Lynch-law was often enforced, and offenders joined the camp in Lincoln, till a formidable body in all had been collected. This caused no little uneasiness to the Whigs, who resolved to attack them, and break up their encampment. This was in the latter part of June, 1780, and it appears to have been a crisis in the Revolution. If the men, for this purpose, were to be taken from the Fork and vicinity, as many from there were out on other expeditions, Bryant was to be dreaded behind them. They scarcely knew how to raise a sufficient force, but they determined upon it.

About this time, news was received that General Gates was on his way with a Northern army to assist them: this greatly encouraged them to persevere; for by breaking up that encampment, they would prevent it from causing any embarrassment to General Gates or giving any assistance to Cornwallis.

They, therefore, collected all the men they could in Rowan, and perhaps some from Mecklenburg. All were under the command of General Rutherford. Having crossed the Catawba, they were joined by Captains Bowman and Dobson from Burke; and General Rutherford now finding himself at the head of a considerable body of men, moved towards the enemy's camp; about three hundred mounted infantry, many of them officers, formed the advance guard, while the infantry followed on under the officer in command. The advance party, after a march of fifteen miles, having reached the enemy's camp, reconnoitred it without being discovered. Some difference of opinion now arose as to the best course to be pursued. Colonel Locke, and perhaps some others, thought that they had better wait till the infantry arrived; Captains Falls and Armstrong, Colonel Brevard, and perhaps some others, among them Major James Rutherford, thought that they ought to avail themselves of the advantage of attacking by surprise. After some discussion the latter opinion prevailed. The first step was to send an express to General Rutherford ,to hasten on with the infantry, for they intended an immediate attack.

The Spartan number, three hundred,* with something of the Spartan spirit, now divided into two equal bodies; the first was to advance and fire, then retreat, and form in the rear of the second, in the mean time to load as they retired; the second division was to advance and fire, retreat and in like manner, form in the rear, and load; thus to draw the enemy on, till Rutherford came up with the main body of the army.

This was the plan of attack, with the clear understanding that each was to watch the other's motions, and act in concert. The arrangement being thus made and understood, the attack was made about sun-rise, while the Tories were engaged in preparing their breakfast; and so complete was the surprise that they found themselves falling by the balls of their enemies almost as soon as they discovered them.

The first division, after firing, retreated, opening to the right and left from the centre, for the second to advance, fire, and retreat in the same way. The enemy, notwithstanding their surprise, attempted to form a line; but a Whig of more courage than prudence, rode up, seized their colors and rode off with them unhurt amidst a shower of balls. Having now no rallying point, their consternation increased; and the quick succession of destructive fires, kept up by the assailants, rendered their confusion complete. The Whigs not only stood their ground, but advanced, after a few rounds, upon the enemy's camp; and in a short time obtained a complete victory, taking possession of the camp before General Rutherford arrived with the main body of the army. The general engagement lasted only about fifteen minutes. The place had the appearance of a camp long occupied: they were well supplied with provisions, arms, &c.; and at the lowest account were about one thousand two hundred strong, some say one thousand seven hundred, while the Whigs in action were three hundred in number. The loss of the latter was mostly in officers, who distinguished themselves in so signal a manner, that they were selected by their enemies, who had some expert riflemen. Captain Dobson and Captain Bowman, of Burke, were both killed.

Capt. Falls from the lower, and Capt. John Sloan from the upper, end of Iredell, and Capt. Wm. Knox from the Eastern part of it, fell that day; also Capt. Armstrong from the region of Third Creek in Rowan. Capt. Hugh Torrence and Capt. Smith, of Mecklenburg, Capt. David Caldwell, and Capt. John Reed were unhurt. Capt. James Houston was wounded: William Wilson had a horse shot under him and was wounded the second fire: several inferior officers were killed. Thirteen men from

* One account says 450.

the vicinity of Statesville, lay dead there after the battle; and many more died of their wounds the next day. Joseph Wasson, from Snow Creek, received five balls, one of which he carried forty years to a day, when it came out of itself; being unable to stand, he lay upon his side and loaded and fired his musket several times.

The loss of the Tories was great in men, and all their camp equipments. A number of horses were taken, some of which had been stolen in the Forks of the Yadkin. And to return to the region, the people there were much distressed at this time; for Colonel Bryant, thinking this a favorable time while so many men were absent, to assemble his friends, who were ready to march at an hour's notice, gave the word and formed his camp a few miles from Riddle's ferry, on the Big Yadkin.

He soon found himself at the head of a large body of Tories that flocked to his standard from every direction, particularly his friends in the Fork.

What increased still more the distress of the Whigs in that region was a false report from the army in Lincoln, that it had been totally defeated; that Captain Armstrong was killed, and his whole company either slain or made prisoners. This news soon reached Bryant's camp, and encouraged the Tories, some of whom threatened to rob and kill every rebel in or near the Forks, in three days. But the Whigs at home, not willing to believe such reports concerning their army, sent messengers from several neighborhoods to learn the truth; and by them intelligence of Bryant's movements reached Rutherford's army, and all the men from that quarter were dismissed to return and defend their families and property.

They left the camp the morning after the battle, and those on horseback reached home that night. The next morning was the time appointed by Captains Caldwell, Nicholas, and Sam'l Reed, to meet at some place in the Fork to oppose Bryant. Those who had returned from Lincoln after a short rest, went to meet their friends; and a camp was formed two or three miles East of Anderson's Bridge on Hunting Creek, known ever since by the name of Liberty Hill: it was five or six miles from Bryant's camp. When this encampment commenced they were not one hundred in number; but men continued to collect during the day, and in the evening they were joined by a company of Light Horse, from the Mountains, commanded by Captain Doak. At night they numbered between two hundred and three hundred, and had taken about twenty prisoners on their way to join Bryant's camp.

They were in constant expectation that he would attack them, and made every effort to give him a warm reception, and convince him how much it would cost him to gratify his friends in their thirst for plunder. In the mean time he received a true account of the fate of his friends in Lincoln, and seeing the army assembling at Liberty Hill, he became alarmed; and, while the Whigs were preparing to receive him, to their great surprise, he broke up his camp and fled across the Yadkin;—finding the people of the "Flat Swamp" more friendly to his cause than the Scotch Irish, the other side of the river. These latter, mingled with a few Marylanders, as brave as themselves, strove to see who would perform the noblest deeds for their country. Unlike other ambition, this strengthened the bonds of friendship between them.

Thus was the power of the Tories broken in Lincoln and in the Forks of the Yadkin. Bryant, after spending a short time in the Flat Swamp, retired to the Eastern part of the State; and Captain Samuel Reed's company, with a few others, as an army of observation, was sufficient to keep order in the Forks.

The Tories in Lincoln, having been so roughly handled at the Battle of Ramsour's Mill, what of them escaped, retired to the Western part of the country, and remained there till Ferguson arrived to their assistance, whose fate is well known.

It will be seen from the above that the Whigs of Rowan and Mecklenburg were greatly relieved from the embarrassment of the Tories, and now had an opportunity to aid their friends in other parts of the country; this they did promptly. They were in service on the Pedee, at Wilmington, at King's Mountain, at the Cowpens, at Guilford Court House, and many other places of minor importance.

We might say that the Battle at Ramsour's Mill was the first of a series of misfortunes to the British arms in Upper Carolina. Gates's defeat was the only action of importance in their favor.

The Ramsour battle was about the twentieth of June; that at King's Mountain in October; at the Cowpens in January; at Guilford Court House in March; all more or less favorable to the cause of the Americans.

We will mention one or two traditionary anecdotes connected with the battle of which we have an account above.—Capt. Reed was ordered to take his men and flank the Tories: in doing so he had to cross a bottom and a branch, and pass through some underbrush. As he emerged in view of the enemy, a man rushed out towards him, and got behind a tree, watching an opportunity to shoot him. But being a good marksman Reed kept his eye on the tree, and seeing the shoulder of the Tory not entirely cov-

ered by it, he took a rifle from one of his men, and shot him through the part exposed. After the close of the battle he went among the wounded, and finding one shot through the shoulder, on inquiry as to the way he received his wound, he found him to be the man he had shot, and dressed the wound for him.

In one case a Whig and a Tory were each behind a tree watching to shoot each other, when the Whig employed this stratagem to get his enemy to fire. He put his hat on the end of his ramrod and projected it beyond the tree. The Tory supposing that a *head* was there as well as a *hat*, fired a ball through it; when the Whig taking the advantage of him put a ball through his body before he could reload.

The Tories were headed by Col. John Moore, Maj. Welsh, and Captains Keener, Williams, and Warlick; the latter and a Whig by the name of Winston, were neighbors, and rivals at shooting matches: both good marksmen. They met, and one said to the other, "The time has come," alluding to some understanding they had before between them. Their guns were unloaded, and each took a tree for shelter. The Whig succeeded in loading first and looked around his tree just as the Tory shut his pan. Knowing that his opponent would look around *his tree* before pointing his gun, the Whig aimed his; and the moment the other put his head behind his tree, shot a ball through it.

Traces of the battle may be seen now at the battle ground, about three-quarters of a mile from the Town of Lincolnton, on a ridge, situated between Clark's Creek and one of its tributaries; some of the graves are yet visible; and the pine trees still standing there, it is said, bear the marks of the musket balls.

In their confusion and retreat some of the Tories, attempting to escape across the mill dam by a narrow bridge, pushed each other off and were drowned: some, too, rushed into the pond and were mired in the mud and never escaped.

The Whigs did not pursue them for fear the smallness of their numbers would be discovered. In all, the battle lasted about two hours, and was brought to a close by a flag of truce sent out by a Tory of the name of Blackburn. There was no General officer in command at this battle. Col. Francis Locke was present but did not take the command for fear of being tried by Court-martial for exceeding his orders.

The above is for the most part in the words of the different narrators, from whom the traditions have been taken down.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

X.—OLD NEW YORK REVIVED.—CONTINUED.

20.—"HARLEM, FIFTY OR SIXTY YEARS AGO."

Editor of The Historical Magazine:

Sixty years ago, I was only a boy; yet I think I can comply with your request to tell you something of "HARLEM, AS IT WAS FIFTY OR "SIXTY YEARS AGO," with some degree of accuracy. I will try to do so, with the understanding that if my friend and neighbor, Riker, shall hereafter find me in error, he and you will attribute it less to a desire on my part to misrepresent, than to a failure of my memory—for, to be candid, I am not what I once was.

Entering Harlem by what was known as "THE "OLD HARLEM ROAD," after passing through what has always been famous as McGowan's Pass—now on the line of One hundred and seventh-street, midway between the Fifth and Sixth avenues—when just beyond what is now One hundred and eighth-street, on the flat land, one branch of the road diverged to the Westward, while the other turned, almost due East, toward the River.

I remember there was a small house, with a kitchen in the rear, forming an L, on the property of Lawrence Benson, on the right side of the road, just *below* the forks, but I do not remember who occupied it; and I remember, also, that a single brook was crossed by the Westernmost branch, just *above* the forks to which I have referred.

The first of these two branches is what you, thirty years ago, when you went to the Manhattanville school and caught gold-fish in the pond by David Mollenaer's, was wont to call "HAR-"LEM LANE"—we called it, "Sixty years ago," "THE OLD ROAD TO KINGSBRIDGE:"—the last was "THE OLD ROAD TO HARLEM," along which you will now, "in faith," travel by my side.

As I said, this "Old Road" left the line of the road leading through the Pass, just above what is now One hundred and eighth-street: and running to the Eastward, on the line of what is now One hundred and ninth-street, when immediately West from the Fifth-avenue, it crossed a pretty wide stream, probably that noted MARITJIE DAVIT'S VLY, of which you have told me. Immediately after crossing that stream, the road turned to the left; and in nearly a straight course it ran thence, about Northeasterly, to Harlem, crossing the present Fourth-avenue just above what is now One hundred and fifteenth-street, and striking the village on what is now One hundred and twentieth-street, not far Westward from the Third-avenue.

I remember that on the right hand, below the forks of the two roads, was the estate of Lawrence Benson—a fine property of Sixty-four acres; on

the left hand, above and below the forks, were a hundred acres belonging to Valentine Nutter; immediately in front of the forks, was a parcel of nearly Seventeen acres, bounded on the West by the Kingsbridge Road, on the East by the brook, and belonging to James Beekman; beyond the brook, on the road to Harlem, on the left of the road, were lands of the heirs of Henry Rankin, of John Combs, and, extending quite to the village, of Sampson A. Benson; while on the right of the road, extending all the way to Harlem, was the extensive unimproved property of the heirs of Peter Benson. Just at the entrance to the village, above the line of the property of these heirs, near what is now One hundred and sixteenth-street, on the traveler's right hand, was a small lot, running back to what was known as "The Middle Road," and containing a dwelling and several other buildings; and still further, on the same side of "The "Old Road," was a triangular lot, owned by Luke Kipp.

At this spot "The Old Harlem Road," along which I have led you, approached very nearly to another road, which, running diagonally and in a straight line across the present street-blocks, from the Mill-pond—near what is now the junction of Fourth-avenue and One hundred and seventh-street—to what is now One hundred and twentieth-street, not far Westward from the Third-avenue, was known as "The Middle "Road," or "The Old Bridge Road." It did not intersect the latter, however, although there was a communication between the two, at this place;* but after it had made a *detour* to the West, (between the vacant property of Sampson A. Benson, already referred to, on the left, and the house-lots, on the right, of John O. Zuell, Joseph Mott, and Mr. Waldron,) it returned, and taking nearly a Northeasterly course, it ran in a straight line to the river, between what is now One hundred and twenty-fifth and One hundred and twenty-sixth-streets, a short distance Eastward from the First-avenue—crossing in its course "The Middle Road," already referred to.

As I have said, "The Old Harlem Road" intersected "The Middle Road" on the line of what is now One hundred and twentieth-street, not far to the Westward of Third-avenue; and here may be said to have been the heart of the ancient village of Harlem. To the left, running North-westerly, or diagonally across the present blocks, at about a right angle from the line of "The Old Road," was another road running over toward Kingsbridge, and joining "The "Old Kingsbridge Road," or "Harlem Lane," at what is now One hundred and thirty-first-street, a short distance Westward from the Eighth-avenue.

Still further to the Eastward was "The Mid-"dle Road," running up to Coles' Bridge, which is now at the head of the Third-avenue; and in front, extending to the river, as I have already stated, was "The Old Harlem Road," along which I have brought you.

From this central spot, let me recall my recollections, a moment, as we face the East river, looking down "The Old Road," toward the Manor of Morrisania, in Westchester County.

Immediately behind us, in "The Old Road," stood the Engine-house; and on the left, at the lower angle of the Kingsbridge road and "The "Middle Road," facing the East, was a large house with a kitchen in the rear. It stood on the Sampson A. Benson property; while at the line of that property, beyond the house, was another, with the gable to the street. Still further Westward, also on the Southerly side of the Kingsbridge road, extending a long distance back, was the Benjamin Vreedenberg property, on which stood an old house, with its gable toward the road and its long piazza on the Eastern front; and farther yet, on the same side of the road, stretching over the flats toward Manhattanville, and including "Snake Hill"—now Mount Morris—and the hill through which is cut the Fourth-avenue, was another portion of the Sampson A. Benson property. On the Easterly side of this Kingsbridge road, at its junction with "The Old" and "The Middle Roads," was the fine property of the Reformed Dutch Church, then occupied by John Randel, Jr., the distinguished Civil Engineer, and others; adjoining which, on the Easterly side of the Kingsbridge road, was the property of John Adriance—Five acres in extent—and beyond the last, extending, to the Eastward, as far as the River, were Thirty-eight acres, belonging to the heirs of John Sickles.

"The Middle Road," *below the point where I now stand*, had run successively between properties, on the West, of the heirs of Peter Benson, a person whose name I do not now remember, Luke Kipp, John O. Zuell, Joseph Mott, and Mr. Waldron, and on the East, of Benjamin P. Benson, Richard Riker, John J. Jackson, Joseph Mott, a man named Pyne, Luke Kipp, J. Hopper, H. Brady, and another whose name I do not remember. *Above the place where I stand*, it was cut through the Church lot, on which, on its Westerly side, was Mr. Randel, already referred to, and on its easterly, were Messrs. Brady, Bogardus, and Conklin. Beyond the Church lot, on the Westerly side of the road, were properties of John Adriance (a small corner of the large property which fronted on the Kingsbridge road), William Kenyon (on which were a house and barn), Coen-

* This communication was between the lots of Luke Kipp and John O. Zuell, which were thus made equivalent to corner lots.

radt Roberts (a lot of an acre, on which stood a house and other buildings), John R. Raube, (another lot of an acre, on which were a house and several other buildings), the heirs of John Sickles (the large property of Thirty-eight acres, already mentioned, which fronted also on the Kingsbridge Road), and, on the river, a marshy spot, of Two acres and three-quarters, belonging to John B. Coles. On the Easterly side of the road, beyond the Church lot, were a triangular lot, occupied by some one whose name is not recollected, and lots occupied by C. Mudge, Mr. Garvey, Mr. Raub, the Estate of John Sickles (before referred to), Isaac Adriance (a plot of Three acres and a third, extending Eastward to the river), and John B. Coles (a portion of the low ground, on the river, to which reference has been made). At the extremity of this "MIDDLE ROAD" was COLES' BRIDGE, what you have crossed in your youth and known as "THE HARLEM BRIDGE."

"THE OLD HARLEM ROAD," over which we entered the village, and on which we are yet supposed to be standing, extended to the Harlem-River, as I have already stated, between the points where its waters washed what are now One hundred and twenty-fifth and One hundred and twenty-sixth-streets (just East from the line of the First-avenue); and, at its foot, in the olden time, it was said, was a ferry to Morrisania, on the opposite side of the river.

On the upper side of this road, at the period of which I write, at the intersection of "THE MID-"DLE ROAD," as I have mentioned, was the Dutch Church lot, on which, just below the line of the Third-avenue, stood the Parsonage and the Church school.

Adjoining the Church lot, on the same side of the road, was a lot belonging to John S. Adriance, containing Three and a quarter acres; and below the latter were Five square parcels belonging respectively to the heirs of John P. Waldron (containing Three acres and a half), William Brady (containing Four acres), Eliphalet Williams (containing Three acres), and Benjamin S. Judah—the latter on the bank of the river, and containing an acre and two-thirds, and a pier extending some distance, over the shallow water, into the river. In the rear of the last mentioned lot, also on the bank of the river, was the Village burying-ground; and extending up from the river, on the rear of the burying-ground and the lots belonging to Messrs. Williams, Brady, and Waldron—a long, narrow, Seven-acre-lot, with a large pond on its Western end, and containing a large square house and other buildings, the whole approached through a lane which ran up from "THE OLD ROAD," between the lot of Mr. Williams and the burying-ground and lot of Mr. Judah—was the home of Nathaniel G. Ingraham, the same in which my neighbor and friend, Judge Daniel P. Ingraham, the son of the former, still lives.

On the lower side of "THE OLD ROAD," adjoining, on the South, the property of John F. Jackson, and extending in the rears of the small lots, on the Easterly side of "THE MIDDLE ROAD," of Messrs. Mott, Pyne, Luke Kipp, J. Hopper, and H. Brady, already referred to; and of similar small lots, on the Southerly side of "THE OLD ROAD," occupied by Messrs. Bross* and Vermilyea, were nearly Forty-six acres belonging to the heirs of John P. Waldron. This property fronted on "THE OLD ROAD," below the intersection of that and "THE MIDDLE ROAD;" and it ran, Eastward, nearly to the river, a lot belonging to James Roosevelt only lying between it and the water.

Adjoining the property of the heirs of John P. Waldron, last referred to, were several small parcels—the first, a long, narrow lot, belonging to Philip Milledollar, who, also, owned Thirty-two acres, in the rear, which extended to the river; the second (containing about an acre and a half), belonging to the heirs of John Sickles; and the third (also containing about an acre and a half), belonging to the heirs of John P. Waldron. Adjoining the last named lot was a farm lane, leading to large-sized parcels, in the rear, of John G. Bogert, Philip Milledollar, and the heirs of Jacob Bradford; and next to this lane, on the road, was a fine, square lot of nearly Three acres, belonging to Thomas Dunning. On the East of the latter was another road, extending a short distance to the Southward, and terminating at the land of James Bogert—a large rear lot, traversed by a brook and a range of marshy ground, fronting on the river, and extending to the Southward as far as the lands of Milledollar, Bogert, and Bradford, already referred to. On "THE OLD ROAD," separated from Thomas Dunning's lot by the short road last mentioned, was the Reformed Dutch Church of the village—a small wooden structure, with a modest steeple *facing to the West, and with its side to* "THE OLD "ROAD"—and in the *front* of this Church, between it and the large lot of James Bogert, just described, and separated from it by a roadway, was a lot owned by Benjamin Bailey. Another roadway separated the Church lot from the last of the range of lots on the South side of "THE "OLD ROAD"—that on the bank of the river—"which belonged to Benjamin Bailey; and here, having traversed the entire village, my duty may be said to have ended.

I need not tell you, what you know so well, that the river front, along the entire range of lands, from those of Lawrence Benson, above Coles's Bridge, including those of John B. Coles,

* You must remember this Mr. Bross, as he kept a store in Manhattanville, while you were a boy and lived there.—J. R. JR.

Isaac Adriance, the heirs of John Sickles, Nathaniel G. Ingraham, the village Grave-yard, Benjamin S. Judah, Benjamin Bailey, James Bogert, the heirs of Jacob Bradford, Philip Milledollar, and James Roosevelt, was, at the time of which I write, quite marshy; and some portions are in their original state, to this day.

I am not sure that I can say anything more which will interest your readers at this time; when I shall again feel like writing, I will try and give you a description of the fortifications on Harlem heights, as they were when I was a half century younger than I am now.

Your friend,
J. R., Jr.

On the other side of the river,
June, 1867.

XI.—RECORDS OF THE CITY OF NEW AMSTERDAM.—Continued.

IN COMMON COUNCIL.

Resolved, That permission is hereby given to Henry B. Dawson, Editor of The Historical Magazine, to make copies of and to publish in that work, from time to time, such portions of the ancient Records of this Corporation and such of its papers on file as, in his opinion, shall serve to illustrate the early history of this State and City, and the character and habits of the inhabitants, provided the same shall be done under the direction and supervision of the Clerk of the Common Council; and that the said Records shall not be removed from the Clerk's Office.

Adopted by the Board of Aldermen, December 6, 1866.
Adopted by the Board of Counellmen, December 10, 1866.
Approved by His Honor the Mayor, December 13, 1866.

D. T. Valentine,
Clerk of the Common Council.

[*Original, not paged; Translation*, 122–126.]

On Monday, the 24th February, 1653, at the City Hall, Present, A. Van Hattem, Martin Crigier, Burgomasters, Paulus Leendertse, Wilhelm: Beeckman, Allard Anthony, M. Van Gheel, Pieter Wolfertsen, Schepens; and C. Van Tienhoven, Schout.

Jan Barentze,* Carpenter, Plaintiff, *vs.* Isbrant Dirckse Goethart,† Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands the payment of G. 117.3. for wages earned.

The Defendant acknowledges the debt to be honest and engages within a month from this date to pay the same, wherewith both parties are satisfied.

Carsten Clasen,* Plaintiff, *vs.* Isbrant Dirckse Goethart, Defendant.

The Plaintiff in default.†

Pieter Luyckesen,‡ Plaintiff *vs.* Isbrant Dirckse Goethart, Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands payment of Twenty Beavers, according to an obligation and the verdict of Their Mightinesses the Director General, dated the second of September, 1652.

The Burgomasters and Schepens refer the matter to the judgment of the Director and Councillors before mentioned.

Hendrick Egbertsen,§ Plaintiff, *vs.* Hendrick Gerritsen,‖ Defendant.

[123] The Defendant in default a second time.¶

Dirck Teunisen,** Plaintiff, *vs.* Pieter Kock,†† Defendent.

The Defendant in default.

By the Burgomasters and Schepens, authority is hereby given tc Thomas Hall‡‡ and Egbert Woutersen§§ to arbitrate the difference and dispute betwixt Abram Planck and Dirck Teunisen, the Norwegian, respecting the produce of the land and the lime, as far as possible, or, in case of failure to do so, to report their views in writing to the Court.‖‖

* Jan Barentsen, a house-carpenter. He married Meyntie Willems, and died at this place prior to July, 1661, at which date his widow had returned to Amsterdam.—H. B. D.

† Vide i., 362, ante.

* Vide i., 362, ante.

† This is evidently the action which was referred to in the Minutes of the Board, on the seventeenth of February, (i. 362).—H. B. D.

‡ Pieter Luyckassen, Captain of the ship *Abraham's Sacrifice*, and subsequently of the *Sint Jacob*.—H. B. D.

§ Vide i., 362, ante.

‖ Vide i., 360, ante.

¶ Vide i., 362, ante.

** Vide i., 359, ante.

†† Pieter Laurensen Kock, occupied the premises on the corner of Broadway and Battery Place, extending to the bank of the river. He was a Small Burgher of the date of 1657; married Annetje Dircks, on the thirteenth of June, 1657; had one child, Gallas, who was baptized on the twenty-first of September, 1659; and died soon after—his widow being referred to, under date of April, 1661.—H. B. D.

‡‡ Thomas Hall, resided on a hill near the Vly (*Pearl-street*) the present line of Beekman-street.

He was an Englishman by birth; and was one of a party who attempted to seize the Dutch settlements on the Delaware, in 1635; ran away from that service; took refuge with the Dutch; and, having been kindly treated, he settled as a farm servant in the employ of Jacob Van Curler, in New Amsterdam. He was engaged in raising and trading in Tobacco, near Turtle-bay, as early as 1639; purchased his homestead in 1654; and was classed as Farmer, although he was also engaged in Trade.

He was one of the Eight Men, in 1643–4; one of the Nine Men, in 1647; and a Firewarden of the town, in 1648. He was an active politician; opposed to the Director-general; and possessed considerable influence.

He married Anna Mitfort, widow of William Quiek, on the seventeenth of November, 1741; and died, without children, in 1670.—H. B. D.

§§ Egbert Woutersen was an early settler in the Colony, and owned the property at the corner of what are now New and Beaver streets.

He was a Small Burgher of the date of 1657; was married to the widow Engeltje Jans Van Beestede, on the first of September, 1641; and died about 1680.—H. B. D.

‖‖ For particulars concerning this action see *Register of Burgomasters and Schepens*, i., 362, ante, and the Notes thereon.—H. B. D.

Pieter Kock, Plaintiff, *vs.* Annetie Crommelin Van Vorst,* Defendent.

In matter of matrimony, Jacob Stoffelse,† the Father-in-law of the Defendant, appeared before the Court, and certain writings were presented by the parties and duly examined; and the parties having been admonished, it is the opinion of the Burgomasters and Schepens that the parties should be at peace.

A copy of the points shall be given to them; and it is unanimously ordered that the Father-in-law of the Defendant shall appear at the next Court-day; and that, at that time, both the parties shall bring in whatever they may have further to present.

Guysbert Vander Donck,‡ Plaintiff, *vs.* Willem Jansen,§ Defendant.

Defendant in default.

[124] Thomas Spyser,‖ Plaintiff, *vs.* Martin Jansen,¶ Defendant.

Defendant in default.

Sybout Clasen, Plaintiff, *vs.* Herman Smeeman, Defendant.

The Plaintiff appeared before the Court, and offered, agreeably to the Order of the Court at the last Court-day, to make oath on his own behalf concerning the subject of his complaint; but, in consequence of the absence of Albert Jansen,** who assisted him in doing the work, the Trial is postponed until the next Court-day, when both parties must appear and each for himself substantiate his claim by his oath, in order that they may thus obtain what are their rights.††

Jacobus Schellinger,* Plaintiff, *vs.* Willem Kourtael,† Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands payment of G. 106.15.12, for goods delivered, for which the Defendant had promised to deliver Tobacco.

The Defendant acknowledges the debt to be honest.

The Burgomasters and Schepens condemn the Defendant to pay the demand within Six weeks from this date.

Casper Steeinmets,‡ Plaintiff, *vs.* Judith Verleths,§ Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands the immediate payment of a balance of G. 71. 4. 8, for wages on account of services ren[125]dered by his wife to the Defendant.

The Defendant brings in an account of Gs. 75. borrowed by the Plaintiff's wife and of Gs. 15. in Seawant; and he claims that she has also received, agreeably to his statement, goods to the amount of Gs. 128. 1. 8, so that the Plaintiff is indebted to the Defendant, Gs. 30.

The Burgomasters and Schepens decide that the parties shall furnish, each to the other, copies of their respective accounts; and that Casper Steeinmets and his wife shall personally appear at the next Court-day.

Jeronym. Nieulant,‖ Plaintiff, *vs.* Claes Terhaer,¶ Defendant.

The Plaintiff in default.

Hendrick d' Sweet,** Plaintiff, *vs.* Claes Terhaer, Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands the payment of Gs. 70. 10, for Wood for Staves, delivered for the Defendant, on the Strand.

* Annetje Crommelin Van Vorst was the daughter of Cornelis Van Vorst and Vroutje Ides, his wife, the latter of whom, on the death of her husband, was married to Jacob Stoffelsen, of whom see the next Note.—H. B. D.

† Jacob Stoffelsen was an early settler in the Colony, having been one of the Company's Commissaries of Stores as early as 1633.

From 1633 until 1639, he was an Overseer of Laborers—in the latter year he was styled "Overseer of Negroes";—in 1641, one of the Twelve Men; in 1644–5, one of the Eight Men; and in the latter year, one of the Colonial Council.

He lived at Ahasimus; and was married to Vroutje Ides, the widow of Cornelis Van Vorst, whose children seem to have caused their Father-in-law a great deal of trouble.—H. B. D.

‡ Concerning this person, I have no information whatever.

§ William Jansen, the ferryman between Bergen and Manhattan, was married to Leentje Martens, on the eighteenth of December, 1654.

There were two persons bearing this name—William Jansen van't Ieverlant and William Jansen van Rotterdam—but we have no means of knowing to which of these this record refers.—H. B. D.

‖ Thomas Spicer was a resident and magistrate of Gravesend, L. I.—H. B. D.

¶ Martin Jansen was a resident and magistrate of Amersfort (*Flatlands*), L. I.—H. B. D.

** Albert Jansen, a Carpenter by trade, lived on the West side of Smith (*William*) street, North from Garden (*Exchange Place*).

He was a Small Burgher of the date of 1657. He married his second wife, Elcke Noven, in September, 1652; and died about 1660.—H. B. D.

†† This action was commenced on the opening of the College of Burgomasters and Schepens, [*February* 10, 1653] and continued at the succeeding Session, when it was adjourned until this day in order that the Plaintiff might verify his claim. (i., 359, *ante*.)—H. B. D.

* Jacob Schellinger was probably a son-in-law of Cornelis Melyns, of Staten Island, having married Cornelia Melyns, on the seventh of April, 1653, and been much concerned in the affairs on Staten Island.

Beyond the facts referred to, we know nothing of him.—H. B. D.

† I have failed in my efforts to learn anything whatever of this man.—H. B. D.

‡ Casper Steynmits was one of the earliest magistrates of Bergen, N. J., of which settlement he was a resident.

He was a Small Burgher of New Amsterdam, of the date of 1657; and married for his second wife, Jannekin Gerrits, on the last day of March, 1652, by whom he had Johannes, ——, Gerrit, Annetje, Christoffel, Caspar, and Ursalina.

He was quite an influential man among the early settlers of Bergen.—H. B. D.

§ Madame Judith Verlett was a sister of Captain Nicholas Verlett, who was brother-in-law of Director-general Peter Stuyvesant. She was the wife of Nicholas Bayard, who was the son of Stuyvesant's sister.—H. B. D.

‖ We have found nothing whatever concerning this person.—H. B. D.

¶ Nicolaes Terhaers was evidently a Cooper, and he seems, also, to have been a Tavern-keeper; but little is known of him besides the fact that he was forbidden to sell liquor because of certain irregularities.—H. B. D.

** "Hendrick d' Sweet"—*Henry the Swede*—beyond the fact that he was a resident of Flushing, L. I., we know nothing concerning this man.—H. B. D.

The Defendant denies that he has ever seen or received the beforementioned Wood.

The Plaintiff is ordered to substantiate his Declaration.

Hendrick Gerritsen,* Plaintiff, *vs.* Auken Jansen,† Defendant.

Both parties in default.

[126] Jan Gerritsen,‡ Plaintiff, *vs.* Hendrick Gerritsen, Defendant.

The Defendant in default.

Willem Albertsen,§ Plaintiff, *vs.* Claes Terhaer, Defendant.

The Plaintiff declares that he had counted and paid out to the Defendant, Gs. 105. 16, for which he has received, in Casks, Gs. 75. according to his account: and that there remains due to him a balance of Gs. 30. 16, the payment of which he demands.

The Defendant's account having been examined, it is found to agree within Gs. 1.17 of the monies received; but he claims, by his account, that he has delivered Gs. 90, in Casks.

Wherefore, the Burgomasters and Schepens appoint and authorize Jan Jansen and Thomas Frerick,‖ both Coopers, to appraise the work done by the Defendant, according to current prices, and to get the parties to settle this dispute, or, in case of failure, to present, in writing, a Report of their opinion in the matter.

[*Original, not paged; Translation*, 127–134.]

On Monday, the 3d March, 1653, at the City Hall, Present,

Arent Van Hattem, Martin Crigier, Burgomasters; Paulus L. van der Grist, Allard Anthony, Willem Beeckman, M. van Gheel, and Pieter Wolfertsen, Schepens, with C. Van Tienhoven, Schout.

The Noble Schout, Cornelis Van Tienhoven, handed in to the College, the following written answers to their propositions.¶

"In the matter of the proposition of the Noble Burgomasters and Schepens of the City of New Amsterdam.

"The Director-general and the Councillors of New Netherland give their consent that, as opportunity offers, a Weighing-house and a Weighscale shall be made and constructed;* and that when the Weighing-house shall be ready, they shall prepare and enact Ordinances directing the Weights and Measures to be deposited there, after which time all the Weights and Measures in this Province shall be made to conform to the Weights and Measures of Amsterdam, in conformity with the Orders and Resolutions relating thereto, which have been heretofore Published and Proclaimed, copies of all which shall be delivered to the Burgomasters and Schepens, to the end that the Schout shall [] all the Weights and Measures in conformity therewith [128] and mark them, according to the standard that shall be fixed by the Burgomasters and Schepens.

"With regard to their propositions concerning Orphan-masters, however much the Director-general and the Councillors approve the carefulness of the Burgomasters and Schepens, it must be remembered that other appendages, for which the compassion and the early beginnings of this new-rising City have afforded but little opportunity, are required for this, before such an Orphan's Hall, after the form of that in Old Amsterdam, can be planned and accomplished. In the meantime, this measure is not necessary for ensuring obedience to the command of God concerning the widows and fatherless, since it is already required by the Director-general and the Councillors, that the Deacons, as the Guardians of Orphans, shall have the care of Orphans and Widows and may apply to the Burgomasters and Schepens, and, if necessary, through them, to the Director-general and Councillors; over these, and over such as shall become Widows and Orphans, and over their estates, particular Curators may be appointed, in which cases the Burgomasters and Schepens, or, if necessary, the Director-general and Councillors shall make such Orders and appoint such Curators as the necessity of the occasion may require, which Curators shall be responsible to the Burgomasters and Schepens; and that in case the Burgomasters and Schepens shall discover that [129] becoming attention has not been paid to the property and estate of the Widows and Orphans, they shall have the power of appointing Curators in the case and of calling the delinquents to account.

"Done in Session, at New Amsterdam, on the

* Vide i., 360, ante.

† Vide i., 359, ante.

‡ Vide i., 360, ante.

§ Willem Albertsen, "the Boor," is referred to in *Council Minutes*, v., 58–60; but we have no further account of him.—H. B. D.

‖ We have no particulars concerning either of these persons, beyond the fact that Jansen was referred to, in the Records, from time to time, for several years previous to this date.—H. B. D.

¶ The "propositions" referred to are those embraced in the Address presented by the College of Burgomasters and Schepens to the Director-general and Council, on the eighteenth and twenty-sixth of February, (*MS. Register of College*, i., 115–117; *Historical Magazine*, i., 361, 362.)—H. B. D.

* On the tenth of August, 1654, the Director-general and Council adopted an Ordinance for the regulation of the Weighhouse; and on the twenty-seventh of April, 1656, another Ordinance was issued by the same authority, requiring all articles of more than Twenty-five pounds weight, to be weighed there. —H. B. D.

"26th of February, Anno, 1653, in New Neth-
"erland.

"Signed by order,
"P. STUYVESANT"

MARTIN JANSEN, Plaintiff, *vs.* THOMAS SPYSER, Defendant.

The Plaintiff absent, but he is excused on account of the bad weather.

THOMAS SPYSER being called to account for his absence at the last meeting says that he was not duly cited; and he was excused.*

PIETER KOCK, Plaintiff, *vs.* ANNETIE VAN VORST, Defendant.

The Defendant absent; and, on account of the bad weather, is excused.†

WILLEM ALBERTSEN, Plaintiff, *vs.* CLAES TERHAER, Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands payment of what is his due, according to account and the verdict of the Arbitration submitted to the Burgomasters and Schepens.

The accounts of the parties having been examined by the Court, it is found that there remains due to the [130] Plaintiff, Thirty Guilders and Thirteen Stuyvers. Wherefore, by the Burgomasters and Schepens, the Defendant is condemned, within Six weeks from the date hereof, to pay the said Gs. 30. 13, which, according to the verdict of the arbitrators, is due to the Plaintiff, either in work or in money.‡

HENDRICK D'SWEET, Plaintiff, *vs.* CLAES TERHAER, Defendant.

The Plaintiff absent, but excused on account of bad weather.§

GERONYM NIEULANT, Plaintiff, *vs.* CLAES TERHAER, Defendant.

The Plaintiff, like the last, excusable for his absence.‖

TEUNIS KRUDY,¶ Plaintiff, *vs.* ANDRIES KUYPER,** Defendant.

Both parties absent.

JAN GERRITSEN SMIT,* Plaintiff, *vs.* KRIGIER INSCOB,† Defendant.

The Defendant absent.

JAN GERRITSEN METSOENER,‡ Plaintiff, *vs.* HENDRICK GERRITSEN, Defendant.

The Defendant absent for the third time.§

The Plaintiff demands judgement against the Defendant for wages due to him, to wit: For work done to the axle-tree of a mill, Sixteen Guilders, [131] of which Ten Guilders have been paid in the making of One suit and One pair of Leather Breeches. He has also earned Nineteen Guilders, in the raising the house of the Defendant.

The Burgomasters and Schepens condemn the Defendant, in consequence of his contumacy, to pay to the Plaintiff, within Four weeks from the date hereof, the sum of Twenty-five Guilders as demanded in the foregoing specification.

GYSBERT VANDER DONCK, Plaintiff, *vs.* WILLEM JANSEN, Defendant.

The Plaintiff requests that the Defendant may be ordered to enter upon and fulfil his work, according to Contract.

The Defendant excepts and requests a copy of the Contract.

The Burgomasters and Schepens decide that the Defendant shall have the privilege of a copy of the Contract; and they order him to appear on the next Court-day, to give in his answer, or, in default thereof, he shall be compelled to enter upon his work.‖

SYBOUT CLASEN and ALBERT JANSEN appeared before the Court conformably to its Order of the date of the twenty-fourth of February; and each for himself, in the presence of the Court, solemnly testified that he had never been paid, nor ever had received any payment of, his demand against Harman Smeeman, as the heir of Volkert Eversen; and that it still remains due to him by right.

[132] In this matter, Harman Smeeman is condemned to pay the said demand in current funds, such as at that time was valid.¶

* The Minutes of "the last meeting" (*page* 31, *ante*) indicate that Jansen was *Defendant*, and *absent*, and Spieer, *Plaintiff*, and *present*—the reverse of this entry. We give both as we find them; and leave it for others to determine which is correct and which erroneous.—H. B. D.

† Vide page 30, ante.

‡ Vide page 32, ante.

§ Vide page 31, ante.

‖ Vide page 31, ante.

¶ TEUNIS KRUDY—probably intended for Teunis Kray, who is said to have been a tavern-keeper living on der Heere Graft [*Broad-street*] between what are now Stone and Bridge-streets. He was, also, it is said, a Measurer of Apples and Onions; and his wife was Superintendent of the Market. (VALENTINE'S *History*, 112, 113.)

** ANDRAES KUYPER—*Andries Pietersen, the Cooper*—beyond the facts that he was married to Lambertje Morges, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1652; and in February, 1653, his son, Pieter, was ehristened in the old Dutch Church, we know nothing of him.—H. B. D.

* JAN GERRITSEN SMIT—*Jan Gerritsen, the blacksmith*—of whom we have found no particulars.—H. B. D.

† KRIGIER INSCOB. No particulars have been ascertained concerning this person.—H. B. D.

‡ JAN GERRITSEN METSOENER—*Jan Gerritsen, the mason*—Since the writing of the Note under the Minutes of the Session of the sixth of February, we have ascertained, in addition to what was then stated, that Jan was, by trade, a Mason; that he was admitted to the Small Burghership on the fourteenth of April, 1657; and that, like many others of his business, he bought and sold property to a considerable extent.—H. B. D.

§ This action was instituted at the first Session of the Court, and evidently recorded erroneously, (i. 360,) although Hendrick was said to have been in Default. At the third Session he was again absent (*page* 31, *ante*); and again, to-day, as above stated.

It is interesting, because it shows the rules governing the Practice in this early Court.—H. B. D.

‖ Vide page 31, ante.

¶ Vide page 31, ante.

Guliaen d'Wys, Plaintiff, *vs.* Joost Goderis, Defendant.

The Plaintiff states that he is aggrieved by the complaint made against him by the Defendant, on the last Court-day; and requests that the Defendant shall be obliged to find security for the costs and damages already had, and yet to be made; and that in case he shall fail to prove the charge, that he shall make reparation.

The Defendant replies that his witnesses have not yet given in their testimony; and that the Plaintiff's request cannot be entertained.

Joost Goderis, Plaintiff, *vs.* Gysbert Vander Donck, Defendant.

The Plaintiff prays that the Defendant shall be compelled to make good his declaration by oath.

The Defendant having been further heard on the points of interrogation, resolves to confirm his declaration by oath.

Joost Goderis, Plaintiff, *vs.* Jan Vinge, Defendant.

The Plaintiff requests, as before, that the Defendant shall make his declaration under oath.

The Defendant refuses to make oath.

[133] Joost Goderis, Plaintiff, *vs.* Harmanus Hartoogh, Defendant.

The Defendant says that concerning such a trifling matter, he does not consider himself obligated to make oath; and, furthermore, he declares that Buys has made application to Goderis for *Lettre Represailles*.

Joost Goderis, Plaintiff, *vs.* Antony Van Hardenbergh, Defendant.

The Plaintiff prays that the Defendant shall be held to confirm what he has declared, under oath.

The Defendant having been heard, declares furthermore that Buys has made application to Goderis for a *Lettre Represailles*; and that he can make no oath concerning his declaration.

Pieter Werkhoven having been heard on the points of interrogation, before the Commission of the seventeenth of February, in the Court, answers on the First point of interrogation, he has heard no such thing: on the Second point, as before: on the Third point, as before: on the Fourth point, as before: on the Fifth point, as before: on the Sixth point, that he saw Bedloe run after Goderis; but he did not see the stabbing or wounding, which he declines to testify to, under oath.

[134] The points of interrogation on which the Burgomasters and Schepens, on the requisition of Joost Goderis, have ordered categorical answers to be given, to wit, with "Yes" or "No," by Gysbert Vander Donck, Jan Vinge, Antony Hardenbergh, and Harmanus Hartoogh, on the morning of the fourth day of March, at Nine o'clock, at which time the aforesaid persons shall be held to testify under oath, after the manner of the Court.

The First Point.

Whether on the twenty-ninth of January, on Oyster-island, they did not hear Buys and Bedloe calling after Goderis: "You cuckhold and hom-"beest, Allard Anthony has covered your wife."

The Second Point.

Whether Buys and Wys did not ask Goderis for a *Lettre Represailles*, to sleep with his wife, "for," said they, "Allard Anthony is in the "habit of doing it."

Done in Session aforesaid, at the City Hall, this 3d March, 1653.

The before-mentioned persons, taking into conderation the above, propose that the costs for lost time and for other things, already made by this dispute and those which they may yet sustain, should be made good to them; and they demand sufficient security therefor; whereupon the Burgomasters and Schepens announce that they will look more closely into the matter.*

XII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. Hist. Mag.]

An Old Axe.—A few days since, Nathan Salisbury, Esq., living in East Scott, Courtland County, found a very peculiar axe. The circumstances are as follows: At an early day, when Mr. Salisbury, in company with others, was chopping and clearing the forest of his newly-acquired farm, they came upon a very large hemlock standing near the stream. After cutting the tree down, Mr. Salisbury discovered that what appeared to be the heart of the tree was really a separate tree from the one just fallen. On examination, this tree within a tree was found to have been girdled at some previous time, leaving a small portion uncut, so that the sap had continued to traverse the trunk until its growth had completely overgrown the girdling,

* This series of actions, in which a party of the young rowdies of New Amsterdam and a poor man named Joost Goderis were parties, had engaged the attention of the Court from its first Session, until now; and it is refreshing to read of the dignity which the Court maintained in its dealings with the young rascals, whose connections were "the first famililies" in the Colony and gave countenance to their insolence.—H. B. D.

and another tree formed, growing to enormous dimensions.

A few days since, near the trunk of that tree, about twelve inches below the surface, was found this peculiar axe. It is about Ten inches in length by Three and one-fourth inches on the cut or edge. It is made of iron. Now, what is remarkable about this axe and tree is this—that the girdling or packing of the inner tree corresponds precisely with the axe found, and counting the concentric rings of the growth of the outer tree, is found the remarkable fact that the inner tree was girdled about One hundred years before the landing of the Pilgrims. Who was in that locality using an axe Three hundred and fifty-seven years ago?—*Boston Transcript.*

Snow in Boston the Past Season.—*To the Editor of the Transcript:*—I transmit to you my accustomed meteorological statement, which, although a little late this season, may not be uninteresting to many of your readers. It gives the number of snow storms that have occurred and the quantity of snow that has fallen in Boston during the past season; and it is believed to be as accurate an account as could have been kept. The first snow storm was on the 23d day of November, 1866, at which period sufficient snow fell to make the ground white; and the succeeding ones were as follows: November 25, ground white; December 16, 3 inches; 17th, ½ inch; 20th, ¼ inch; 27th, 1 inch; and 31st, 3½ inches; January 1, 1867, 2 inches; 6th, 4 inches; 13th, ground white; 17th, 21 inches (toughest snow-storm experienced in Boston for many years); 21st, 6 inches; and 26th, ½ inch; February 4, ground white; 20th, 1½ inches; 21st, 4½ inches; and 23d, ½ inch; March 3d and 4th, 5 inches; 7th, 4 inches; 10th, ground white; 12th, little snow; 16th and 17th, 12 inches; April 24, little snow. Total number storms, 25. Depth of snow, 5 feet 9¼ inches.

My figures, for the past Twenty-four years, are as follows:

Years.	Number Storms.	Depth of Snow.
1843–44	44	7 feet 7½ inches.
1844–45	36	3 3
1845–46	27	3 7
1846–47	32	2 8
1847–48	27	2 1
1848–49	27	3 1
1849–50	33	2 11
1850–51	28	3 1
1851–52	38	6 8½
1852–53	20	3 2
1853–54	24	7 1¾
1854–55	35	3 7½
1855–56	28	4 5
1856–57	32	6 2
1857–58	14	2 11
1858–59	23	4 ½
1859–60	24	3 2¾
1860–61	34	6 6¼
1861–62	35	5 1½
1862–63	25	4 7⅞
1863–64	26	2 5
1864–65	32	3 3¼
1865–66	23	3 ½
1866–67	25	5 9¼

The whole number of snow storms in Boston for the past Twenty-four years is Six hundred and ninety-two; depth of snow during the same period, One hundred feet, seven and three-eighths inches.

The average number of snow storms during the above period (Twenty-four years) was a fraction less than Twenty-nine; and the average depths of snow is about Four feet and one-half inch. C. J. B. M.

Boston, June 19, 1867.

The Capture of the "Chesapeake."—*To the Editor of the Tribune:*—I notice in Frank Moore's *Rebellion Record* (in a number lately issued), a report of the capture of the *Chesapeake* from the Southerners, who rose on the crew and took the steamer into Nova Scotia, by Capt. Nickels, which is entirely at variance with the reports of the same affair as given by the Navy Department. Would it not be well to call the attention of the country to the point that the facts presented by Capt. Nickels are studiously suppressed in the Governmental accounts of the affair, and to suggest to Government the propriety of giving authentic history, or none at all.

Yours, truly, E. B., Jr.

St. Denis Hotel, June 17, 1867.

Lord Byron's Tomb.—A correspondent writes in corroboration of Mr. Doran's description of Hucknall Torkard Church, which contains the dilapidated tomb of Lord Byron, his mother, and daughter. The writer says that when the ecclesiastical dignitaries at Westminster refused sepulchre to Lord Byron in the ancient Abbey, and the poet's remains were removed to their present resting-place, Sir John Bowring gave an album to be kept as a record of the distinguished visitors to the Church of Hucknall Torkard. "It was there for many years in the keeping of "the sexton, and had become valuable from the "many interesting autographs which it con-"tained, when the sexton died, and a dispute "arose between his heir, the rector, and the church-"wardens, as to the possession of the book. Ul-"timately it was understood that it had been "decided that the rector was the legal custos, the "churchwardens being its owners." Subsequently, however, the album disappeared altogether, though it does not appear how. Our correspondent adds: "It was said to have been "sold clandestinely and conveyed to the United "States." Perhaps the present possessor of the

album is not acquainted with its history; or, knowing it, would not set its value as a heirloom against the justice of restoring the album to its rightful place. For this reason we have given publicity to our correspondent's communication. —*Pall Mall Gazette.*

A Survivor of the Revolution.—There lives in Noble County, Ohio, a survivor of the Revolution Army, John Gray. He was born at Fairfax Court House, Virginia, on the sixth of January, 1764, and is, consequently, in his One hundred and fourth year. His father fell at Yorktown, and the son, then quite a youth, immediately stepped into the ranks to take the place made vacant by the death of his father. Recently, on being asked why he enlisted so young, he replied, while the Revolution fire flashed in his eye: "How could I help it? Was "I not in the same county with Washington?" After serving with great gallantry to the close of the struggle for our independence, he was mustered out at Richmond, Virginia. He then returned to field labor, and the support of his widowed mother.

Mr. Gray has been married twice in Virginia and once in Ohio. One after another his family have passed to the tomb, and now, in his One hundred and fourth year, poor, aged, and infirm, he lives the last lone monument of the grandest generation the world has ever seen.

For Seventy-eight years he has been a faithful member of the Methodist Church. Mr. Gray is very poor. Owing to the neglect which so characterized the official records of the Revolutionary Army, no record of Mr. Gray's military services could be found. At length, however, Judge Bingham, of Ohio, having visited the old hero at his humble home, began to urge his case upon the attention of Congress, and during the last session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, a pension of Five hundred dollars was granted to the last survivor of the Revolution.

High Prices in Old Times and Supplies for the Ministers.—Rev. Solomon Lombard was the first settled minister of Gorham, Me. His annual salary was £53 6s 8d. He was ordained on the twenty-sixth of December, 1750. One hundred and twenty dollars were raised to defray the "expenses" of the ordination. The following, from the records of the town, is the list of "supplies" for that occasion:

1	Barrel of flour	£14	7s	6d
3	Bushels of apples	2	8	0
2	Barrels of cider	9	0	0
2	Gallons of brandy	5	0	0
1	Bottle of vinegar	0	5	0
2	Cheeses, per lb	0	0	6
54½	Pounds of pork, per lb	0	0	7
6	Candles	£0	1s	0d
1	Ounce of nutmegs	0	1	0
8	Fowls	1	16	0
29	Pounds of sugar	8	14	0
1	Teapot	1	10	0
4	Gallons of rum	5	4	0
2	Bushels of cranberries	2	0	0
1	Pound of tea	0	10	0
1	Pound of ginger	0	2	0
6	Gallons of molasses, per gal	0	2	8
4	Ounces of pepper	0	0	6

—*Boston Transcript.*

The Worcester Light Infantry.—Mr. Charles Tappan, of Brookline, writes the following reminiscences to the editor of the Worcester *Spy*:

I see that Gov. Lincoln claims to be the "sole "survivor of the original associates" of the Worcester Light Infantry. I cannot allow that to pass without comment, for among my most vivid and most pleasant recollections is the first meeting of the young men of Worcester, to form an Independent Infantry Company, Sixty-five years ago. Little did I *then* think that our first ensign, just returned home from college, would ever become the commander-in-chief of the militia of Massachusetts. Well do I remember his fine appearance. He should have been our captain; and his youth only induced us to prefer Capt. Thaxter, who had not much of the military in him.

The Worcester Light Infantry was rather democratic than otherwise, and in order to induce "Federalists" to join the company, it was necessary to make Enoch Flagg Lieutenant. With our new uniforms and red horse hair streaming in the wind from our helmets, we quite took the shine out of Capt. Slater's Artillery, the only company in Worcester to do escort duty "Inde-"pendent Day," before ours was formed. I can now see the valiant Captain with his rusty men and rusty guns, and his cue reaching to his gaiters. I can also see Captain Perry of the "militia," with his sword hanging behind him, and his men, "some in rags and some in tags," and some in shirt sleeves. But Worcester was a small place then and small things made people stare.

I wish I had known there was to be a "festi-"val," for had I known it, no small matter would have prevented my appearing amongst the grandchildren of the brave men who marched to Paxton and back again in the rain.

Connecticut Relics.—At a recent meeting of the Colony Historical Society, at New Haven, Thomas R. Trowbridge presented to the society a musket, powder-horn and pouch, which had seen service in the old French war of 1765, and which was used by his grandfather, Rutherford Trowbridge, in resisting the British attack on New Haven. Henry Hotchkiss also presented a mus-

ket, which, with Twenty-four rounds of cartridge and the Hessian who carried them, was captured on that occasion by his grandfather, Jonah Hotchkiss, who was armed with only an empty musket. Mr. Hotchkiss also presented an iron mask—an instrument of torture used in the punishment of slaves.—*Transcript.*

Provincial Records of New Hampshire.—Agreeably to a joint resolution of the Legislature, passed last June, Rev. Dr. Bouton, of Concord, was commissioned by the late Governor and Council, to edit and publish such of the early Provincial records and papers of New Hampshire as should be deemed expedient.

The Commissioner began his labors on the first of September last. We are informed that the first volume, containing the earliest Province papers, is now nearly ready for the press. Dr. Bouton estimates that the whole work will comprise about Seven volumes of Six hundred octavo pages each. He does not expect to be able to issue more than One volume a year, and to accomplish that, he suggests that the aid of a copyist will be required.

The materials for the work are found in the office of the Secretary of State, in the library of the New Hampshire Historical Society, among the Colonial records of Massachusetts, and the early records of Dover, Portsmouth, Hampton and Exeter. When completed it must be of great value to the State.

The Death of General A. P. Hill.—The special correspondent of the *New York Times*, who has been visiting the works around Petersburg, Virginia, gives the following account of the death of General A. P. Hill, in a letter dated the twenty-sixth of May:

"In connection with the defence of Fort Gregg, "I must also mention a fact which I learn from "General Mahone, in regard to the death of the "distinguished Confederate corps commander, A. "P. Hill. General Lee's headquarters were but "a short distance in the rear of Gregg, in a house "on the Boydton plankroad, between the fort and "the town. At the time Fort Gregg was carried, "Generals Hill and Mahone were in conversa-"tion with Lee at his headquarters. As the firing "grew nearer and nearer, Lee, intently listening "to the sounds, suddenly turned to Hill and said: "'How is this, General? Your troops are giv-"'ing way.' Upon this, General Hill mounted "his horse, dashed to the front, but while gallop-"ing down the road he suddenly came upon two "men in blue uniforms. 'Throw down your arms!' "shouted the General. But the men quickly "sprang behind a tree, and, levelling their pieces, "fired. Hill fell from his horse dead."

Washington's Chair.—At the dedication of the Washington Hall, Philadelphia, on the first of October, 1816, an address was delivered by John B. Wallace, Esq., who received the keys of the building. After the address, Richard Dale, Esq., President of the Society, arose from his seat (the same which General Washington occupied when President of the Convention whose deliberations resulted in the Federal Constitution), and, advancing to the front of the stage, solemnly dedicated the hall to the purposes for which it was erected. What became of this chair which Washington occupied whilst President of the Convention, is not known.—*Sunday Dispatch.*

Independence Hall.—Philadelphians are generally under the impression that all the portraits that adorn the walls of Independence Hall are the property of the city. This is an error, as some of them belong to other parties. The large full length portrait of William Penn, painted by Inman, is the property of the "Society for Com-"memorating the Landing of William Penn."—*Ibid.*

An Old Sign.—About Sixty years ago there was a tavern kept by one Hanna, on South street, opposite the old theatre, Philadelphia, which had for its signboard a picture representing the "Constitutional Convention of 1787," with portraits of the members of that body. This sign was painted by Matthew Pratt, father of the late Henry Pratt. Underneath the picture were these words: "These Thirty-eight great men have "signed the powerful deed, that better times to "*us* will very soon succeed." It is said that this sign, which was taken down in 1814, is yet in existence.—*Ibid.*

Gen. Henry Dodge, first Governor of the Territory of Wisconsin, and afterwards for many years a member of the U. S. Senate, died in Burlington, on the nineteenth of June, aged eighty-five years. He was one of the pioneers in Western civilization. Accompanied by Daniel Boone, he was often in conflict with the savages. The celebrated chief Black Hawk became his prisoner. In 1834, he was successfully employed by General Jackson to make peace with the red men of the frontier, and in the ensuing year commanded an important expedition to the Rocky Mountains. For these services he received from Congress a sword, and the thanks of the nation.

The History of Westchester County.—W. Bolton, Esq., Principal of the Ladies' Seminary in this village, is now preparing for the press a

new edition of his very interesting secular history of Westchester County The old one being exhausted, he proposes, after a thorough sifting of his materials, to furnish the public with a full and complete history of the Empire County of the Empire State, embracing every town, and containing a full detail of all topics of local and general interest, together with complete pedigrees of all the families identified with the County. We understand there is to be no curtailment of the old edition of 1848, but, on the contrary, a large edition of new and valuable matter.

Extraordinary Discovery below the Great Falls of the Potomac.—The Washington *Evening Union* of the eighth of July has a lengthy communication from Thomas C. Raffinson, Fellow of the Royal Society of North Antiq., Copenhagen, giving a description of a discovery made by him recently of a Runic inscription on a rock near Georgetown, which, translated, reads as follows:

"Here rests Syasy, or Suasu, the fair haired, a "person from the east of Iceland, the widow of "Kjoldr, and sister of Thorgr, children of the "same father, twenty-five years of age. May "God make glad her soul. 1051."

Upon digging in the earth at the foot of the rock a few human teeth and a bone, which crumbled upon being exposed to the air, two Roman coins, and three bronze trinkets, were found.

Above the Runic inscription the name of "W. "Langley, 1758," is carved. Mr. Raffinson considers the discovery of these things as unquestionable proof of the visits of the Icelandic voyagers to this continent, but it is still more remarkable, as confirming a statement made in an ancient manuscript which was dug out of the ruins of the ancient college at Skalholt, in Iceland, in which it is affirmed that, under the command of Herbardur, his countrymen sailed in a Southernly direction from Vineland, (or Martha's Vineyard,) where they wintered, and thence up a sea and various rivers, the ascent in one of which was stopped by a succession of falls, to which, from their shape and foamy appearance, they gave the name of Hvidsderk, or white shirt; and the MS. further states that in this neighborhood the illegitimate daughter of Snorri was killed by a small spear (or arrow) and buried near the spot where she fell.

It was the reading of this narrative which led Mr. Raffinson to explore the country around these falls, and his labors have been abundantly rewarded—if he has not been hoaxed.—*Richmond Examiner.*

XIII.—NOTES.

Extract from a Letter of E. G. Genet to the Editors of *The Albany Argus*, dated August 3d, 1823.*

The sense being thus altered would read so "that it was a story fabricated to answer politi-"cal purposes hostile &c."

In reality, Gentlemen, it was so and it originated in this way.—I had sent all the French Naval Forces & Fleet to New York, amounting to more than 10,000 men—The Republicans had a meeting in the Park to make arrangements for my reception—the federalists and all the English interest opposed it—King ascended the Hustings and said that he arrived from Philadelphia with John Jay and would prove that I was in variance with the President and had threatened to appeal to the people He was laughed at by the multitude and in the evening he put in the paper a certificate signed by him & John Jay affirming the existence of the threatened appeal—On my arrival the Committee who had come to address me mentioned with ridicule that certificate to me I read it took the pen and sent to all the papers a military denial of the lie —The certificate men did not like this mode of settling the matter which that step seemed to require and published that they had got their information from Col Hamilton—Hamilton hearing of it published that he had got it from Genl Knox—Knox said he had it from Govr Mifflin—Mifflin said he had it from Mr. Dallas—and Dallas settled the point as I have mentioned it—I have his affidavit and all the showings, and it is really astonishing that the story of the appeal should be reported as true by Marshal & other writers— "E G G"

Publications during the Revolutionary War.

Just published and to be sold by Powars and Willis, in Queen Street, The Fall of British Tyranny, or American Liberty Triumphant, The First Campaign. A Tragi-Comedy in Five Acts, containing twenty-six scenes, among which are the following, viz:

A pleasing scene between Roger and Dick, two shepherds near Lexington.

Clarissa &c. A very moving scene on the death of Dr. Warren, &c. in a chamber near Boston the morning after the battle at Bunker's Hill.

A humourous scene between the Boatswain and a Sailor on board a man of war, near Norfolk in Virginia.

* From the original draft, in the possession of his son, G. C. Genet, Esq., of New York.

Two very laughable scenes between the Boatswain, two Sailors and the Cook, exhibiting specimens of seafaring oratory and peculiar eloquence of those sons of Neptune, touching Tories, Convicts and black regulars; and between Lord Kidnapper and the Boatswain.

A very black scene between Lord Kidnapper and Major Cudgjo.

A religious scene between Lord Kidnapper, Chaplain and the Captain.

A scene, the Lord Mayor, &c, going to St. James's with the Address.

A droll scene, a council of war in Boston, between Lord Boston, Admiral Tombstone, Elbow Room, Mr. Caper, General Clinton and Earl Piercy.

A diverting scene between a Whig and a Tory

A spirited scene between General Prescot and Colonel Allen.

A shocking scene, a dungeon, between Colonel Allen and an officer of the guard.

Two affecting scenes in Boston after the flight of the Regulars from Lexington, between Lord Boston, messenger and officers of the guard.

A patriotic scene in the camp at Cambridge between the Generals Washington, Lee and Putnam, &c, &c.

With a dedication, preface, address of the Goddess of Liberty to the Congress, dramatis personæ, prologue, epilogue and a song in praise of King Tammany, the American Saint.

A truly dramatic performance interspersed with wit, humour, burlesque and serious matter which cannot fail of affording abundant entertainment to readers of every description—

The whole comprised in seventy one pages octavo, and a good type. Allowance to those who buy a number.—*N. E. Chronicle*, Boston, Sept. 12, 1776.

At the Post Office may be had, COMMON SENSE with the whole Appendix: the address to the Quakers: also the large additions, and a dialogue between the ghost of General Montgomery, just arrived from the Elysian Fields and an American delegate in a wood near Philadelphia: on the grand subject of American Independency.—likewise a quantity of quills.—*Independant Chronicle*, Boston, October 17, 1776.

SOCIETE DES BIBLIOPHILES DE GUYENNE.—A new society under the above name has recently been established in Bordeaux for the reprint or publication of a small number of copies, of works either scarce or unpublished and relating to the history of this Province or to the authors who belong to it.

* * * * * * *

The first volume which is to be published (we are informed it is nearly ready) is the new edition of a book which is extremely interesting for the history of America (now the object of so much uneasiness). It is *La Reprise de la Floride* by Capt. Dominique de Courgues.

This curious narrative was several times reprinted: Virgin de la Popelinière inserted various extracts from it in the Livre II of his work entitled: *Les Trois Mondes* (Paris 1582, 4to); Basanier published in 1586, *L'histoire notable de la Floride*, which was reprinted in 1835 in the *Revue Retrospective* in 1841. Mr. Ternaux Compans introduced it in his *Collections of Voyages, relations et memoires pour servir a l'histoire de la decouverte de' l'Amerique*—in 1853 the text published by Basanier was reproduced in one of the volumes of the *Bibliotheque Elzevirienne*, edited by the bookseller Janet.

Let us mention also the English translation published at London by Rich[d] Hakluyt in 1587 (4to, 64 leaves), a Latin version illustrated with forty-two engravings is included in the celebrated collections issued by the Brothers de Bry at Frankfort and so well known of all the Bibliophiles under the title of *Grand et petits voyages*.

But all these editions, all these translations were tinted with a radical blemish; the text reproduced from defective MSS. without criticism was imperfect. The new Editor, M. Tamizy de Larroque, has collated the edition of Basanier with a MSS. preserved in the Castle of Vayres (an estate belonging to the family de Courgues) and Four other MSS. in the Paris Imperial Library; the two best were precisely left aside by previous publishers, who have paid no attention to one bearing No. 6124 and had, it appears, not known the existence of the other No. 2145.—BERJEAU'S *Book Worm*.

February, 1867.

EARLY SETTLERS OF MAINE.—The following extracts from FORSTER'S *Life of Sir John Eliot*, London, 1864, will interest the antiquaries and genealogists of Maine.

Captain *Richard* BONYTHON was, with Lewis, one of the patentees of Saco, 1630.

Abraham JENNENS of Plymouth was early interested at Pemaquid—see THORNTON'S *Ancient Pemaquid*, Maine Historical Collections—and here we have him in a new and very interesting light: indeed the whole narrative discloses a wholly new and valuable illustration of the political affiliations and sympathies of Old and New England and that each party had its *habitat* here more distinctly than at home—

It seems that Gorges was, at first, right, and that only in his later life did he prove recreant to the cause— J. W. T.

"A° 1625. The Lord Chamberlain, Pembroke, "was made to convey assurance to Pennington, "and also to Sir Fernando Gorges and the other "masters of the merchantmen, that peace was "really to be made with the Protestants and that "war would be declared against Spain and Mi- "lan; wherefore they all were peremptorily, "and without reply, to obey the directions given "them. At the same time Buckingham wrote to "tell Nicholas that he was to wait in the Roads, "for that the ships *would* be delivered up; and by "a letter of the same date he told Pennington "that there was then on its way to him an ex- "press warrant from the King who was 'extreme- "'ly offended' with him, and whose orders, if he "now desired to make his peace, he must not fail "punctually to obey. Finally, the Royal War- "rant followed, formally requiring Pennington to "put his ship, the *Vanguard*, and all the other "seven ships, with their equipage, artillery and "ammunition, into the service of his dear brother "the Most Christian King; and, and in case of "backwardness or refusal on the part of the crews, "commanding him and others to use all means "possible to compel obedience, *even unto the "sinking of the ships.* 'See you fail not,' are the "closing words of the decisive document, 'as you "'will answer to the contrarie at the uttermost "'peril.'

"Little more remains to be told. For the third "time Pennington took his *Vanguard* into the "French harbour; and with him went this time, "with a desperate reluctance, the seven merchant "ships. One of the latter, notwithstanding, com- "manded by Sir Fernando Gorges, who became "thereafter a marked object for Baggs treacher- "ous hostility, broke through, and returned upon "learning that the promised assurance of peace "with the Protestants was false, and that the des- "tination of the fleet was no other than Rochelle. "On the other hand, Pennington, for himself and "the rest, doggedly obeyed the letter of the "King's Warrant, and delivered up the ships, and "their stores, without their crews. Declaring "for the last time that he would rather be hanged "in England for disobedience than fight himself, "or see his seamen fight, against their brother "Protestants of France, he quietly looked on "while the crews of all the ships deserted; left "every ship including his own to be manned by "Frenchmen; and came back to set himself "right with his countrymen."—i. 328, 329.

"Of course there is a stab behind the back for "some one in this letter also. It concludes: "'John Bonithon at Falmouth is still busy, I pray "'discountenance his proceedings and let the "'country perceave that neither his Lieutenant or "'the castell have ought to do with the Duke's "'Admiralty. I must abruptly conclude and "'say you have long been my friend I must there- "'be your servant, JAMES BAGG. Saltrum, my "'house, this 22d Sept. 1626'"

The "Lieutenant" and "Castle" is an allusion to Sir Fernando Gorges, already mentioned (*ante*, i. 329,) and to be hereafter referred to.—ii. 26.

"Bagg had reported Elliott as a recusant as "early as the middle of October 1626, yet not un- "til the beginning of June in the following year "was he finally deposited in the Gate-house. On "the 23d of May the Duke's man exultingly in- "formed the Duke that Elliott was at length gone "with Coryton to London 'now or never to re- "'ceave his reward;'* and on the 27th of the fol- "lowing month, Buckingham, leaving his most "active enemy so lodged in a London prison, "sailed for Rochelle."

"While yet Buckingham paused before his "great venture, and Bagg had to wait another "month before reporting that his principal oppo- "nent was 'laid by the heels,' there was other "things beside his fortune that this 'envie' "grudged Eliot for his own. His movements "were watched, his footsteps were dogged every- "where; and upon arrival of Lord Warwick in "Plymouth, where Eliot then was, repeated re- "ports of espial as to both were made to the "Duke and his Secretary. Truly there was little "to tell. Eliot's friendship with Warwick was "as notorious and and little dignified as the "Duke's own intimacy with Warwick's brother "Lord Holland. But those were days when men "could not meet as friends, if hostile to Bucking- "ham, without being suspected as conspirators; "and Warwick's patriotic purpose of serving "against Spain, which the Government had not "dared to resist, had yet in no respect abated the "animosity provoked by his refusal of the loan. "Here was Bagg's welcome to an Earl who had "come from Plymouth in command of an expidi- "tion for the service of his country and was about "to sail with it as its Admiral.

"His Lordship's resting place," [at Plymouth] "he informs his most gracious Lord, 'is at the "'house of one Jennens, Eliot's friend; and his "'lopp's invited famyliars, as soone as ever he put "'foote ashore, was that pattren of ingratitude "'Elliot and malitious Corryton; wch two are as- "'sociated with a man noe less true to his friend, "'Sir Fernando Gorges. All which seems to be "'reputed to be his lordship's bosome friendes;

* "MS. S. P. O. BAGG TO BUCKINGHAM, *from Plymouth.* "In the same letter he puffs off what he has been doing for the "Duke 'by myself and without ye help of Sr John Drake: let "'him reeceave ye reward of his owne: myne deserves nothinge "'from your graee, for to you I am indebted by lieffe and what "'I am.' There is also an allusion explaining one eause of the "delay in bringing Eliot before the Counell table. 'I doubt "'not but the eommission for Elliot is amended.' He further "gratifies his mean nature by assuring his Excellence 'that "'Eliot, Coryton and Sir Fernando Gorges were the only men "'that gave serviee and visite to ye E. of Warwicke *who little "'loves your grace.*'"—ii. 63.

"'and the true reporters of his lordship's little "'affeccon to his magisties service, and greater to "'your graces enemies.' Expressing then his "much disquiet at the doings interposed to the "the report of the Cornish Commissioners for the "loan, he declares his belief that 'it will now be "'shortlie sent, and then I hope his majesty will "'be pleased to make those that thus disaffec-"'tionately disserve him examples for tymes to "'come. I pticuller to your grace thus much "'because you may discearne the lo. of War-"'wick's wayes which breeds muche wonder in "'these parts, that he elects and invites those to "'be his friends!' He closes with characteristic "assurance that he will be watchful as a spy "upon his master's enemies, and faithful as "a servant in obedience to his master. 'I will "'look upon their ways; and by myne they or "'whoe els y^t^ obserue them shall know me to "'be y^r^ grace his true and humble servant

"'JAMES BAGG.'"

"That was the 20th of April. Six days later "the same worthy wrote to his 'beloved friend' "the Duke's Secretary, to tell him that the 'Earl "'of Warwick and Ellyott still comfort'; and "in connection therewith 'that Sir Jo Drake's "'collector Mr Jeninges, the lord of Warwicke's "'servant, and Elliot's right hand, now showes "'himself and his regard to the duke.' To the "'duke himself he wrote, the same day, to inform "him that 'y^e^ Ea. of Warwick and his friend El-"'liott are still together and still walke in the way "'they entered.' Three weeks afterwards he "sent another like report; with new scandal as "to 'Sir Fernando Gorges' waies not straight to "'serve your grace,' and with intimation that he "should himself be in waiting on his Grace's "arrival at Portsmouth. On the 25th his Grace "arrived; and, when three days had passed, "Bagg's worthy and beloved friend at the Ad-"miralty was made acquainted with what chiefly "had been the subject of the conference."—ii. 65-67.

XIV.—QUERIES.

[Our readers are particularly invited to avail themselves of the advantages afforded by this Department of the Magazine, for the solution of any doubtful, *historical* question.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

WAR IN DISGUISE, OR THE FRAUDS OF THE NEUTRAL FLAGS.—I am in possession of a reprint, published by Riley, N. Y. (1806), of the above work. The American Preface attached to it advertises that a formal answer to the book will be issued:—I desire to know whether any such answer was published; and if so, when and by whom? PHILO.

NEW YORK CITY.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS AND HIS WOODEN LEG.—A reader of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE wishes to be informed, through what circumstances or affliction, or by what accident, Gouverneur Morris lost his leg. E.

NEW YORK.

JOHN LANGDON.—The following advertisement appeared in a New England newspaper in the year 1776. Was the auctioneer a relative of John Langdon of New Hampshire?

"To THE PUBLIC in General; and all his *good* "*friends* in special JOHN LANGDON in FLEET "STREET, offers his service in the capacity of an "Auctioneer. Puffing is not his Talent; but he "begs leave to say this much: As he is determ-"ined to exert himself and use his utmost En-"deavours to give Satisfaction to his employers: "so he humbly hopes that in point of *Fidelity*, "*Assiduity*, and *Dexterity*; they will find him to "come not short of the FIRST THREE.

"N. B. Moderate Commissions will content "him: and all Favours will be gratefully ac-"knowledged."

"*The First Three*" probably refers to the mighty men of King David. D.

PHILADELPHIA.

THE TRAITOROUS CORRESPONDENCE OF HUTCHINSON AND OLIVER.—Is it positively known from whom Franklin got the private letters of Governor Thomas Hutchinson and Lieutenant-governor Oliver, showing a traitorous correspondence with Thomas Whately, the Private Secretary to Grenville, and which caused such excitement in England, and the bitter abuse of Franklin by Wedderburn? SPARKS shows that Dr. Hosack was wrong in his *Biographical Memoir of Dr. Williamson*, in assuming that the latter secured and carried them to Dr. Franklin. Nor did the duel between William Whately, the brother to Thomas, with John Temple, who is rumoured to have abstracted them, prove any thing. Temple always denied the charge. Franklin never told, although he declared: "I, alone, am the person "who obtained and transmitted to Boston the "letters in question." EDWARDUS.

AUTHOR OF A POEM IN 1774.—In the *Massachusetts Spy* of September 22, 1774, is an able poem entitled, "AN ELEGY ON THE TIMES," of which the following is a portion:

"While peers enraptured hail the unmanly wrong
"See Ribaldry, vile prostitute of shame,
"Stretch the bribed hand and prompt the venal tongue,
"To blast the laurels of a Franklin's fame,
"But will the Sage—whose philosophic Soul
"Controlled the lightning in its fierce career,
"Heard unappalled the aerial thunders roll,
"And taught the bolts of vengeance where to steer."

Can any of your readers inform me who was the author of this poem? LOGAN.
NEW YORK.

DR. BENJAMIN RUSH.—The controversy respecting General Joseph Reed having drawn Dr. Rush's name into the question, I would beg leave to ask what authority exists for the charge frequently made that Dr. Rush was the author of the anonymous letter against General Washington which was sent to Patrick Henry. C. H. J.
PHILADELPHIA.

FIRST-BORN IN NEW-NETHERLAND.—Who were the first children, of either sex, born from Christian Parents, within the present bounds of the State of New York; where were they born; and when? DICK.
BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

METHODIST HYMN-BOOK.—Can any of your "early American Methodist" readers inform me, through your columns, when the *first* edition of the hymn-book prepared by Coke and Asbury was published; what was its exact title—including publisher's name and address—and *where* a copy may be seen? A CLASS-LEADER.
ITHACA, N. Y.

INDIAN INTELLIGENCE.—I desire to know of an instance where a full-blooded Indian has shown any remarkable talent in any art or science;—even shown excellence as an imitator, or calculator. SCHOOLMASTER.

CONNEMARA STOCKINGS.—Tom Moore mentions that when he was introduced to President Jefferson by Mr. Merry, the British Minister, he, as Mr. Merry had been, was struck with the homely costume of the President, especially with his Connemara Stockings. Allow me, Mr. Editor, to ask your Irish readers, what are Connemara Stockings? I know what Brian O'Linn's breeches were composed of, but I am supremely ignorant anent CONNEMARA STOCKINGS. I.
NEW YORK CITY.

WILLIAM HUTCHINSON.—The distinguished editor of the *Bay Colony Records*, Dr. N. B. Shurtleff, in an article on "The Old Corner Bookstore," which was published in *The Sunday Times* of this city, of the 14th inst., while speaking of the husband of the celebrated Anne Hutchinson, says he was "subsequently the Governor of Rhode "Island," and that he was "banished from the "Massachusetts colony, on account of the pe-"culiar theological views of his remarkable "wife." I have entertained a different view concerning each of these subjects, but the Doctor's standing as an antiquary unsettles those opinions. Will THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE please inform me what the facts were, in these cases? T.
BOSTON, July 15, 1867.

SIR FRANCIS BERNARD, GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.—On the first agitation, which culminated in our Independence, Sir Francis Bernard was Governor of the Province of Massachusetts; and I require proof of his alleged insolence and insufferable arrogance: for he was not only charged with these by the colonists, but also with systematically misrepresenting them to the Government at home. In fact, he was held in aversion by almost all. And it is true that when he was recalled, he was subject to very rude treatment from some of the leading men in England, who were opposed to severe or hostile proceedings against the Colonies. Thus he was driven out of the Smyrna Coffee House, in London, by General Ogelthorpe, who told him that he was a dirty, factious scoundrel, and smelled cursed strong of the hangman, and had better leave the room as unworthy to mix with gentlemen, but he would give him the satisfaction of following him to the door had he any thing to reply.

Now, I am not so well versed in the history of our Revolution as I ought to be, but I challenge your Massachusetts readers to produce any thing but what would prove Sir Francis Bernard an indefatigable, faithful and just officer of the Crown. Let those readers consider what were his duties in connection with what was going on around him, and then answer my challenge by producing "chapter and verse" against him.
CAROLUS.
NEW YORK CITY.

XV.—REPLIES.

POPHAM'S "memory is truly *consecrated* by "one of the most magnificent monuments ever "erected!" EDWARD E. BOURNE. (*H. M.*, New Series, i., 234, 302.) Whether the monument was *desecrated* (profaned) or *consecrated* (hallowed) by association with so vile a memory, admits of as little dispute, as does the ridiculous use of the word "consecrated" by the Popham orator. The literal meaning of the word is to make, or cause to be, holy, or sacred; and so it is written on grave stones, "Sacred," or dedicated "to the memory of," not that the "*mem*-"*ory*" of the dead is "consecrated" thereby, for there is nothing more proverbially false than Epitaphs, of which Popham's is a notable instance, with the additional misfortune of being

made a cause of laughter by his unhappy Eulogist. Cumberland's citations from Horace and Cicero are against him, so far as they are in point—The marble, not the memory, is consecrated. The marble does not consecrate, but *is* "consecrated" or dedicated.

He says the "original of our English word" [consecrate] "sometimes has the sense of perpet-"uation by giving the immortality of honor!" Here is an addition to philological learning. Will "CUMBERLAND" give us the "original" of "con-"secrate," and show how his definition or "sense" is derived?

By the way, Kennebec Colony was *not* the "initial enterprise" under the Corporation of 1606, for the other penal Colony, Virginia, had the wretched priority; it was *not* the first English Colony in New England, for Gosnold's had a priority of five years. The "great principles" connected with it were only to solve the question whether or not "mynes" were there, and if discovered, whether or not they could be profitably worked by the "enforced" labor of criminals, and thus incidentally ridding England of its social "scum." The idea of a penal colony succeeded in Virginia, but not in the North.

BOSTON. ?SEDIR DIUQ.

PRISON-SHIPS, (*H. M.*, x., 223.)—Our correspondent WALE BOGT asks if *ships* were ever employed by the Americans as prisons; and as no answer has been given, I beg to say that the Senate of New York, on Tuesday, the thirteenth of September, 1777, voted "That his Excellency "the Governor be informed, that the Time of "Service of Captain Schoonmaker's Company, "who were engaged to guard the State Prisoners "confined in the Gaol at Kingston, AND ON BOARD "THE FLEET PRISON, will expire this Day; and "that his Excellency be requested immediately "to provide for the Continuance of a Guard for "the purpose aforesaid, in such way as he shall "think proper; and that this Senate will concur "with the Honorable House of Assembly, in "making the necessary Provision for defraying "the Expence thereof." *Journal of the Senate*, Edit., 1777, 19. H. B. D.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

THE FIRST BOUND BOOK PRINTED BETWEEN SENECA LAKE AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN, (*H. M.*, New Series, i., 194.)—My venerable friend, Henry O'Rielly, Esq., claims this title for *Political Essays*—12° Canandaigua 1812. But is not the press established by the Hon. and Rev. Gabriel Richard, at Detroit, entitled to the palm? If being so much further West should decide the question between two books of the same date, Detroit can claim the honor for this volume, and I do not know but that she can go still further back.

Epitres | et | Evangiles | pour | tous les Dimanches et Fetes de | L'Année. | Nouvelle Edition. | Imprimée sur celle de Québec 1802 approuvée | par Mgr. P. Denaut Eveque de la Même | Ville. | Detroit. | Imprimé par T. Mettez. | 1812

Epistles | and | Gospels | for | all Sundays and Holidays | throughout the Year. | New Edition | Printed from the 6th Edition of Dublin 1794 | & first published by the English College at | Rhemes 1582. | Detroit. | Printed by T. Mettez. | 1812. |

12° 396 pp.

As this has escaped Biblical Bibliographers, *quorum pars fui*, it may be well to make a note of it. J. G. S.

NEW YORK CITY.

THE OLD BULL'S-HEAD TAVERN, (*H. M.*, x., 320.)—Our correspondent CLEAVER enquired when this celebrated tavern was torn down and what is the present number of its site; and as no answer has yet appeared I beg to remark that when the Bowery theater was destroyed by fire, the third time, on Sunday morning, the eighteenth of February, 1838, this ancient building, then known as THE THEATER HALL and kept as a porter-house by Bradford Jones, with an oyster-cellar under it, kept by Levi T. Dame, and known as No. 50 Bowery, was gutted and portions of the walls overthrown.

It was subsequently repaired and re-occupied as a porter-house, a portion of the walls of the old house serving in the new structure; and it is now known as the Atlantic Garden, No. 50 Bowery. H. B. D.

HARLEM, May 18, 1867.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.,

DEAR SIR: At your request I correct the slight error in the note upon Doctor JOHANNES LA MONTAGNE, (*H. M.*, i., 36.)

His first wife was RACHEL DE FOREST, and his second AGNIETJE (*Agnes*) TEN WAERT, widow of ARENT CORSSEN STAM. "By the latter he had "no children" *who survived infancy.*

Montagne bore a prominent part in the first settlement of Harlem and will be the subject of special notice in connection with the history of this place. Therefore excuse my present brevity and believe me,

Yours truly,

JAS. RIKER.

Slaves in the Revolutionary Army.—The following extract from the *Journals of the Senate of New York*, (Edit. 1777, pp. 77, 78,) Wednesday, the eleventh of March, 1778, will illustrate the subject enquired about by our correspondent Wale Bogt, (*H. M.*, I. x., 223.)

"A Petition of *David Belknap*, was read, set-"ting forth, among other Things, 'That in the last "'Levy of Militia to go to Fort *Montgomery*, "'before it was taken, the Petitioner was drafted "'to go: That the Petitioner sent his Slave in "'his Stead, who faithfully performed his Duty, "'until the Day on which the Fort was taken, "'when the Petitioner went in order to relieve him: "'That the Petitioner made Application to the "'Commanding Officer of the Regiment to which "'his Slave belonged, to discharge him, as the "'Petitioner came to relieve him: which was "'refused, as being contrary to General Orders "'for any Man to leave the Fort: That the Peti-"'tioner exerted himself to save the Fort until "'Evening, when the Petitioner made his Escape; "'but his Slave was made Prisoner, and is since "'dead; and praying a Restitution adequate to "'the Value of his Servant lost, as aforesaid' "*Ordered*, That the Petition lie on the Table for "the perusal of the members." H. B. D.

Biographical Memoirs (*H. M.*, i., 302.) Your correspondent Brattleboro is informed that the author of this work, about whom he inquired, was John Corry.

There were Fifty or more editions of the work of which the first was printed in 1800.

84 Nassau street, New York. J. Sabin.

XVI.—BOOKS.

1.—Recent Publications.

1.—*The Works of Anne Bradstreet in Prose and Verse.* Edited by John Harvard Ellis Charlestown Abram E Cutter 1867 Octavo, pp. lxxvi., 434. Price $10.00

Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, the earliest writer of poetry among the females in America, was the daughter of Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, and wife of Governor Simon Bradstreet, of the same Colony. She was born in 1612–13; married at the age of Sixteen; emigrated to America in the spring of 1630; and died in August, 1672, leaving behind her a good name, both as a neighbor and a Christian.

She amused herself, during moments of leisure, by the exercise of her parts as a writer of both Prose and Verse; and in the early period in which she lived, in a community which was widely separated from the world of literature, the daughter of one Governor and the wife of another—both of Massachusetts, and within the Boston "Ring," of that date—there need be no surprise that she was considered by those of New England, the world over, as "the Tenth Muse "lately sprung up in America," and her works as "compiled with great variety of VVit and "Learning, full of delight."

A collection of these Pieces, in 16mo, was published in London, in 1650; and a second Edition of the same, *revised in such a manner as to suit the change in English politics produced by the Restoration of the Stuarts*, also in 16mo, was published in Boston, in 1678. The third Edition, in Octavo, was printed, also in Boston, in 1758; and now, more than a Century later, in the Royal Octavo before us, the fourth appears in all the elegance of the finest modern typography.

In this Edition, the Second Edition has been strictly followed even to the spelling, punctuation, and typographical mistakes; and the paging is also preserved in Brackets, in the margin. Carefully prepared foot-notes mark the variations between the Two Editions; large additions have been made from a manuscript volume, now published for the first time; an elaborate Introduction increases the interest of the collection; and a very minute Index—that great friend of a busy man—closes the volume.

Of the Works of Mrs. Bradstreet, when brought to the test of a high standard of merit, very little can be said that is favorable. The greater portion of them is only a transposition into doggerel Verse of what Sir Walter Raleigh had previously written in better Prose; or what, in vastly better taste, the authoress had probably read, also in good Prose, in Plutarch's *Lives*, or Usher's *Annals*, or the Breeches Bible. Yet, when all the circumstances under which they were written shall be considered, they will be valued for their quaintness of expression and as a specimen of the first fruits of American literature.

It is seldom that a writer enjoys the favor of such an Editor as Mrs. Bradstreet has secured in Mr. Ellis; and it is still more rare to find one who discharges his duties with so much intelligence, industry, and great good judgment.

As a specimen of typography it is truly beautiful; and the wood-cut frontispiece, by Marsh, is a perfect gem. Mr. Cutter has earned the thanks of students as well as collecters by the issue of this volume; and we earnestly hope that his enterprise will be liberally rewarded.

The Edition numbered Two hundred and fifty copies, all of the same size.

2.—*The Old Indian Chronicle;* being a collection of exceeding rare Tracts, written and published in the time of King Philip's War, by persons residing in the Country. To which are now added an Introduction and Notes, by Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Samuel A. Drake, 1867. Small quarto, pp. xii., 333.

The veteran, SAMUEL G. DRAKE, more than Thirty years ago, published a small "eighteen-"mo," containing *Two* tracts, but there was then no taste for such works and, therefore, "no De-"mand for them. The entire Edition, therefore, "lay some Three years on hand, excepting what "were gratuitously distributed;" and when, subsequently, *Three* other Tracts were thrown into his hands he printed them uniformly with the others and, having added other material, he gave to the whole the title of *The Indian Chronicle*, which it has since borne.

He has, since 1836, added still more tracts to the Five; and now, in the closing years of his well-spent but unrewarded life, he finishes the work which he began nearly Forty years ago, by sending to the press the volume before us—may we all, as we shall approach the end of our labors, be permitted to gather and put into book-form, as well and as satisfactorily as Mr. Drake has done, the results of labors which the present generation has not appreciated and which the next will receive only as a trust for those which shall follow it.

The volume before us contains Twelve pages of preliminary matter and One hundred and eighteen of Introduction; and these are followed by exact re-prints of *Seven* of the early Tracts referred to.

The Introduction referred to traces the origin of these Puritanic Wars against the Indians to other causes than a hankering for Territory; and the arrogance and avarice of the Puritan Fathers are assigned as the primary causes of what, subsequently, was so disastrous—he has also frankly admitted, what has long since been shown by Mr. Moore to have been true, that a thirst for man-stealing on the part of the Whites had a great deal to do with the matter. Considerable attention is also paid by him to the possible origin of the Indians—evidently losing sight of the fact that they were *men*, possessing the feelings of men, and having, like the Puritans and Pilgrims themselves, their origin in old grandmother Eve; and the progress and effect of the noble struggle of those Indians for the support of their "nationality"—"for the life of their "Nation"—is told with great precision.

The Present State of New-England, published in 1675, *A Continuation of the State of New-England*, published in 1676, *A New and Further Narrative of the State of New-England* and *A True Account of the most Considerable Occurrences that have happened in the Warre*, (the latter, probably, by the Apostle, Eliot,) both published in the same year, *The Warr in New-England visibly ended*, (probably by Richard Hutchinson,) published in 1677, *News from New England*, and *A Farther Brief and True Narration of the late Wars risen in New-England*, both published in 1676, follow, with an ample supply of Illustrative Notes and the always necessary appendage of a good Index.

As these Tracts are original, contemporary authorities on the subject of which they treat, and have been re-produced with all the careful, pains-taking industry and skill of one of the most accomplished scholars in New-England, they ought to be welcomed, even in this degenerate age, by every one who is not already demoralized by the "yellow-covered literature" which is overflowing the land and destroying the virtues of the People: whether they shall meet so much success or not, our venerable friend has our earnest congratulations that another addition has thus been made to that monument by which, for a longer period than by brass or marble, his memory shall be kept fresh among those who shall come after us.

The volume is one of those dainty affairs, on laid, tinted paper, which collectors contend for; and although the printer has left no record of his name or locality, we strongly suspect that Joel Munsell of Albany is entitled to the credit of having printed it. At any rate, until one more entitled to the honor shall claim it, let Joel have it.

3.—*A Golden Wedding and the Dinsmore Genealogy, from about* 1620 *to* 1865. Augusta, [*Me.*]: 1867. Octavo, pp. 24.

In the days of the Pilgrim Fathers there seems to have lived in Scotland, "a wealthy farmer" named DINSMORE, one of whose sons, in a pet, is said to have left his home and settled in Ireland. A son of the latter emigrated to America and settled in Maine—one of those reprobates, it may be, of whom Mr. Poole has said so much.—This Dinsmore suffered the penalty endured by other pioneers, and finally removed to Londonderry, in New Hampshire; but those of whom we write were *not* of him.

About 1745, another Irish-Scotchman, a nephew of the former and bearing the same name, also settled in Londonderry; and from him, through an intervening generation, sprang Mr. ARTHUR DINSMORE, of Anson, Maine, whose Golden Wedding is recorded in this tract.

The latter was married to PATTY HOUGHTON, on the tenth of September, 1815; has had Eleven children, Twenty-five grand-children, and Four great-grand-children; and still lives, we believe, to enjoy the reward of a well-spent life.

The *Genealogy* is by no means complete—indeed, it should be called a Genealogy of Two of the Seven children of the second emigrant, without alluding to the first, instead of a *Dinsmore Genealogy from* 1620 *to* 1865.

Although this tract was printed for private circulation, only, no regard has been had, in its

preparation, to the beauties of modern typography; and it will not, therefore, stand the test to which such works are generally subjected.

4.—*History of the City of New York.* By Mary L. Booth. Illustrated. In Two volumes. New York: W. R. C. Clark. 1867. Octavo, pp. 892.

Miss Booth's *History of New York* has been so long before the public that we need say nothing of its general merits nor of the usefulness to which it is so well adapted.

In the edition before us the patient and industrious authoress has cancelled the latter portion of the previously issued volume and added more than a hundred pages of new matter, the latter relating to the events of the past Ten or Twelve years, in which New York has been so conspicuous. It is thus, undeniably, the most complete, as it was before the best, general history for popular use of the great city of New York.

It will not be expected that such a work will be without fault; but we know that such faults are not the result of any want of diligence nor of any intention to mislead. We wish we could say as much for every other, so called, History. We beg to invite the attention of the Authoress to the following, which she may consider of sufficient importance to be corrected in a new edition:

Der Smit's Vly was the name given to other portions of the present line of Pearl-street than the site of the Fly-market, to which she has confined it, (*p.* 74;) the first horse-mill seems to have been elsewhere than on South William-street and the first wind-mill elsewhere than on State-street, (*p.* 95;) it is very doubtful if Martin Crygier's tavern was opposite the Bowling-green, (*p.* 96;)—it is quite certain that the old "KING'S "ARMS TAVERN" was not, as she supposes, (*pp.* 96, 327, 414;) the Fort was demolished in the summer of 1790, not in 1787—at any rate, the stone was not until then dug out of the ruins, (*p.* 99;) the view of New Amsterdam, on page 174, is of about the date 1650, not of 1674; the small size of the house-lots could not have justified the remark, on page 178, that, under the Dutch, "every house was *surrounded* by a garden," and, besides, every view of New Amsterdam contradicts the statement; *der Waal* was not built to protect the town "from the *washing of the tides*," as Miss Booth supposes, (*p.* 189,) but to shelter it from savage enemies—the protection from the tides to which she refers was *der Schœyinge*; *der Strant* was not bounded by our State-street, as Miss Booth supposes, (*p.* 321,) but by what are now our Whitehall, Pearl and Broad streets and the East-river as it then was; "the Methodist *denomination*," referred to on page 399, was just as much so, and no more, than are the Ritualists of to-day and were the Puseyites of a few years ago—all alike being only parties WITHIN *the Established Church*; the Declaration of Independence did not, as Miss Booth supposes, (*p.* 492,) "transform" New York, into any other body whatever, since her delegates did not assent to that Declaration, and her connection with the Crown was severed only when, on the *ninth* of July, her *Provincial Congress at White Plains*, directly resolved to do so; Colonel Roger Morris did not live at Morrisania, as stated on page 506, but on Manhattan island; "impregnable" is a very strong word to apply to the hills of North Castle, in Westchester County, (*pp.* 506, 507;) the narrative of the sufferings on the *Jersey*, (*pp.* 532, 540,) is somewhat too highly colored, if the Report of the Committee of Officers was worth anything; it is not very certain that "the mass of "the people," as we understand the phrase, had any such sympathy with James Duane as is intimated on page 574, "the New Jail" and "the "old Provost" were different names for *the same* building, not for *two distinct* buildings, as is intimated on page 580; "each State" was *not* "constituted an independent Sovereignty BY the "Articles of Confederation," as is said on page 586: they were necessarily such "Sovereignties," in common with every "State" in Christendom, in every age of the World; and they were so from the moment of the adoption of the Resolution of Independence, in 1776. If Miss Booth had read the original authorities for herself, instead of at second-hand, she would have spared her readers the infliction of pages 586 and 587, concerning the state of the country, under the Confederation; and we think she will find some other origin for the project for a Convention, than James Madison, if she will read the Journals of the Legislature of New York. We fancy, also, that "Washington's life in New York" can hardly be said to have been "simple and unostentatious," as it is described on page 596; and that Genet was *superseded* but not *recalled*, as is said on page 608; etc. We are not disposed to find fault with the worthy Authoress for these errors, if errors they are: we are very much more disposed to wonder that she has done so well, in so difficult an undertaking; and to thank her for her perseverance in what, we fear, will never afford a just compensation for her time and labor.

5.—*Address delivered Wednesday, 28th November*, 1866, *in Feller's Hall, Madalin, township of Red Hook, Duchess County, N. Y. by Brevet Maj.-Gen. J. Watts dePeyster* (*S. N. Y.*) *upon the occasion of the inauguration of a monument erected by "this immediate neighborhood, (Tivoli-Madalin,) to her defenders who lost their lives in suppressing "the Slaveholders' Rebellion and in sustaining the Government of the People, for the People, by the People.*" New York: 1867. "Two hundred copies printed as Manuscript for "Private Distribution, by order of 'the Soldiers' Monument "Association,'" Octavo. pp. 130, lx., XX.

We have been favored with a copy of this very

rare pamphlet, by our friend, the Orator of the Day; and we have glanced over its pages with considerable interest and some amusement.

Its Title, copied above, tells of the occasion which led to the Address and of the Author of the Address; and as it was a "neighborhood" affair, participated in by the "neighbors" generally, to commemorate the public services and fidelity *unto death* of some of the sons, and brothers, and husbands, and fathers, of others who then lived in that "neighborhood,"—"her Defenders "WHO LOST THEIR LIVES," are the words of the inscription on the monument—we felt curious to see how the subject was handled and amused at the result.

Opening with an allusion to his personal interest in the neighborhood, the Orator followed his subject by glancing at the zeal with which the Town of Red-hook had sustained the Federal authorities during the War; and by citing, in grim burlesque, Beranger's lines on what was poetically assumed to be the Supremacy of American *Law* and on the very much diluted Sanctity of "*Man and his Rights*," in our happy land. He told of the process, during Sixty-three years, by which "the infernal agencies" have been at work, in our Christian country, "to enlarge the Slave-"power and to produce Secession;" of the ignorance of those to whom he spoke, who seem never to have read the papers and were therefore "without the remotest idea" of this tremendous and long-lived undertaking; and of their ignorance, also, of the "degradation" entailed by Slavery, notwithstanding the Orator himself was quite a good-sized boy when Slavery was abolished on the spot where he stood, and the effects of that defunct institution were sufficiently evident in their ignorance of current events during the preceding Sixty-three years, with which, a moment before, he had twitted his hearers.

John Brown was also glanced at, and his offence apologized for and considered as "judicial "murder," as if the Law should not be as sacredly observed in Virginia as in New York; the colors of the Republic were shot at with *Eleven* distinct volleys of verse and as many more of rhetoric prose—fortunately, without hitting them;—and the insurrection was accompanied in its progress, by the Orator, mounted on a very high pair of stilts.

Very properly, on the fourteenth page, the Orator descended to *terra firma*, and recited, as was his duty, the profusion of strong arms which Red-hook sent to the field, in the earliest days of the struggle; but, on the seventeenth page, he wandered again from Red-hook to Big Bethel; and raked over the ruins of Fort Fisher in search of a "glory" which not even he has yet discovered. He talked profusely, also, of "principles"—*political* "principles"—as tested by arms and "found "wanting;" as if such "principles" were governed by the same laws which give value to, or condemn, a breech-loader or a monitor: he told of the substitution of the Flag of the United States, on the Capitol at Richmond, for the State Flag of Virginia, as an evidence that the "States" no longer possess any "Rights" which the United States are bound to recognize: and he echoed the description everywhere given to "the Gov-"ernment," by the friends of authority—and never so often as by the Loyalists during the War of the American Revolution; of "the best "Government on earth," which the thoughtless and the ignorant, forgetting that of which they care the least, are so fond of prating.

The Orator next examined the conduct of the War generally; and here, in his minute criticism of men and movements, without recourse to claptrap and closing his eyes on Buncombe, he did well—indeed, in such an undertaking, when separated from those who are partizans and tied down to the naked, unquestionable Truth, he has very few equals.

In closing, the Monument and those whom it commemorated were briefly referred to; during the progress of which *Nineteen* separate and distinct handfuls of verses were thrown, unmercifully, at the deceased—enough, certainly, to have smothered them if they had not been dead already.

As a whole, this Address displays an untiring industry and a wide range of knowledge, in military affairs, in its Author; but it also displays among his faults, both prejudice and forgetfulness. There is, for instance, an undue, if not an indelicate, excess of panegyric on members of his own family, not one of whom, if we understand it correctly, came within the legitimate range of his subject; and to the memory of not one of them, legitimately, as a "Defender" of "this immediate neighborhood," was the monument erected. There is, also, an uncalled-for, if not indelicate, train of accusations against one of the great political parties of the Country and a similarly uncalled-for, if not indelicate, laudation of the other—*uncalled for*, because "this neigh-"borhood," *as a neighborhood, regardless of party*, had sent out the men to the War, erected the monument to the memory of those of them who had "lost their lives" in the service, and assembled for the purpose of dedicating that structure; and *indelicate*, because in the beginning of the Address, the Town had been described by himself as largely Democratic in its political sympathies —if we do not mistake, also, his own father is of that particular political faith.

We are perfectly aware of the fashion of the day, among those who regard a Party success as more important than a support of the majesty of the Truth; yet we are acquainted with no one

who can better afford to be perfectly honest on political subjects, than the Author of this Address. If the unwavering Loyalty to "the best of Gov-"ernments," for which his family has ever been so honorably distinguished, had not furnished a sufficient reason for the *faithful* execution of such an undertaking as this, the Patriotism of the staunch old Democratic Republican family of Livingston, to which he is allied, could have done so; and he, therefore, better than most men, could have risen among his neighbors and told them, usefully, what he intimates they do not know, of the conflict between the Two antagonistic *but not Partizan* elements, which has been unceasingly waged for the mastery, during very many more than "Sixty-three years," and, notwithstanding the recent Insurrection and its suppression, is still undetermined. He has preferred, however, to become a Partizan rather than to remain a Patriot; and because the Truth of History was respected by him, less than were the demands of his Party, we condemn him.

There is a "Supplement" to this *Address*, in which we find Chapter I. of a "contemplated" *History of the Campaigns of the great American War;* sketches of several of the Officers and men who went from Red-hook to the field; a Chapter on "The Battle of Gettysburg;" a history of the CLth. Regiment of New York Volunteers; a Chapter on "Negro Troops;" the "Annual "Reports of the Ulster Guard, XXth. N. Y. S. M." for 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, and 1866; and "Reports of Killed and Wounded in action," of the same Regiment, for 1862, 1863, and 1864; and a second Supplementary sheet of Twenty pages contains Chapter II. of the proposed *History of the Campaigns of the great American War*, before referred to.

As a specimen of typography, it is beneath contempt when its character as a "private-print" is considered. There is no title-page, except on the cover; the type is battered and wretchedly composed; the pages without shape, where shape is recognized, and regardless of register; and the whole appearance indicates a very rural, newspaper-office origin.

As we said, the edition numbered Two hundred copies; and they were circulated privately.

6.—*A Commentary of the Holy Scriptures:* Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with special reference to Ministers and Students. By John Peter Lange, D.D. Translated from the German, and Edited, with Additions, original and selected, by Philip Schaff, D.D., and others. Vol. IX. of the New Testament: containing the Epistles general of James, Peter, John, and Jude. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. x, 148, 96, 53, 201, 34. Price $5.00.

This is the fourth issue of this elaborate Commentary on the Scriptures; and we have been surprised at the vast accumulation of learning which has been concentrated in it.

In whatever aspect the Seven Books to which it relates shall be viewed, the volume before us must be considered a perfect mine of information for the philologist, the pastor, and the private Christian; and to those it will prove invaluable.

7.—*France and England in North America.* A series of historical narratives. By Francis Parkman. Part Second.
The Jesuits in North America in the seventeenth century. By Francis Parkman. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. 463.

Were this not given as the Second Part of *France and England in North America*, which is the general title of a Series of Historical Narratives, we might criticise the Title as too broad, the Jesuit claiming to have labored in parts of North America to which this volume does not allude. The *Two* titles, therefore, are to be taken together; and the brilliant writer takes here as his theme, those Jesuit Missionaries who took so conspicuous a part in the early French Colonization of Canada. "Few passages of his-"tory are more striking," as he justly remarks, "than those which record the efforts of the earlier "French Jesuits to convert the Indians. Full as "they are of dramatic and philosophic interest, "bearing strongly on the political destinies of "America, and closely involved with the History "of its native population, it is wonderful that "they have been left so long in obscurity. While "the infant Colonies of England still clung feebly "to the shores of the Atlantic, events deeply omi-"nous to their future were in progress, unknown "to them, in the very heart of the Continent."

The Author then, in an accurate and graphic sketch, lays before the reader the field on which these French Evangelical laborers hastened to labor—the different Tribes, their manners and their superstitions, are drawn with skill and truthfulness. He then gives the History of the earlier efforts among the Algonquins; but he chiefly turns his admirable powers of description to the Huron Mission, which he traces to its close, bringing before us the chief actors, BREBEUF, GARNIER, JOGUES, LALEMANT, BUTEUX, CHAUMONOT, and others, drawn with a vivid coloring and portraiture that shows a deep study of their individual characters. In his Narrative he treats, as an episode, of the rise of the Convents of Canada, and gives as happy sketches of Madame DE LA PELTRIE, Mlle. MANCE, and MARGARET BOURGEOYS. The story is not one to be condensed or sketched here. Mr. Bancroft gave it briefly in his Third volume; here the romantic subject is given with the fullness it merits.

Differing in faith with those of whom he treats, assuming that New England was settled as a home of Religious Freedom, he sees in the failure of the Jesuit efforts to convert the red men, and the destruction of the Neophytes by Pagan bands

set on by Europeans, Providence working for the great end of human Liberty; but it seems to us that the little knot of self-constituted Church members, who deemed themselves empowered to manufacture Creed and Church and State, were more deadly foes to human Freedom than any soldier or priest of France, in the Northern wilds.

Except in this philosophical view, we commend the volume as one of great and permanent value. In an historical point of view it is a work of patient, sincere research, of unbiassed judgment, outspoken alike in praise and censure; while as a literary work it is one of the happiest contributions for which our language is indebted to this distinguished writer. The subject, full of romance in itself, has called out in an especial manner his peculiar powers; and his work is one of the few we possess on our own Annals, in which Grace, Eloquence and Pathos are wedded to strict historical accuracy and deep research.

The history of our own country needs to be read with that of the French Colonies that grew up beside it, that we may trace how gradually one influenced the other, and that we may regard with a more favorable eye one in which a religious feeling prevailed as intense as that of New England, but more universal in its grasp, and unstained by the fanatic cruelties against misbelievers and supposed witches, which dim the lustre of early Massachusetts.

8.—*Pleasantries about Courts and Lawyers of the State of New York.* By Charles Edwards. New York: Richardson & Company, 1867. Octavo, pp. 528.

There are few, among the members of the Bar, inNew York, who do not personally know the Author of this volume; and to all he is known as an accomplished gentleman, a well read and highly influential lawyer, and an Author of no mean repute.

The volume before us, as we happen to know, is the result of labor devoted to it during moments usually allotted to recreation, or stolen for it, in passing, amidst the pressing cares and turmoil of one of the busiest of busy professional lives; yet it has been prepared with as much care as it would have been if it had formed part of a plea, and its different Chapters have been arranged as systematically as a Bill in Equity.

As its title indicates, this volume relates only to the *Pleasantries* of the Bar—of its *Asperities*, the learned Author will probably tell us, hereafter;—and of these Pleasantries, the Bar of *New York* have supplied all that were required to fill its pages. Not far from *Two hundred* gentlemen are named in the table of Contents, as either the Authors of these *Pleasantries* or the Authorities for their publication; and every portion of the profession and every branch of the practice seem to have been remembered, in the selection.

Typographically, the volume is a very neat one; and it is illustrated with a very excellent portrait, on steel, of the Author.

9.—*A Cyclopedia of Freemasonry;* embracing the whole of Bro. George Oliver's Dictionary of Symbolic Masonry. Together with a Comprehensive Supplement; containing Definitions of the Technical Terms used by the Fraternity. Edited by Robert Macoy. New York: Masonic Publishing and Manufacturing Company, 1867. Octavo, pp. viii., 556.

We know nothing of Free Masonry, but we cannot help but perceive that the original of this work is only a collection of brief Essays or Injunctions, each of which is as worthy of respect from those who are not, as those who are, Freemasons. Our friend, Macoy, however, has added a *Supplement* to Mr. Oliver's *Dictionary,* extending to Two hundred and sixty-six pages, in which there is a vast fund of information, arranged alphabetically, and ranging over every portion of the unenclosed field of Free Masonry. It is, therefore, a useful book to every one who desires to know of what he reads about the Order of Freemasons, and whose curiosity has never led him to ask admission into a Lodge.

The volume before us is a very neatly printed book; and we have no doubt it will be very widely welcomed, by those who do keep a secret as well as by those who do not.

10.—*Bench and Bar:* a complete digest of the Wit, Humor, Asperities, and Amenities of the Law. By J. L. Bigelow. New York: Harper & Bros., 1867. Small octavo, pp. 364. Price $2.50.

This title certainly covers a great deal of ground; and, if true, it most certainly undeceives us concerning Four very important subjects connected with the Bar of America.

If this volume contains, as the title says, "a "COMPLETE Digest of the Wit, Humor, Asperi- "ties, and Amenities of the Law"—English as well as American—the Lawyers in both Countries must have been just the dullest and most curiously formed of all God's creatures.

How little WIT, for instance, they must have displayed if one-quarter of such a volume as this contains "a *complete* Digest" of it! How dull they must have been, if their HUMOR, "complete," can be rolled up with three other of their leading qualities, and the whole find ample room in Three hundred and fifty pages!! How polite, too, they must have been when ALL their "ASPERITIES," and how infamously Discourteous, when ALL their "AMENITIES," can thus, like "Orange-county "milk," be so perfectly condensed and so easily sent to market.

We suppose, however, that the author has accidentally overlooked some specimens of these qualities, as developed at the Bar—not enough, it may be, however, to make them anything but

exceptions to the general rule—and, as an instance of this, we beg to call his attention to the omitted *Wit* of Mr. D. B. Eaton, who proposes to allow every Plantation negro in the South to vote on every question, because he *is a Man* and a Republican, and to forbid every white man, resident in the city of New York but owning no real estate, from voting, because, in the absence of a brown-stone front, he is probably a Democrat and certainly, as Mr. Eaton understands it, *not a Man*. He has omitted, also, the *Humor* of Joseph Holt and Edwin M. Stanton, who seem to have silently suppressed the written recommendation of Mrs. Surratt for mercy, which was drawn up and signed by Five of the leading members of the Court which had just previously, condemned her to death; while the *Amenities* of John Jay and James A. Hamilton, distinguished members of the Bar, in their intercourse with the Editor of *The Federalist*, we notice, have also been very strangely overlooked.

We are sorry to say, if this book is as true as we suppose it to be, we think the Bar is not one-half as Witty, nor Savage with a contrary witness, nor Polite to an opposing Counsel, as we had given it credit for; and we are also sorry that with the exception of Mr. O'Conor, its members are very much more homely in appearance than we supposed.

There are *Two* portraits of Chief-justice Chase, besides One each of Sir Thomas More, John Jay, John Marshall, Daniel Webster, Aaron Burr, John C. Calhoun, Charles O'Conor, and Benjamin F. Butler.

11.—*Thackeray's Lectures.* The English Humorists. The Four Georges. Complete in one volume. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1867. Octavo, pp. 449. Price $1.25.

Thackeray and his writings are so well known to our readers that it is almost a waste of labor and space to do more than announce a new Edition, with a description of its appearance, and its Publisher's price; yet we feel unwilling to lay down what appears to be the initial volume of a new collection of the *Works* of the great humorist with such a bald introduction. Indeed, insensibly, we have been led through *The Four Georges*, with which we were before familiar, with the same delight that we experienced when we first read it; while the Lecture on *Swift*, with its illustrative foot-notes, kept us, last night, much longer from our bed than usual.

As we said, this seems to be the initial volume of a new Edition of *Thackeray's Works*; and it is neatly printed on good paper, and is well calculated for a wide circulation.

12.—*Thrilling Adventures of Daniel Ellis*, the great Union Guide of East Tennessee for a period of nearly four years during the great Southern Rebellion. Written by himself. Containing a short Biography of the Author. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 430. Price $2.50.

This volume, we believe, is not "in the Trade," but is entirely what is known as "a Subscription "Book" and purchased only from the Publishers and their Agents.

It purports to be what it undoubtedly is, an autobiographical sketch of the Life and Adventures of Daniel Ellis; and it is filled with a relation of the "thrilling adventures," as a Guide, of its reputed Author.

The scene of these adventures was, generally, the mountain ranges of Eastern Tennessee, although the writer takes notice of events elsewhere; and, whether or not it shall stand the test of the historic crucible, it will afford pleasure to those who delight in listening to the recital of dashing adventures and hair-breadth escapes, told in an easy, flowing style, with copious illustrations and comparisons from the histories of Greece, and Rome, and France, and here and there a pictorial effort.

Without passing judgment on the fidelity of the narrative, of which, apart from what we find in this volume, we "have not sufficient informa- "tion to form a belief" of any kind, we are free to say that the candor of the Author, in his frank disavowal of a long line of distinguished ancestry and of any superior advantages in early life, augur well for his own truthfulness, without, however, guaranteeing that of the actual writer of the narrative, who seems to have been inclined to color the story with some pretty warm tints—warmer, indeed, in some instances, than the Author himself seems to have sanctioned.

By a strange oversight, also, there is neither an Index, nor Table of Contents, nor descriptive heading to a Chapter, nor descriptive head-line to a page, throughout the book; and the reader is necessarily compelled to wade through it, with serious loss of time and patience, when he desires to turn to any specified subject. With this exception, the Publishers have done their work admirably. The type is clear and good: the paper is good; the printing is well done; it is bound in a style appropriate to the mode of publication employed; and the cuts are better than usual in such works.

13.—*The Great Rebellion: its Secret History, Rise, Progress, and Disastrous Failure.* By John Minor Botts, of Virginia. The Political Life of the Author Vindicated. New York: Harper & Bros., 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 402.

Whatever may be the contents of this volume, or whatever their value, we regard it as one of the most important to a student of American History that the recent Civil War has produced.

Its Author, in the olden time, was a Whig, a "Henry Clay Whig;" yet he was among the first to avail himself of the market opened by John Tyler, and to expose therein to the

highest bidders, alternately, the "easy virtue" of which he was the ever willing vendue-master. During the recent Civil War, he always cared more for himself than for the country; and to-day, aspiring to be Governor of Virginia, he coquets, alternately, as was his wont in his earlier days, with the ultra-Radicals and the ultra-Secessionists—caring not how it shall be done nor by whose aid, so long as he, rather than Mr. Hunnicut or a freedman, shall be successful in the race for authority and place.

A narrative by such a man, concerning what passed under his own eyes, must necessarily be useful rather than ornamental—just as the evidence of the biggest rascal of the party, when admitted as State's evidence, is sometimes very useful notwithstanding it is very disgusting;—and as such we welcome it as a most valuable acquisition to the Literature of American Politics.

14.—*On the Border.* By Edmund Kirke. Boston; Lee & Shepard, 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 333.

In this volume, the Author tells us he has thrown together, in story, "the acknowledged facts" concerning Garfield's campaign in Eastern Kentucky, with such accompaniments of romantic embellishment as were needed for his purpose.

The leading events of that stirring period, the Author has endeavored to relate with accuracy; and whenever known and living men have been introduced, he has written what he calls "authen-"tic History." Whether regarded as mere Romance or as an offshoot of the Historical Literature of the recent War, therefore, it will interest many and find many readers; although it cannot be regarded as, nor will it ever occupy the place of, what its Author might have made, an important Historical sketch of the Army of the Cumberland.

It is very neatly printed; and will be welcomed by those who made the acquaintance of Mr. Kirke, "among the pines."

15.—*Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty.* By J. W. De Forest. Large Duodecimo, pp. 521. Price $2.00.

This is a remarkably well told story of a Virginian and his daughter, exiles because of the fidelity of the father to the Union, and temporary residents of a town in New England. The daughter, who is the heroine of the story, is of Secession proclivities; but she becomes acquainted, while in exile, with both a young lawyer and a Colonel of Massachusetts Volunteers. These fall in love with the daughter, and she with the Colonel only, whom she marries; and, after the death of the latter, the lawyer also secures his prize.

All this is told with all the exaggeration which belongs to romance; but the work is nevertheless well written, and some of the battle-scenes are particularly noteworthy.

The volume is handsomely printed; and very neatly bound.

16.—*War of the Rebellion;* or, Scylla and Charybdis. Consisting of observations upon the causes, course, and consequences of the Late Civil War in the United States. By H. S. Foote. New York: Harper & Bros. 1866. Large Duodecimo, pp. 440.

We have been very agreeably disappointed, in some respects, with the contents of this volume.

Its Author, if we do not mistake, is the notorious ex-Senator from Mississippi, who, once on a time, while in Congress, proposed to hang our old friend, John P. Hale, and thereby earned the name of "*Hangman Foote.*" We expected very little, therefore, but we have received more than we bargained for; and we have found, instead of a volume filled with an inflated, good-for-nothing rigmarole, a very well written history of the *immediate* causes of the recent War.

In his political sympathies, Mr. Foote was a supporter of what was once known as "Squatter "sovereignty," rather than a believer in what we know as "State sovereignty:" he was, therefore, more a friend of Daniel S. Dickinson and Lewis Cass than of John C. Calhoun; and if he ever recognized the existence of a "reserved right" in any of the *States* of the Union, it was so feeble a recognition that he always insisted that the will of the first squatters on a Western prairie was always superior in authority to the Constitutional law-makers of the Territory.

The volume before us is a well-written and exceedingly useful addition to the Literature of the great Insurrection; and as the Author professes to describe principally what passed under his own immediate observation, it may be regarded, historically, for nearly every purpose, as an original authority.

17.—*The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke.* Revised Edition. Vol. XII. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. iv., 432.

We have so often described this series of beautiful volumes that we have little more to say than that the one before us concludes the celebrated Reply of Burke, in the case of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and closes the work. It is furnished with a General Table of Contents of the entire Work, and a General Index, both of which are of the greatest importance to the general reader.

There is very little doubt that, from a merely literary point of view, this is decidedly the best of the many editions of Edmund Burke's Works: while as a specimen of typographical neatness it is, also, unsurpassed by any. It is from the Uni-

versity Press, at Cambridge; and it will not suffer by a comparison with similar trade volumes from the London or Edinburgh Press.

We trust the enterprise of the excellent Publishers, who have thus done so much for American scholars, has been appreciated and properly remunerated, in order that they may be encouraged to continue the good work which they have thus usefully commenced.

18.—*Modern Inquiries:* Classical, Professional, and Miscellaneous. By Jacob Bigelow, M.D. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1867. Small octavo, pp. xii., 379.

The contents of this volume, the Author tells us, are mostly reprints of sundry occasional productions, written or spoken, in various forms and at different times, as recreations and in the midst of a busy professional life, during the past Fifty years. As the title says, they are of various subjects; and they will find readers of varied tastes.

The articles on Education are excellent in every respect—indeed, we wish the Doctor's sterling good sense concerning the general study of the dead languages in our Schools and Colleges could be read and practiced by every pedagogue in the country. That on Count Rumford is a just tribute to the memory of a man of whom New England, in a strange fit of modesty, did not consider herself worthy. The plea for the rural graveyard against the charnel-houses of the city is beyond praise. That on Homœopathy was written in 1854, since which time the world has moved.

The work is from the press of John Wilson & Co., of Cambridge, and is very neatly printed.

19.—*College Life:* its theory and practice. By Stephen Olin, D.D., LL.D. New York: Harper and Bros., 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 239. Price $1.50.

This volume contains a series of Lectures, and one of Baccalaureate Discourses, addressed by the learned President of the Wesleyan University to the young men under his charge, during the latter years of his life—the Lectures were his last literary labors, and their delivery his final public utterance.

Few men have attained, more justly, so high a position among the learned and good men of his day as Stephen Olin; and his last words, addressed to young men, are worthy a place in every young man's book-shelf. The little volume before us, therefore, should be heartily welcomed by every parent; and every young man should study it and honor its precepts.

It is very handsomely printed, on good paper; and its binding is in the peculiarly neat style of modern plainness.

20.—*The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club.* By Charles Dickens. With eight illustrations. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1867. 16mo, pp. xii, 497. Price $1.50.

If any of our readers have not heard of the terrific warfare concerning the publication in America of the writings of Mr. Dickens, which is now convulsing "the literary world," we are very much mistaken; and we shall not attempt to tell the story. We allude to it, however, for the purpose of accounting for the issue of such a volume as this, in a time of high prices, for a dollar and a half.

It is the first of a series of Twelve or Fourteen volumes, to be issued simultaneously in London and Boston, under the direction of the Author, and bearing his own name—"THE CHARLES "DICKENS EDITION." It is, therefore, a pattern of economical neatness—without unnecessary display; it is well printed, from very clear and handsome type, on fair paper; illustrated with eight of the original illustrations; and neatly and durably bound. The whole (except the too closely-trimmed edges) exhibiting a pattern of neatness and cheapness which will commend it to general favor.

21.—*A Romance of the Republic.* By L. Maria Child. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1867. 16mo, pp. iv., 442. Price, $2.00.

In this volume Mrs. Child has presented Slavery as seen in its influence on the domestic relations; and notwithstanding the plot is somewhat complicated, it is well sustained and elaborately filled in, even in its minor details.

It is beautifully printed; and will be heartily welcomed, we have no doubt, by a wide circle of readers.

22.—*Historical Sketch of the Old Sixth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, during three Campaigns in* 1861, 1862, 1863 *and* 1864. Containing the history of the several Companies previous to 1861, and the name and military record of each man connected with the regiment during the War. By John W. Hanson, Chaplain. Illustrated by Photographs. Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1866. Small octavo, pp. 352.

This very elaborate title leaves us little to do, except to say that the "Old Sixth" is that Regiment on which the mob in Baltimore fired, while on its way to Washington, in April, 1861; and that this volume contains a sketch of its services during Three separate enlistments during the Four years of the War.

It is well written; very beautifully printed; and essential in every collection concerning the Military operations of the Country, as *History.* It is, indeed, one of the most perfect works of its class which we have ever met.

23.—*The Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina.* By Cornelia Phillips Spencer. Second Thousand. New York: Watchman Publishing Co., 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 287.

This little volume contains a series of papers which appeared, originally, in *The Watchman*, and attracted some attention then. They are descriptive of the closing scenes of the recent Civil War in North Carolina; and we have seldom read a work which seemed to bear with it so many proofs of its own general correctness.

We heartily commend it to the attention of the student of American History and to the collector of works relating to the War.

It is printed on miserably poor paper, else it had been a tolerably neat affair.

24.—*Reminiscences of Charleston.* By J. N. Cardozo. Charleston: Joseph Walker, 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 144.

A neat little affair, making no pretence to typographical beauty, yet possessing very great interest as a contribution to the Military History of the United States. As such we commend it to our readers.

25.—*The Irish Ninth in bivouac and battle;* or Virginia and Maryland Campaigns. By M. H. Macnamara. Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1867. 16mo, pp. 306.

The "Irish Ninth," Massachusetts Volunteers, entered the service in May, 1861; served before Yorktown and Richmond; fought at Hanover Court-house, Mechanicsville, Gaines' Mill and the Chickahominy, on Malvern Hill (where it's Colonel was killed), at Antietam, South Mountain, and Boteler's Mills, before Fredericksburg, at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Wapping Heights, the Wilderness, Laurel Hill and Spottsylvania, on the Po and the North Anna, at Bethesda Church, Shady Oak, and Cold Harbor; and was mustered out in June, 1864.

The narrative is written for popular use rather than as a formal History; yet it will be found very useful to those who shall desire to look into that portion of the Military History of the United States.

It is very neatly printed; and is illustrated with several fairly-executed wood-cuts.

26.—*A Criticism of Mr. Wm. B. Reed's Aspersions on the character of Dr. Benjamin Rush,* with an incidental consideration of General Joseph Reed's character. By a Member of the Philadelphia Bar. Phila.: Collins, 1867. Octavo, pp. 61.

Mr. J. G. Johnson, a member of the Philadelphia Bar, read law in the office of one of the members of Doctor Rush's family, and evidently considered that, in the supposed absence of any other person to defend that gentleman's character, the duty to do so devolved upon him.

He is undoubtedly a Lawyer rather than a Student of History; and he appears in this pamphlet, nominally as *amicus curiæ*, but really for the Plaintiff, in what he styles the case of Commonwealth *vs.* Reed, rather than an authorized public prosecutor.

Whatever may have been the purpose of Mr. Johnson, he has presented nothing new, either in evidence or argument, in this vexed question: and we feel called upon only to say that it is nothing more than a special plea, by a Philadelphia lawyer, on a subject which needed no such plea and in behalf of a public man, long since dead, whom such an advocate could not save from the fate, in history, which justly belongs to him.

Joseph Reed was undoubtedly a man of ability and personal integrity: that he was a politician and fallible, no one will deny. In a rigid search for foibles or even for what, unexplained, may pass for more serious defects of character, a more righteous man than he might suffer; but it will require a more profound student than the Author of this tract, in the light of the present day and in the face of existing and accessible evidence, to convict him of what, years ago and unexplained, seemed very much like positive guilt.

Doctor Rush, like Joseph Reed, was a public man and a partizan in local politics: and he, too, was probably not without sin. A rigid search might expose his memory to what, unexplained, might seem like very serious charges: were we to try very hard it is not unlikely that we could frame an indictment against him, and make out a case, which even Mr. Johnson would hesitate to encounter. But, in the light of yet unpublished papers and of other reliable testimony, who shall say that Doctor Rush's weaknesses may not be made less objectionable, or that what now seems very much like a serious defection from the cause of America, cannot be so illustrated that its more obnoxious features shall be removed?

We are not averse, however, to the introduction of new light on any question of history: we only desire that the special plea of an *uninformed* advocate, for or against any historical subject, shall have only the negative weight to which it is necessarily entitled.

27.—*Joseph Reed:* a historical essay. By George Bancroft. New York: W. J. Widdleton, 1867. Octavo, pp. 64.

Mr. Bancroft having seen, as he supposed and said,

——"glory's holy flowers
"Round common brows profanely twined,"

he set bravely to work to regulate matters after a fashion of his own: the difficulty was, however, that his ideas on the subject did not always har-

monize with those of his neighbors and, it may be, not always with propriety and justice.

Of his dealings with Joseph Reed, the reading public has heard a great deal; and he, himself, seems to have recognized in the grandson of that gentleman, a foeman worthy of his steel. With his dealings with General Sullivan, our readers are not unacquainted; and they have seen, in the well-written defence of him by Mr. Amory, how little there was, in justice and truth, for a foundation for such an attack. So, too, in the cases of Generals Schuyler and Greene, whose laurels he would have us believe are only artificial, there have been responses which have enforced themselves on our attention, and convicted the Historian of Libel.

In the handsomely-printed pamphlet which is before us, Mr. Bancroft has responded to the telling Vindication of President Reed, by Mr. Wm. B. Reed, to which we have heretofore referred; but it is not such a response as one who assumes to be a first-class historian should have made, even on the eve of a welcome exile, in the Diplomatic service of the country.

For instance: the slur on President Reed, often repeated, that he "was never chosen Presi-"dent by the direct vote of the People"—as if that affected his Presidency any more than a similar non-election affects the Presidency of Andrew Johnson, who is Mr. Bancroft's patron—is unworthy of the veriest pettifogger. So, too, his declaration of his own good qualities—"it is "my nature," he says, "to dwell upon that which "is generous and great, and to turn away from "that which is paltry and mean"—would have been vastly more effective *had it been true;* especially since there is no one who is acquainted with him, especially among those who are students or writers of History, who does not know that his declaration is *exactly the opposite of the Truth.* His occupation of a place beside "an "author of a history of the republic," *uninvited and unwelcome, page* 5, shows, also, the shifts to which he resorts, for the accomplishment of his purposes, since the notorious John C. Hamilton, to whom he referred, bad as he is, considers himself and is considered by others, *as a writer of history*, fully the peer of Mr. Bancroft in ability and quite his superior in professional honor—indeed, if report speaks truly, the former does not consider the gentility of the latter equal to his own; and no one ever pretended that he, like Mr. Bancroft, appropriated to his own use, without due acknowledgment, whatever beyond his own material he employed in his volumes.

We will not occupy our space, however, with an extended notice of this work, because that duty will soon be discharged by a more competent hand, and we have no desire to anticipate his labors.

28.—*Suggestions respecting the revision of the Constitution of New York*, by David Dudley Field. May, 1867. New York: Octavo, pp.

We have received from the learned Author a copy of this Tract, which was printed by him for private circulation, in order that his peculiar ideas on some subjects of Governmental science might be properly brought before the public.

The first part of this work is on the "Founda-"tion of Government," the second on the "Frame "of Government," the third on "Instructions and "Limitations," the fourth on "Repeal of former "Constitutions;" and these are subdivided into a hundred and eleven Sections, generally without a note of explanation, and in every case, save one, without reference to any precedent.

In the first of these, "property" is strangely considered a "natural right," and therefore inalienable; the People of the State of New York, which is the Commonwealth, is also strangely considered as "subordinate to the United States," notwithstanding it is one of the constituent members of those United States; and the word "People" is strangely used in the sense of the *subjects* of the State rather than as the State itself. There is said to be a Sovereignty resting in "the People of this State," which is the State itself, and a similar Sovereignty resting in the United States, which are only a Confederacy of independent States, as if there can be two Original, Supreme powers at the same time over the same persons; and as if any mere *Government*, WITHIN A DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, can be a SOVEREIGN in any event. There are said to be *Two* co-existing Allegiances, also,—that to the State and that to the Federal Government—as if there can be any such *Allegiance*, IN A DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, to any mere *Government*, which, in that case, as the Constitution of Massachusetts has it, is merely *an Agent of "the People,"* who alone form the Sovereign power; and, in addition, as if the *Allegiance* which is due to any Sovereign power can be justly degraded by being confounded with the *Obedience* which is equally due to both the Government of the State and the Government of the United States, each within its own legitimate sphere of action. "The People of the United "States" is also spoken of, and its "consent" is alluded to, as if there ever had been or is now a single, aggregate body bearing this title, which has ever "consented" to any proposition, or ever possessed legal cognizance of any subject, or ever elected a single person to any office whatever. The Sovereignty is said to exist in "them," by which latter word the aggregate body of the Commonwealth is frequently described; which leaves the impression that, as Mr. Field understands it, *Squatter sovereignty* rather than the *Sovereignty of the "Major will" of the People*, is the Supreme Law. The Sovereignty

of "the People," which is the Sovereignty of the Commonwealth, is said to be confined in its action to *the making of a Constitution*, and even in that it is said to be limited to the action of "the whole "People;" as if "the People," whose power is Sovereign within its own Territory, can not legally and legitimately determine, if it shall see fit, to act as other Commonwealths have sometimes acted, directly and without the intervention of either a Legislative, a Judicial, or an Executive agency. "A Constitution" is said to be "the "Supreme Law, for all times and circumstances, "in War as in Peace;" as if there were no virtue in Bayonets and no disposition in those who hold them to use them at will; and as if the failure to secure the requisite Constitutional majority for the measure, at the last Election, will render the action of the existing Convention any the less respectable, or the Constitution which it shall recommend any the less binding. "The State" is said to be "perpetual;" as if it may not, under any circumstances, be divided or dissolved, as Virginia has been divided and dissolved, if reports speak truly; and "all persons" who are natives and residents of its Territory, "and all citizens "of the United States resident in this State,"—black and white, old and young, male and female —are said to "constitute 'the People of the "'State,'" in whom are vested all the Rights and Authority previously referred to; and "every "such person" is declared to be "a citizen and "member of the State;" as if "the People" can *justly* or *legally* have Negro or female suffrage thrust upon it, indirectly and contrary to its will, *by any such masked enactment as this.*

The entire spirit of this "PART" of Mr. Field's pamphlet is Revolutionary, without showing sufficient courage to be so, openly and squarely. It is, also, confused in its indiscriminate use of technical terms, such as "State" and "People," (which latter terms, for this purpose, are synonyms,) in more than one sense, in the same sentence.

Part II., on the "Frame of Government," proposes Eight Senatorial Districts with Thirty-two Senators, each elected for Four years, and a House in which shall sit as many members as there are constituencies *throughout the whole State*, of Twenty-five hundred members. There are some very excellent provisions to prevent hasty legislation, and the passage of "omnibus "bills," and the violations of Chartered rights; and in various other respects, the Legislative Department is carefully and judiciously limited in its authority—without, however, guarding from its invasion the ancient Corporations whose Charters are their *property*, and whose Political Rights are properly and legally beyond the control of the State. It also authorizes the election of a Negro or a woman for Governor or Lieutenant-governor; and it very properly restores to the Gubernatorial office the responsibility which formerly attached to it, in the Executive Department. No provision is made for the appointment or election of the Judiciary; although it squints at a restoration of the old corruption at Albany.

Part III., on "Instructions and Limitations," compels the Legislature, at the first session, to pass various specified Statutes, among them "the "Civil and Penal Codes *heretofore reported by* "*the Commissioners of the Code*," which, with all due deference, is not particularly courteous to those, even a majority of the State, who may differ from Mr. Field and his associate Commissioners, concerning any provision of either of those Codes, as "heretofore reported" by them. It also authorizes the State Government to enter on the franchises of any Corporation heretofore created by the State and vests it with authority, in law, to dissolve the Corporation and scatter its property—sometimes, it may be, for the benefit of non-interested parties, who would like thus to participate in the profits of a franchise to which some other persons' labor and investments have given all their value and importance; and sometimes, as in the case of Trinity church and the King's farm, for the benefit of a parcel of men, claiming to be equitable owners, which is wholly without legal or moral right in the premises. The usual clap-trap about liberty of the press, and of speech, and of conscience, is repeated, without, however, imposing upon any one the duty of extending to every citizen, with all the material force of the State, that protection in the enjoyment of those rights, which it is incumbent on the State to give to every one, within its Territory, from whom it exacts obedience. So, also, the empty declamation concerning *habeas corpus*, and trial by jury, and freedom in person and property, in the entire absence of any provision for securing the citizen's protection therein, is mere Buncombe, without vitality. The provision for securing private property from undue invasion, conflicts with Section 59, which authorizes such invasion; and the provision compelling Quakers indirectly to *hire a substitute*, to do for them what they consider to be a sin and unfit to be done by themselves, is an insult to that respectable community, to which it should not be thus exposed. The provision against retrospective laws is defective, inasmuch as the every-day practice of a "ratification" or "confirmation," by Statute, of what was before illegal, is not forbidden. The destruction of the Bank system of the State seems also to be uncalled for. The system of Finance seems to be very well guarded; but the property of the State in the Canals and Salt Springs, is perpetuated, very much, in many instances, to the disadvantage of the State. The provisions concerning Legislative and Executive corruption (§ 96) afford

a very good scare-crow for the country-people; the knowing ones, however, will very soon drive a horse and wagon through them. The provision of § 102 which renders the members of the Loyal League and the Tammany Society *ineligible to an elective office* is a good one; but why it should not also exclude them from all *appointed offices*, is past our understanding; nor can we understand the advantages which are afforded by a Council of Revision, or, what is known in Vermont as a Board of Censors.

Throughout this proposed Plan there is an evident want of harmony, which can be accounted for only from the effect of Mr. Field's former associations, as a leading Democratic politician, coming in conflict with his present associations as a leading antagonist of his former friends. Samuel J. Tilden, and John Van Buren, and Benjamin F. Butler, and Michael Hoffman, and Silas Wright, and Martin Van Buren, twenty years ago, were those with whom Mr. Field did battle against the disciples of John Jay, and Alexander Hamilton, and Rufus King, and other original advocates of "a strong Government"; to-day, Mr. Field, if we do not mistake, is battling against those with whom he formerly associated. The effect of this change is seen in the attempt to engraft both systems on the same Constitutional stock. We shall see how much success will attend the effort.

29.—*Biographical Sketches of the Members of the Class of* 1816, *Yale College.* New Haven: 1867. Octavo, pp. 77.

We are indebted to our friend, Professor William C. Fowler, for a copy of this volume, which has been recently privately printed, for the surviving members of the Class.

It is mainly from the hand of the Professor, as the Class historian, and contains brief sketches of the lives of the different members of the Class, among them, those of the Rev. Isaac Bird, the Missionary in Syria; Rev. E. Chapman, Missionary among the Osages; Lieutenant-governor Booth, of Connecticut; Judges Dart, of Ohio, Pardee, of Connecticut, Taylor, of New York, Gould, of Georgia, and Winchester, of Mississippi; W. H. Foote, the historian of the Presbyterians in North Carolina; W. C. Fowler, LL.D., the historian of Durham, Conn.; President Fox, of Jefferson College, Miss.; Principal Garfield, of the Albany Female Seminary; George Hill, the poet; Professor McClellan, of Philadelphia; Charles Olcott, the inventor of iron ships; Presidents Smith and Pierce, of Kenyon and Western Reserve Colleges; D.; Rev. Asa Thompson, Missionary to the Sandwich Islands; and Mr. Whittlesey, Representative in Congress from Ohio; with a brief supplementary sketch of the Class itself.

It is useful for reference; and to those who are interested in Yale, it is very interesting.

30.—*Prominent, Strong, and Beautiful Things in Our Zion.* The Historical Sermon before the Presbytery of Ontario, at its semi-centennial celebration, in Mount-Morris, N. Y., March 12, 1867. By Rev. Jos. R. Page. Rochester, N. Y.: 1867. Octavo, pp. 54.

It is very seldom that a tract, printed for general circulation, presents so inviting an exterior and so neatly printed a text as this; and we open it with great satisfaction.

This Presbytery was organized in Livonia, in March, 1817; and the speaker gives a minute description of its rise and progress during the first half-century of its existence. In doing so, however, he has given, also, a very interesting sketch of the condition of that central and western region, at the early date referred to; and he has glanced, also, at the progress of other denominations of Christians than his own, in the same neighborhood. It is, in short, a most important contribution to the local history of Western New York, in all that relates to its Churches and their members; and as such we commend it to the notice of our readers and collectors generally.

31.—*The Early History of St. Paul.* Being a short sketch prepared for Bailey's *St. Paul Directory*, Edition of 1867, from material collected for a more extensive work on the subject to be issued in a few months. By J. Fletcher Williams. St. Paul, Minnesota: 1867. Octavo, pp. 12.

The city of St. Paul, containing Sixteen thousand inhabitants, is only Thirty years of age, if we go back to its first settler: the first white native was born on the twelfth of November, 1841; and still lives there, a young man of Twenty-six.

The neat little privately-printed tract which is before us is the work of the respected Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society and narrates the leading incidents of "the early history" of the place; and, without unnecessary words, lets us into the secret of how, in the mighty West, cities spring up in a day and within a year control the destiny of the Country.

We commend it to the attention of those who collect local histories, as worthy of their notice.

32.—*Raymond's Heroine.* A novel. New York: Harper & Bros., 1867. Octavo, pp. 150. Price 50 cents.

33.—*Mr. Wynyard's Ward.* A novel. By Holme Lee. New York: Harper & Bros., 1867. Octavo, pp. 106. Price 50 cents.

These volumes form Nos. 292 and 293 of the extended series of Select Novels, which Harper & Brothers, during several years past, have issued to the public, in uniform style, and at very low prices.

They are re-prints of foreign works which have met the approval of the best literary authorities in Europe; and are especially useful for those who are traveling or absent from home.

34—*Deus Homo—God Man.* By Theophilus Parsons. Chicago. E. B. Myers & Chandler, 1867. Crown 8vo, pp. 455.

This volume, from the press of John Wilson & Son, Cambridge, is executed in a style worthy of its distinguished Author, and of the exalted subject of which it treats.

Perhaps no book has appeared from the scholars of the New Church that has promised more light to the inquirer, or bestowed more satisfaction upon the reader. The fame of its Author has been long established. He is the well-known author of at least Ten volumes of treatises upon various branches of Law, which by common consent stand at the head of legal text-books. He has, Three times, appeared as the Author of a volume of Essays upon the Doctrines and Philosophy of Swedenborg.

The volume before us, we presume, he regards as the crowning labor of his life; and it must be admitted that it is no ignoble Crown.

He treats of the Gospels; of the Birth and Nature of our Lord; of his sojourn in Egypt, and of his temptations; of Freedom; of Prayer; of the Spiritual World; of the Miracles; of the Parables; of Baptism; the Lord's Supper; the Apostles; of the Sadducees and Pharisees; and of the closing scenes in the Life of our Lord.

We have no space, nor is it within the scope of the purposes of this Journal, to go into an examination of the subjects the Author has discussed. It must suffice to say that those subjects are treated from the stand-point of the New Church. Swedenborg is everywhere recognized an absolute authority. No symptoms of disloyalty, doubt, or distrust, are discernible; nor is there any attempt to improve upon the text of his Author. A confidence that whatever is taught by Swedenborg must be seen to be true by all who give earnest heed to it, pervades every page of the volume.

Nowhere in the whole work is there a single expression of personal laudation of the man through whom this new dispensation is brought down to earth. His teachings, as they appeal to the reason, engross the whole attention of the Author. Nothing is submitted upon bare authority; no appeal is made to the emotional nature; nor yet can the Author be said unduly to tax the credulity of his readers. What the reason does not receive at once, the reason is at liberty to postpone, to hold in abeyance, until it shall have attained that altitude at which truth is apparent. There is also a marked absence of that sort of reasoning which is ordinarily used to confirm a dogma.

The Author confines himself in the main to simple statements, and generally to such statements as are easily apprehended, and as easily affirmed or denied, by the ordinary exercise of the understanding.

It is obvious that the practice of confirming theories by the process of what is called Logic or reasoning, is an acknowledgment of the weakness of the understanding. That Two and Two make Four is a truth seen at once, and is never made a matter of argument. If it were not *seen*, it would be confirmed by some process of ratiocination. Every *truth*, however lofty or obscure, is as true as this mathematical axiom; and, if the understanding were not enfeebled and obscured, would as little require to be confirmed by argument.

This appeal to the understanding, the followers of Swedenborg seem to regard as a distinguishing characteristic of his Philosophy. Not even those things which the seer has reported from the spirit world, rest, in their estimation, entirely upon his veracity; but they claim to be able to establish them by direct appeals to reason and consciousness. Yet, if it were necessary, they seem not unwilling to rest the truth of all those wonderful disclosures, which have so long staggered the credulity of the world, solely upon the veracity of Swedenborg.

It is impossible, so runs the argument, that in the immense mass of his post-illuminated writings, he should not have hit upon some, nay many, truths. If he has stated any falsehoods, those falsehoods would not be in harmony, but in antagonism, with his truths. But the world is challenged to point out a single discrepancy, a single instance of any want of the most complete and perfect harmony, in any of his ponderous volumes.

It must be confessed that a system of any considerable magnitude, especially one embracing all things in Heaven and Earth, as Swedenborg's system clearly does, which should, on examination, be found to be a perfect unit—each and every part in perfect accordance and harmony with every other—such a system could not be other than true. There could indeed be but one such system.

That the Author of such a system should intentionally utter false statements, as to the source from whence he derived his knowledge, would seem to be contradicted by the truth of the doctrine he develops.

That he should have made such false statements under some mental delusion, would seem to be contradicted by the method and unity of the system he has promulged. The enforcement of a system of Doctrine and Philosophy by a constant appeal to reason, is not the usual method of overcoming that incredulity which suggests insanity as the origin of the system.

If his statements are such as that no method of *a priori* reasoning could have brought them to light; if they rest upon asserted facts as their basis; if when these facts are once known, they

may be confirmed by the reasoning faculties, then something other than unaided thought must have been their source.

Swedenborg asserts that this source is the Angelic Wisdom with which he was in communication. If the truth of this statement were to turn upon a question of veracity, his followers would point to every syllable he has written as containing irrefragable proof of the most conspicuous integrity. If, on the other hand, it be made to turn upon a question of probability, then the burden of suggesting some other source from which it may have originated, clearly devolves upon those who reject his teachings.

The world will watch, with ever increasing interest, what the future may develop upon this great subject, but it is too late for sane men to pass it by with a sneer.

35.—*Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Directors, the Librarian, and the Treasurer, presented at the Annual Meeting of the Long Island Historical Society, May*, 1867. Brooklyn, L. I.: Printed for the Society, 1867. Octavo, pp. 88.

Among the various Historical Societies of the country, few have been more active and none more successful than that in the neighboring city of Brooklyn, of which this tract gives the Fourth Annual Report.

It numbers nearly Eleven hundred members; has a well stocked Reading-room, a library of Fourteen thousand volumes and Sixteen thousand pamphlets, permanent Funds, invested in Stocks, of more than Sixty-one thousand dollars, and a well-filled Cabinet; and it is fast becoming One of the most useful, and influential, and amply-provided societies in the country.

In the pamphlet before us, the doings of the Society and its accumulations during the past year, are communicated to its members and to the world; and its honored President and his fellow-laborers may well feel proud of it.

36.—*The Firelands Pioneer:* published by the Fire Lands Historical Society, Norwalk, Ohio. Sandusky, Ohio: 1867. Octavo, pp. 120.

This is designated as Volume VIII. of this useful work; but, *like all which have preceded it, it has no title-page for binding.* In this respect it imitates the *Annnals of Iowa*, from which it would seem that the West is opposed to title-pages. As we want to bind our copy, we wish they would review their action; and do as others do in similar cases.

37.—*Letter to Rev. Howard Crosby, D. D., on his denial of teetotalism as a Bible Rule.* By John Marsh, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. 20.

An exceedingly well written reply to Dr. Crosby's introduction to Mr. Thomason's volume on Teetotalism referred to in our June number.

We are inclined to think that Dr. Marsh has made out a pretty clear case.

38.—*The Magazines. The Quarterly Journal of Pyschological Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence.* Edited by Professor William A. Hammond. Vol. I., No. I., has been published by A. Simpson & Co., New York.

It treats of a branch of Science which is very little understood, even in the profession; and in the hands of so able an Editor as Doctor Hammond, it must of necessity, become very useful.

39.—*Washington Irving, Sunny Side, Irving's Grave, The Old Mill, Bridge over the Pocanteco, The Dutch Church.*

Some time since, some gentlemen residing at Tarrytown took measures to construct a memorial of Washington Irving, in the form of a durable church edifice; and a desirable site was obtained for that purpose, plans were drawn by competent architects, contracts were made, and the work commenced. With an industry which is seldom seen, the promoters of the design, both Rector and Laymen, labored in season and out of season, by letter and circular, by advertisement and personal effort, to secure the means for carrying on their work; and a note which we have received from the Senior Warden tells us that only within Ten thousand dollars are now required to render the new building fit for occupancy before Christmas, free from debt.

Among the modes adopted by this young and enterprising church, for the purpose of raising the means to erect their building, is the issue of large photographs of Mr. Irving, and the scenes, near Tarrytown, which he has so graphically described—scenes which are endeared to so many, both residents and strangers, throughout the country, the Republic, and the world. These, by Rockwood & Co., of New York, are of a size suitable for framing, handsomely mounted on Bristol board, and sold at One dollar and a half each, the profits being appropriated for the purpose of this Memorial; and they have been received by the public with great favor. The copies which are before us, in some instances, are imperfect, reflecting very little credit on the self-respect of the artist; but we can readily understand the reason of the popularity of the series when we notice what must be the general good character of the pictures when perfect.

We trust the promoters of this Memorial will pardon us, but we must take the liberty to say that a picture of the old church from *below the bridge*, in which it would be seen as Mr. Irving described it—"on a knoll surrounded by locust "trees and lofty elms"—with the bridge and the

stream in the foreground, would be a very welcome addition to this series; while the ancient manor-house, the upper seat of the Phillipses, would also add still more to its interest.

We do not know how far this enterprise is sustained by Mr. Irving's family, if it is so sustained at all; but we are gratified to learn that a spontaneous and hearty welcome has been extended throughout the country to perpetuate, in this form, the well-earned fame of one of the most graceful of writers and one of the best of men. Those only can understand Mr. Irving's strength who knew him personally; and none ever knew him and enjoyed his friendship, without loving him.

The Rector of the new St. Mark's at Tarrytown, Rev. Edmund Guilbert, will supply copies of these pictures to those who shall desire them.

2.—Miscellany.

Westhampton Reunion.—The public exercises of the Westhampton (Mass.) Reunion, celebrated on the fifth of September, 1866, have been recorded and published in a neat pamphlet. They consist of an address of welcome by R. W. Clapp; exceedingly interesting historical addresses by C. Parkman Judd and Otis Clapp; a poem by Professor M. Montague, and the table speeches at the dinner given upon the occasion.

Taking Care of Books.—Regarding the varnishing of old volumes, I think that little can be effected by such composition to preserve leathers; in some cases varnish applied to new bindings may tend somewhat to repel the action of the atmosphere and deleterious gases, but is also likely to harden the leather at the joints, the parts where the greatest action takes place in opening a book.

There is no doubt that old bindings, if in sound condition, may be furbished up (as bookbinders say) by the application of shell varnish; though the thing most wanting to render the leather supple is an oil or fatty matter to replace the unction dried out of the skin by the action of time. A composition to render old hides soft and pliable, without staining or injuring, would be a desideratum.

Much harm is done to leather for want of ventilation; books require use and air as may be seen by the condition of the bindings in many large libraries where there are no readers, or where there are readers and but little air. The library of the Athenæum was affected so seriously some years since from this latter cause (gas and heat), that the backs of calf bindings fell away, and the leather crumpled upon touching.

The library ought to have the same attention as the green-house; light, air, and equal moisture ought to be imparted to the leaves in either case. Light without injury to color, moisture without mildew, and air without soot, are as necessary to the librarian's as to the gardener's charge.—*Notes and Queries.*

The First Book.—The *Literary Gazette* states that the first book printed in the New World was in the city of Mexico. It was printed in the Spanish language, in the year 1544, and was entitled *Doctrina Christiana por eo los Indos.* The first publication made in English, in America, was the *Freeman's Oath,* an Almanac for 1639, nearly a hundred years after the work published in Mexico.

Texas.—W. Richardson & Co., of Galveston, have published a thick volume, with paper covers, entitled *The Texas Almanac for* 1867, *with Statistics, Descriptive and Biographical Sketches, &c., relating to Texas.* It contains a colored map of the State, as well as a great variety of information respecting its resources, business, government and lands. There is a description given of each county in the State; and the lists of its political and legal officers will be found useful to business men.

Another History of the War.—Broughton & Wyman, New York, announce for early publication *The History of the Great Republic, from the Discovery of America to the present time, its Colonization, Independence, Development, Emancipation, and future Mission, considered from a Christian Stand-point.* Its Author is Jesse T. Peck, D.D., and those who have seen the manuscript speak favorably of the literary character of the work, which is at the same time in popular style. The book will contain Twenty-seven steel portraits.

Well Done.—*The Boston Transcript* announces that Mr. William F. Poole has in preparation a new edition of his *Index to Periodical Literature,* in which the references will be brought down to the present time.

We congratulate "P." on the good result which seems to have attended the efforts of his friends in their attempts to sever his connection with the *Transcript,* as the head of its Dirty Department. We fancied, a few months since, when he was *forced* to swallow his own falsehoods about Mr. Brodhead, that the dose would be too strong for his weak nerves, and compel him to seek a more wholesome diet. Our suspicion has been confirmed; and we wish him all the success that he merits.

An evening paper publishes the following, based upon an article which we wrote and published, lastweek, as a compliment, not undeserved, as we honestly thought, by Two of our oldest literary friends:

"The Truth of History.—But, by a piece of "rare good luck which has seldom fallen to the "lot of a literary adventurer, he (Willis) fell at "once into the companionship of Gen. Morris, "joined the *Mirror*, and the result was the most "brilliant success in literary publishing that the "world has seen. But the General abandoned "the *Mirror*, and it failed, falling into a hopeless "state of marasmus and torpor.

"'The above paragraph is taken from an arti-"'cle, which was evidently got up as a puff ad-"'vertisement of a certain weekly newspaper. "'As it not only outrages propriety but violates "'the truth of history, we feel compelled to say, "'that the old *New York Mirror*, published by "'Morris & Willis, instead of making "a bril-"'"liant success," achieved a most disastrous "'failure, heavy losses to printers, carriers, pa-"'per-makers, landlords, and money lenders in-"'numerable. Since "the General abandoned "'"the *Mirror*," the present proprietor, instead "'of failing to pay his employees, has paid some "'ten thousand dollars of the old concern's debts; "'and the *Mirror* "still lives," without the aid "'of paid puffery or self-laudation.'"

All we think it necessary to say in reference to the above, which we would not have replied to at all if it had not been copied by the *Express*, is to make the following statement, which every one can verify as a simple piece of literary history. As for the *Evening Mirror* and its proprietor, neither one nor the other was in our thoughts when we wrote the paragraph which he has taken the liberty of appropriating to himself.

The *New York Mirror* was under the editorial direction of Morris & Willis for many years. When it ceased to exist they were *not* the publishers. It was a brilliant and beautiful periodical, and embraced among its contributors Bryant, Leggett, Halleck, Pinckney, Paulding, Fay, Sheridan Knowles, Tyrone Power, Jacob Harvey, Fanny Kemble, Inman, Sands, Brooks, Dunlap, Pintard, Sprague, Irving, Cooper, Verplanck, William Cox, Dr. Francis, Epes Sargent, Charles F. Hoffman, Wetmore, Simms, Gould, Sanford, and a host of other well-known and popular writers. Its circulation was about Twelve thousand copies, and its subscription price was Four, and afterwards, Five dollars a year. *It had no connection whatever with any paper.* After the publication of the *Mirror* ceased, Morris & Willis established the *New Mirror*, a weekly periodical in the octavo form, embellished with engravings. It was, like its predecessor, pre-eminently successful, and had a circulation of many thousand copies; but, in consequence of its being in pamphlet form, the Postmaster-General refused to carry it through the mails at newspaper postage; and it was (with a circulation of Twelve thousand) discontinued *solely on that account*, after the publication of Three volumes. *The New Mirror* was also *a separate and Independent establishment, and had nothing to do with any other paper, past, present, or to come.*

The Evening Mirror was commenced by Morris, Willis & Fuller. After the two former gentlemen withdrew, Mr. Fuller assumed all the financial liabilities of the concern, and has been the sole editor and proprietor ever since.—*An old copy of The Sunday Courier.*

Prisons.—The Commissioners of the Prison Association of New York, Rev. Dr. E. C. Wines and Theodore W. Dwight, LL.D., have just published an able and full *Report on the Prisons and Reformatories of the United States and Canadas.* It is an octavo, of Five hundred and forty-seven pages, and contains a larger amount of valuable information on the subject than has previously been collected in this country.

XVII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

Maine Historical Society. — The annual meeting of this Society was held in its rooms in Bowdoin College, Brunswick, on the eighth of August. There was a good attendance of the members. The reports of the Treasurer and Librarian presented their departments as in a good condition; the latter noticing the accessions to the collection of books to be Two hundred and thirty-four volumes, and Two hundred and thirty-two pamphlets, during the past year.

The matter, most interesting to historical students, was presented in the Report of the Standing Committee, relative to the publication of the Documentary History of the State; to solicit whose aid for this purpose, a Committee was appointed at the Special Meeting, held at Augusta, last February (*Hist. Mag.*, x., 303). In reference to the action of the Committee before the Legislature, and the course afterwards adopted by the Society, the report speaks as follows:

"By the earnest advocacy of this measure be-"fore the proper Committee of that body, on the "part of the Chairman of our Committee, the "Hon. Mr. Bradbury, with the aid of the Hon. "Mr. Poor, the mover of the Resolution, the "Legislature, by Resolves, appropriated, under "certain conditions, a sum not exceeding *Two* "*Thousand Dollars*, in aid of an Annual volume "of not less than Five hundred pages, at a stipu-

"lated price, to be published for this purpose by "the Society.

"The Standing Committee, thereupon, in behalf "of the Society, accepted the trust thus confided "to their agency. In pursuance of the duties "thereof, the Secretary was authorized to collect "materials for this purpose, or to indicate the "places where they may be found.

"In further pursuance of the same object, the "Rev. Leonard Woods, D.D., one of their num- "ber, being then about to make a voyage to "Europe, was appointed to be the Agent of the "Society, in procuring such documents as may "be connected with the purpose of the State in "making this appropriation. This gentleman is "now in London, and is there engaged in making "investigations among the treasures of ancient "time, preserved in the English archives. He "will also turn his attention, in a similar way, to "the archives of Spain, France and Holland; in "which repositories, it is believed, will be found "important documents to illustrate the earliest "history of our State, as well as the events oc- "curring in its progress.

"The generosity of the State in making this "grant cannot be too much commended."

In connection with this Report, the Resolves of the Legislature, and the several votes of the Standing Committee to regulate their procedures, were presented and read; as also was a letter from Dr. Woods, detailing his course in the procurement of the expected papers. The Society, by vote, expressed the pleasure and satisfaction with which they had listened to his account of his efforts in this undertaking, and authorized the Standing Committee to carry into effect the recommendations which he had proposed.

A vote of thanks was given to Frederic Kidder, Esq., of Boston, for his valuable contribution to the history of the Eastern part of Maine during the War of the Revolution, in the publication, with notes, of the *Journal of Colonel John Allan.*

The officers were chosen as follows: The Hon. E. E. Bourne, Kennebunk, *President;* the Hon. J. W. Bradbury, Augusta, *Vice-President;* the Rev. S. F. Dyke, Bath, *Corresponding Secretary;* the Rev. E. Ballard, D. D., Brunswick, *Recording Secretary;* A. C. Robbins, Esq., Brunswick, *Treasurer;* the Rev. A. S. Packard, D. D., Brunswick, *Librarian and Cabinet Keeper.* The Standing Committee consists of Messrs. Woods, Packard, Wheeler, Barrows and Gilman, with the President and Recording Secretary; and the Publishing Committee, of Messrs. Willis, Woods, J. B. Sewall, Wheeler, Packard, Ballard and Poor. Resident and Corresponding Members, Eleven of each class, were elected.

A vote was passed commending the N. Y. Historical Magazine to a wider circulation in the State, thus "bearing testimony to the zeal and "ability of its present Editor, in collecting and "preserving the materials for history, and the "frankness with which historical questions are "discussed and considered in its pages."

The Report of the Committee to represent the Society at the commemorative services of the founding of the Popham Colony, was made by the Chairman, the Hon. C. J. Gillman; and a Committee was appointed consisting of Messrs. Poor, Brown, T. A. D. Fessenden, Bradbury, and R. K. Sewall, to attend the celebration to occur on the twenty-ninth of August.

Measures were taken to place a suitable monument to designate the burial place of the ancient "Mr. Thomas Purchase" the first settler at "Pe- "jepscot" (in his patent called "Bishopscotte," now Brunswick) in 1628, on the borders of Merrymating Bay; and also to preserve the Black-Hawk Fort, the only remaining structure pertaining to Fort Halifax, built in 1754, and situated at the confluence of the Sebasticook and Kenebeck rivers. In another page will be found the Latin inscription that celebrated the completion of that important, and, for those days, strong fortification.

This Annual Meeting has been one of the most interesting and usefnl in its series. The fact that the Society is now in the way of publishing the papers, such as Charters, Grants, Letters, and Historic Documents of various kinds, shows its earnestness and utility. The field here is large, and needs more explorers than it has found, though it has had faithful laborers; and now rejoices in one, a veteran in the service, whose care has watched over the issues of the collections of the Society, and whose pen has illustrated the History of our chief city, and the lives of the departed members of the profession of the Civil Law; as well as many other matters, belonging to the design with which this institution was created.

Boston Numismatic Society.—The monthly meeting was held on the afternoon of Thursday, the eleventh of July. The report of the previous meeting was read and accepted. The Secretary distributed among the members present, copies of the "Circular Letter" of the Director of the U. S. Mint. It has been prepared after consultation with the numismatic societies and collectors of this country, and contains the rules which are to govern the emission of proof coins and medals from the Mint. The President called the attention of members to the fact that one of their number, Edward A. Crowninshield of Boston, died on the third of July; he was twenty-six years old, and a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1861.

Mr. Wiggin exhibited an impression in tin of the large medal issued by the American Numis-

matic and Archæological Society, in memory of Abraham Lincoln; it bears his head, with the inscription "*Salvator Patriæ*"; on the reverse is an inscription in a wreath of laurel. With it were specimens in Three metals of Two sizes of smaller medals, reduced from the large one by Hill's engraving machine; an extract was read from a letter describing the process and its results. These medals belong to James Parker of Springfield, a resident member. Mr. Wiggin also showed the gold piece of Twenty pesos or dollars, struck for Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, in 1866, and belonging to C. P. Nichols of Springfield.

The Secretary exhibited a silver shell of Washington, with his head on a pedestal, supported by figures of an Indian and Minerva, and the inscription, "Gen. Geo. Washington, Presi. of the Unit. "Sta." He also showed a specimen in silver of a medal described in the July number of the American Journal of Numismatics, under the subject of "Dordrecht Dollars." It is of size 31 1-2, and has on one side a milk-maid seated by a cow before a fence; near are another cow, sheep and trees, with the inscription, "*Avidi Spes Fida Co-loni*"; on the reverse is a ship of war under sail, and around are Four shields, on the largest of which are the arms of West Frisia; the inscription is "*Nauta Æquora Verrit Turbida*, 1622." It was struck to commemorate the escape of Dordrecht from a surprise by the Spaniards, through the presence of mind of some milk-maids.

The Society adjourned to the first Thursday of October.

The American Statistical Association.—A quarterly meeting was held at Boston, on the nineteenth inst., the President, Edward Jarvis, M.D., in the chair:

Hon. Amasa Walker, LL.D., of North Brookfield, Mass., read a paper on the question, *Will a contraction of the Currency increase the burdens of Taxation?* He showed that this would not be the case with any class of the community; that the farmer, the manufacturer, the laborer, the capitalist, and the merchant, would be benefited rather than injured by contraction. Thanks were voted to Dr. Walker for the paper, and he was requested to publish the same.

The President made some remarks upon the growth of cities in population at the expense of the country, which has been frequently noticed among various nations.

Ebenezer Alden, M.D., of Randolph, Mass., followed with remarks upon the greater length of life among physicians in the country as compared with those in cities, and illustrated his position by examples.

A Historical Commission.—The Common Council of the City of New York recently adopted the following Resolutions; and, on the twenty-first of May, the Mayor approved them.

The great importance of the duties assigned to this Commission will be apparent to all our readers; especially in view of the Legislative action concerning the real estate and franchises of this ancient Corporation; and, as was said by one of our contemporaries, "the result of this "inquiry will be invaluable as a matter of public "record, if nothing more."

"Whereas, Under its ancient Charters, and by "subsequent purchase and gift, the Mayor, Alder-"men and Commonalty of the City of New York "have, from time to time, become the legal pos-"sessor of certain rights, franchises and proper-"ties; and

"Whereas, Certain of those rights, franchises "and properties, at various times, have been "encroached upon or seized for the public use, "by the People of the State of New York, with-"out the compensation therefor which has been "guaranteed by the Constitution of the State "and that for the United States; and

"Whereas, Propositions have been entertained "by the Legislature of the State of New York "for a still more extended seizure for the public "use, without compensation therefor, of portions "of the real estate and of various rights and "franchises belonging to the said Mayor, Alder-"men and Commonalty, which have been guar-"anteed by the ancient Charters and confirmed "from time to time by the Constitution of the "State; and

"Whereas, It is desirable that the said Mayor, "Aldermen and Commonalty shall be made ac-"quainted, from the records and documents which "have descended to them, with the character and "extent of their said vested rights, franchises, "and properties, no matter from what source "they shall have been derived, in order that "judicious measures may be taken for their pro-"tection from illegal seizure and invasion; there-"fore,

"Resolved, That the Counsel to the Corpor-"ation and the Clerk of the Common Council be "and they are hereby instructed, and Dr. E. B. "O'Callaghan, J. Romeyn Brodhead, LL.D., "George Henry Moore, Esq., Henry B. Daw-"son, Esq., and John Paulding, Esq., be and "they are hereby severally requested to ascer-"tain and report to his Honor the Mayor the "character and extent of the various rights, fran-"chises and properties of which the Corporation "of the City of New York has been and is now "legally the proprietor, whether the same shall "have been derived from the ancient Charters, or "either of them, or from subsequent purchase or "gift; when, and in what manner, and by what "authority, in law, if at all, any or either of

"such rights, franchises and properties, have been "invaded or seized; to what extent, if at all, "they or any of them have been threatened; "and what effect, if any, such seizure or threat- "ened seizure or invasion will have on the con- "tracts which the city has entered into with its "creditors or bondholders.

"RESOLVED, That the Clerk of the Common "Council be and he is hereby instructed to give "to the gentlemen referred to in the preceding "resolution full access to the records and files "which are in his office, and to furnish for their "use copies of such of those records and papers, "and of such other papers and documents as "shall be necessary for the purpose of this in- "quiry."

"DUTCH" OR SOMETHING LESS.—Our readers are probably aware of the proposition which was accepted by the General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church, at the recent session, to drop the old word "DUTCH" from the title of the denomination; and the contest that has arisen on the subject.

The Consistory of the Collegiate churches in the City of New York has passed the following resolution in reference to the subject:

"WHEREAS, The General Synod in June last "recommended to the Classes an amendment to "the Constitution changing the name of our "Church to the Reformed Church in America; "and

"WHEREAS, The same Synod declared 'that it "'is entirely proper for every Consistory to ex- "'press to its Classis its views in regard to the "'proposed change;' therefore

"RESOLVED, That this Consistory hereby ex- "presses its opinion that this change is uncalled "for, unwise, and very dangerous to the peace, "prosperity, and even the existence of the Church, "especially if it be carried out in the time and "manner proposed."

CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARIES.—The present edifice of the Reformed Dutch Church of Claverack, was erected in the year 1767. The centennial anniversary of that event is to be celebrated with appropriate services on the twenty-eighth of August. A great gathering of the tribes, and an occasion of unusual interest, is expected.

The First Reformed Dutch Church of New Brunswick, N. J., will complete the One hundred and fiftieth year of its history this fall, and is to celebrate the occasion on Tuesday, the first of October. In the morning a historical discourse will be delivered by the pastor, Rev. Richard H. Steele, D.D. The devotional exercises will be conducted by former ministers of the church. The afternoon will be devoted to public exercises appropriate to the occasion. In the evening an address will be delivered by the senior ex-pastor, Rev. Isaac Ferris, D.D., of New York city.

THE TUTHILLS.—At a meeting of the Committee of Arrangements, representing the descednants of John Tuthill, one of the original Colony that settled at Southold, Long Island, in the year 1640, held in said Town, the twenty-seventh of May, 1867, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

Whereas, The descendants of John Tuthill, many of whom reside in the town of Southold, Suffolk County, and other parts of Long Island, and others residing in various States of the Union, feeling a deep interest in perpetuating his memory, deem it of importance to make themselves known and acquainted with each other, and to strengthen the family ties; therefore,

Resolved, That a general gathering of said descendants, and of those who claim any relationship to the said John Tuthill, be held in the grove of Thomas S. Lester, in the village of Southold, Suffolk County, Long Island, on the twenty-eighth day of August, 1867, at which all the descendants are cordially invited and respectfully requested to be present, and to bring with them any and all documents of historical interest to the family.

Addresses from some of the members of the family may be expected on the occasion.

SCRAPS.—The ground has been broken for a monument to Pennsylvanians who fell in Mexico. It will be of white marble, Seventy feet high, erected at Harrisburg.

—Hon. Henry Stevens, a distinguished citizen of Vermont, aged Seventy-five, died at his residence in Barnet recently.

Mr. Stevens was formerly the President of the Vermont Historical Society.

—Prof. Chas. Anthon, LL.D., for many years head of the classical department in Columbia College, died in this city in his Seventieth year. He was the author of Fifty volumes on classical subjects, all of which exhibit great learning and research.

—An old "pine tree shilling" of Massachusetts coinage, of the very old and rare date, 1652, was picked up a day or two ago by Orrin Loomis, of West Springfield, an old man of Seventy-five, while walking in his own fields. The letters upon the coin, the figure of the old tree, date and all, have been distinctly preserved.

—Brave Corporal John Lorence—he whom General Burnside called the hero of Roanoke—says the *Providence Journal*, was in front of the Post Office, last evening, trying to earn a livelihood

for himself and family by dispensing cigars and patriotic airs on a hand-organ. John was a member of Company K, 9th New Jersey Volunteers, and was in the front at the landing on Roanoke Island. In the engagement a round shot took off both his legs, but he kept up a good heart, and was able in the hospital, when he heard that victory and the Island were ours, to arouse up and call for three cheers for the Union and General Burnside.—*Boston Transcript, July* 31.

The *Transcript* does not tell us why "General "Burnside" who was thus honored, does not now find something better for this noble fellow to do for a living, than to peddle cigars and grind hideous noises from a hand-organ, since both have returned to the same little city, and one has become a *Governor* while the other, his near neighbor, is only *a friendless cripple.*

Is it because the Governor of Rhode Island has no patronage, or Rhode Island no gratitude, for her live heroes *who are poor*, or Lorence no "in-"fluence?" Let History tell how ungrateful *one* Republic is and how little *one* General cares for a hero who remembered him, even in his struggle with death.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

—Stonewall Jackson's war horse "Superior," which was a gift to the General in 1862, from the citizens of Augusta county, Va., has been sold to a citizen of Macon, by the widow of our lamented hero, whose indigent circumstances necessitated her to part with the animal. It was originally designed to have sent it to Baltimore for sale, but a purchaser was found in Macon, who was liberal enough to pay a generous price for him.

—The University of Toronto has erected a memorial window to the students of the college who fell in the battle with the Fenians at Lime Ridge.

—It has been suggested that a subscription be opened for a fund to paint the Old South Church. Feeble religious societies must be sustained by the Christian public.

—The Hessians were amongst those who least regretted the union with Prussia. They were willing to lose their autonomy if they only lost their Elector at the same time. They are now doubtful whether the rule of the half-maniac despot was not as good as that of Prussia. The old Landgraves, by lending troops to Britain during the American war, and by hereditary parsimony, amassed large sums in the Electoral treasury. The Prussians are now masters of the situation and the funds. The removal of the coin to the Prussian treasury is bitterly complained of by the Hessians.

—The *Worcester Spy* says that Hon. Stephen Salisbury has added to his recent public gifts a donation to the American Antiquarian Society, of a lot of land adjoining its present estate at the corner of Maine and Highland streets, together with Eight thousand dollars in money, to be invested as a fund for the extension of the library building at some future time.

—At a sale of the effects of the Farmers and Merchants' Saving Institution, of Lynchburg, Wednesday, One hundred and eighty thousand dollars, in Confederate eight and six per cent. bonds, and Thirteen thousand five hundred dollars, in Confederate notes, brought, altogether, the sum of Twenty dollars in greenbacks. Thirty thousand dollars, Confederate registered bonds, One dollar and seventy-five cents.—*Richmond Examiner, July* 27.

—Mrs. Amanda M. Dade, widow of Major Francis Langhorne Dade, a Virginian by birth, who was massacred, with his whole command—One hundred and seventeen men—by Seminole Indians in December, 1835, has just died in Florida.

—In a lead mine at Memphis, Tenn., last Thursday, some specimens of red sandstone were broken open, and one was found to contain a petrified human hand, in a perfect state of preservation. In other cases parts of animals were found, and one black snake some Five feet long was found, of the consistency and weight of the stone.

—In February, 1866, a joint resolution was passed by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, authorizing the procurement of a historical painting, commemorative of the battle of Gettysburg, to be placed in the Capitol at Harrisburg. The committee to whom the matter was given in charge have selected Mr. Peter F. Rothermel, of Philadelphia, as the artist to execute the work. It is expected that Three years will be required in the completion of the picture, as it will be Thirty-five feet in length by Fifteen feet in height.

—A portion of the Eustis estate at Roxbury, Mass., laid out by Gov. Eustis before the Revolution, and during that contest a favorite resort for the American generals, has just been sold at auction, and realized Seventeen thousand dollars. The venerable mansion built by Gov. Shirley in the middle of the last century, of materials brought from England, was knocked down at Four hundred and ten dollars.

— The fine statue of Hon. Thomas H. Benton, which has been on storage in St. Louis for several months, is at last to be erected in some suitable place. The statue is life size, and was made by Miss Harriet Hosmer, some years ago.—*Transcript.*

— Mr. Larkin G. Mead, Jr., the American sculptor, has just completed the model of "Columbus before Queen Isabella," ordered some time since by Mr. Lockwood, of New York. This is Mr. Mead's most important work, and its merits are sufficient to satisfy the artist's most enthusiastic friends.—*Ibid.*

THE

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I.—THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN WESTMINSTER, VT.

A Sermon preached at Westminster, on the eleventh of June, 1867, the One hundredth Anniversary of the Organization of the Church.

By Rev. Pliny H. White, of Coventry, President of the Vermont Historical Society.

The hundred years during which this church has had existence, have constituted the most memorable century in the history of the world; with the sole exception of that in which Christ came from heaven to earth to make atonement for the sins of men. Events of unparalleled magnitude have succeeded each other with unprecedented rapidity, "as if," to use the language of an eminent Scotch writer, "they had come "under the influence of that law of gravitation, by "which falling bodies increase in speed as they de-"scend, according to the squares of the distances." Within that period, our own country has emerged from the condition of a weak and dependent colony, has passed through one long and bloody war to achieve a national existence, and a tenfold bloodier one to preserve that existence and make it worth preserving; and, having extended its territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and increased its population from less than three millions to more than thirty-three, it stands to-day equal to any of the empires of the other continent, if not superior to the greatest of them in all that constitutes true greatness. In the Southern half of this continent, in Europe, and in Asia, political revolutions, almost as remarkable as our own, have taken place within the same period.

More important than these changes, which have not been accomplished without confused noise and garments rolled in blood, have been the revolutions that have taken place in the departments of science and the practical arts, of social life, education, literature, and civil and religious progress. "Peace hath her victories no less re-"nowned than war," and the peaceful victories that have been achieved within a century have surpassed in number, magnitude and importance, those of any preceding century since time began. The application of steam-power to the purposes of traveling, manufacturing, and especially of printing,—the employment of electro magnetism in the telegraph—the discovery of chloroform and other anæsthetic agents—the improvements in the art of printing—not to mention a multitude of other inventions, discoveries, and improvements, have made the world so different from what it was a century, or even half a century ago, that it can hardly be recognized as the same. Within a century, too, has arisen that brilliant constellation of societies for the spread of the gospel, the Missionary Societies, Bible Societies, Tract Societies, and their kindred associations, in Europe and America, through whose agency the news of salvation has been made known in regions gloomy with the shades of death, and millions of the most degraded of the human race have been enabled to read in their own tongues the wonderful works of God. More than all, it has been a century of revivals. We search the history of the Church in vain for any record of such frequent and powerful effusions of the Holy Spirit as have been experienced within the memory of some in this audience.

What a privilege it is to have lived in such a period. How much greater the privilege and the honor to have had any agency, however humble, in carrying forward any part of so noble a work. What cause for gratitude to God has this Church, not merely that it has had existence for a century, but that it has existed in such a century, and has been identified to some extent with the great movements of "such a time as this."

Not to dwell longer upon the general subject, though the theme is a fascinating one,—we come to that which is the specific duty, and enjoyment too, of this hour; to "call to remembrance the "former days," in which the fathers of this Church laid the foundations of many generations, and to put on record the facts of its history as fully and accurately as the materials at our disposal will enable us to do. It is to be regretted that the records for nearly the whole first quarter of the century long since disappeared, and that the

lack of them can be but partially supplied by less authoritative documents and by tradition.

As long ago as 1736, the first steps were taken for the establishment of the institutions of the Gospel in this place. In that year, the legislature of Massachusetts, supposing that its jurisdiction extended as far North as this, and much farther, granted "Township Number One," as it was then called, to a number of persons resident in various towns in Massachusetts and Connecticut. By the terms of the charter, the grantees were required to build and furnish, within three years, "a convenient meeting-house for the public "worship of God, and settle a learned orthodox "minister." In June 1737, a highway, ten rods wide, was surveyed and located on a line coincident with that of the main street in this village, and extending Northwardly till it struck the river, a burying-ground was established on the land now occupied for that purpose, "and the "meeting-house platt is fixed in the middle of the "aforesaid ten rods highway right against the "twenty-fourth lott," where in fact a house was afterwards built. A few persons moved into the wilderness and began a settlement, but the establishment of the Northern boundary of Massachusetts so far South as to leave Number One out of that State discouraged the settlers, and the breaking out of the Cape Breton war led them entirely to abandon the enterprise. In 1751 the settlement of the town was again attempted, and in 1754 or '5 it was again abandoned, for fear of the Indians who had recently made an attack upon Charlestown, N. H., and carried several of its inhabitants into captivity. It was not till 1761 that such measures were taken as secured a permanent settlement. From that time the population rapidly increased, and at the expiration of ten years Westminister was the most populous town in Eastern Vermont.

This Church was organized 11 June, 1767, by a council consisting of representatives of the churches in Charlestown, Keene, Walpole, Westmoreland, and Winchester, New Hampshire; Northfield, and Warwick, Massachusetts; and Abington, Connecticut. Of the three hundred persons, or more, who then constituted the population of the town, only nine were found ready to be constituted a Church, and, singular to say, not one of these was a woman.* Among the constituent members were Ephraim Ranney and John Sessions; who were afterwards (4 May, 1769,) elected deacons, and held that office, the former for thirty-three years, and the latter for nearly fifty-three years. The memory of them both is still fragrant in the Church, and Deacon Ranney has special claims to remembrance as the ancestor of seven preachers of the Gospel, of as many more members of the other learned professions, and of numerous deacons. Among the constituent members was also Jesse Goodell, who on the same day was ordained pastor of the little flock.* He remained in the pastorate "between "two and three years," during which period fifteen persons united by profession and sixteen by letter or by certificate, increasing the number of members to forty, of whom half were males and half females. He lived in a house on "the Wall "lot," a few rods North of the present residence of Josiah Davis, and the only building in the town whose four sides faced the four cardinal points. Tradition says that he abandoned his pastorate without a formal dismissal, and that he left town secretly, under charges seriously affecting his moral character.

Mr. Goodell was brought up in Abington, Connecticut, was graduated at Yale in 1761, and was licensed by the Hartford North Association, 4 October, 1763. After leaving Westminister he was in the Revolutionary Army, but in what capacity is not known. He died in 1779.

In 1769 a house of worship was raised, and during that and the following year it was so far advanced as to be capable of occupancy. It stood in the centre of the highway, directly East of its present site. By what means the needful funds were procured does not appear. It is evident, however, that the resources of those who engaged in the enterprise were but scanty, and depended wholly upon voluntary contributions. For a long term of years it remained in an unfinished condition. The underpinning was not sufficient to prevent sheep from going under the house for shelter, and as the floor was of loose boards, the noise of the animals beneath sometimes mingled discordantly with the singing and preaching above. The desk of the minister and the seats of the congregation were rude and inconvenient in the extreme; and whatever other virtues might fail to receive cultivation, the patience and endurance of the worshippers were subjected to very salutary discipline. In this connection it is well to finish what needs to be said in regard to completing the house. By an act of the legislature passed in 1781, towns were authorized to levy taxes upon the land, for the purpose of building houses of worship. It is not to be in-

* These nine persons were Jesse Goodell, William Willard Ephraim Ranney, Bildad Andros, John Sessions, Dan Dickinson, Zachariah Gilson, John French, Azariah Dickinson.

*The exercises of the ordination were as follows: Rev. Micah Lawrence of Winchester, N. H., made the opening prayer, Rev. Mr. Hedge, of—— made the [ordaining?] prayer before the charge to the pastor, Rev. Bulkley Olcott of Charlestown, N. H. gave the charge, Rev. Clement Sumner of Keene, made the prayer after the charge, and Rev. Thomas Fessenden of Walpole, gave the right hand of fellowship. It does not appear that any sermon was preached on the occasion. If there was, it was probably preached by the candidate himself, as was the custom a century ago.

ferred from this, that the legislators of that day surpassed those of the present time in love for religious institutions and desire to advance them. On the contrary, they designed by this law mainly to promote the more rapid settlement of towns, and increase the value of the lands, and this design was expressly recognized in the preamble of the statute. In 1783, at a session held in Westminister, the legislature went still farther, and authorized towns or parishes not only to build meeting-houses, but also to support the preaching of the gospel, by taxes assessed, as well upon the polls and other ratable estate of the inhabitants as upon the lands. Under this statute, familiarly known as the ministerial act, the town and the parish were identical, and all the property was liable to contribute for religious purposes, according to the vote of the majority.

There is no evidence that this town took any decided action under the ministerial act till 1788. At that time the meeting-house was still unpainted, unglazed, and only partially provided with pews. At a meeting held 23 June, 1788, the parish voted to receive the house from "the "ancient proprietors," on condition that they should pay all debts outstanding on its account, and execute a conveyance of all their title. A tax of ten pence on the pound, on the list of 1788, "payable in beef, at twenty shillings per hundred, "wheat at five shillings per bushel, and other "grain equivalent, or money," was assessed for the purpose of finishing the house. In April, 1789, the parish voted to give Hon. Stephen R. Bradley the pew on the right hand of the pulpit, on condition that he should procure glass enough to glaze the house, by the first day of August then next. This condition not being complied with, the time was subsequently lengthened till 1 May, 1791, but the glazing was not actually completed till 1798, when the proceeds of the sale of four pews were appropriated to that purpose. In the spring of 1789, a contract was made with Asa Gage to finish the house, for the sum of £175 "lawful money, to be paid in wheat "at five shillings per bushel, beef at twenty shil- "lings per hundred, or other grain or neat stock "in that proportion;" and a tax of nine pence on the pound on the grand list was assessed, payable in such specific articles, for the purpose of meeting the contract. Mr. Gage completed his undertaking, but the parish failed to pay him at the appointed time, and he prosecuted his demand to judgment and execution, which occasioned the parish a good deal of annoyance and trouble.

For several years the body of the house was not divided into pews, but was furnished with long seats, holding five or six persons each. From time to time, as the means of the parish allowed and convenience required, the seats were replaced by pews till the floor was covered. It was voted, 3 January, 1793, "to make two pews, "one each side of the broad alley of the seats," and to rent six pews which had previously been made. At the same time it was voted "to give "Mr. Jonathan Kittridge fifteen shillings in cash, "to sweep the meeting-house and take care of the "pall and keys, for one year," and Lieut. Zachariah Gilson and Ensign Asa Averill were chosen "to take care and clear the meeting-house "of dogs on the Sabbath according to their dis- "cretion." It does not appear when the house finally assumed the condition of a finished structure, within and without, but it could not have been far from 1800. Externally, the house is still what it was at the first, save only as the storms of nearly a century have left their marks upon it., It were a good thing to keep it well repaired and let it stand as a perpetual memorial of the toils, and sacrifices, and self-denials, which our forefathers cheerfully endured that they might have a house in which to worship God. Its timbers are sound and its joints are strong, and, special providences excepted, there is nothing to prevent it from lasting till the millenium, and then being occupied again, and by larger congregations than ever assembled in it in the former days.

The interior of the house has been changed so completely, that a description of its former state will be interesting to the present generation. From the front door an aisle ran through the center of the house, and upon each side of the aisle was a block of pews, eight in number, four opening upon the central aisle and four upon another aisle parallel with it. A row of pews ran around the house, broken, however, into four divisions by the entrance-ways on the north, south and east, and the pulpit on the West. The pews were a step higher than the aisles, and this was not seldom a step of stumbling to the unwary. They were large square pens, built up as high as the head of the occupants, and within them wooden seats ran around the four sides, with only a single break for the door. A pew would accommodate from twelve to sixteen persons—they had patriarchal families in those days—and by the arrangement just mentioned, a part of them must needs sit with their backs to the minister. These were, of course, the children, who being thus under the double watch of their parents' eyes and the minister's, could hardly fail to be becomingly subdued. The seats were hung upon hinges, and were turned up when the congregation rose in prayer, and let down again at the end of the prayer, not without a bang and clatter which greatly delighted the little ones. The pews nearest the pulpit were the first built, and were occupied by those whose social rank was the highest. Gen. Stephen R. Bradley sat in the

wall-pew next the pulpit on the right hand of the minister, and John Norton, with his numerous daughters, had the corresponding pew on the left. The front pew on the right of the central aisle was "the minister's pew," and directly opposite was the pew of Hon. Mark Richards.

The pulpit was on the West side of the house, high up the wall, and access to it was by a flight of several stairs. Over it was a huge "sounding "board," apparently upheld so slightly as to occasion continual fear in the minds of children lest it should come down with a crash on the minister's head. At the foot of the pulpit was the "deacon's seat," a long, narrow enclosure, the occupants of which paid dearly for the honor of their place by the cramped and inconvenient position they were obliged to maintain. The minister occupied a part of this seat when a child was to be baptized or the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was to be administered. Upon three sides of the house was a gallery, to which ascent was made from the entry-way of the North and South wings. Around the gallery and next to the wall was a row of pews similar to those below, and in front of these were two rows of hard wooden seats. It is hardly necessary to add that, both above and below, the aisles and pews were uncarpeted, and the seats uncushioned, and that for many years there was no means of warming it, even in the coldest days of winter. This was the house in which our fathers worshipped, a house rude and uncomfortable, according to modern notions, but hallowed by many precious memories, and to be held in everlasting remembrance by not a few souls, as the place in which they were born again, of water and of the Spirit.

This account of the meeting-house has taken us many years in advance of the main current of discourse, and we now return to the point of departure, namely, the year 1769. After Mr. Goodell's leaving, there was no settled pastor, and probably no stated preaching for about five years. During that period only five persons were added to the church. Rev. Joseph Bullen was ordained pastor 6 July, 1774, and sustained that relation about eleven years, during which period forty-six persons were added to the church. He was born in Sutton, Mass., was graduated at Yale, 1772, and married Hannah Morse, a relative of the inventor of the telegraph. He was a man of learning, talent, and piety, a fine writer, and a clear, sensible, and instructive, though not eloquent preacher. His usefulness, however, while in Westminster, was much impaired by his devotion to money-getting. He kept a store, manufactured potash, speculated in land, and was considered quite shrewd enough at a bargain. Having acquired a large quantity of wild land in Athens, he removed there in 1785 or soon after; the relation between him and the church being informally dissolved, by his asking a dismission, the church granting it, and his certifying in writing, 26 September, 1785, that he accepted the dismission and released the church from all obligations to him. In 1788 and 1791, he was the representative of Athens in the Legislature of Vermont. For several years he preached in that town, with little or no compensation, and in 1797 his labors resulted in the organization of a Congregational church, of which he and his wife were two of the eleven constituent members. Soon after that, he was appointed by the New York Missionary Society a missionary to the Chickasaw Indians, among whom he established a mission near where the town of Pontotoc, Miss., is located. In 1803, he settled near Uniontown, Miss., and there organized a Presbyterian church, the first Protestant church in that State. There and in that vicinity, he labored for about twenty years, preaching the Gospel and establishing churches. Like Paul, at Corinth, he for the most part "made the "Gospel of Christ without charge," his salary, for preaching half the time to the church near which he lived, being only fifty-five dollars annually; in view of which it may well be questioned whether his shrewdness at a bargain ought not to be regarded with a good degree of charity. Having labored in the ministry more than fifty years, he died at an advanced age in 1825. He was the first Protestant minister who settled permanently in Mississippi, and the first Moderator of the Presbytery of that State. His only publication was a sermon preached before the General Assembly of Vermont in 1783.*

After Mr. Bullen's dismissal, an interregnum of nearly five years took place, during which there were several candidates for settlement, whose names have not been preserved. Five persons only were added during this period. The church and parish concurred in a vote, 24 June, 1790, calling Mr. Sylvester Sage to the pastorate, with a salary of one hundred pounds, lawful money, and thirty cords of good fire wood, the money part of the salary "to be paid one quarter "in money, and the residue in wheat at five shil-"lings per bushel, or other grain equivalent." This call was accepted, and the ordination took place 13 October, 1790.† At that time the

* An apocryphal and highly embellished account of a case of discipline which occurred during Mr. Bullen's pastorate, may be found in Graham's *Descriptive Sketch of the Present State of Vermont*, pages 111–115, and is repeated with variations, in *Hall's History of Eastern Vermont*, pages 732–733. It must be taken *cum grano salis*.

† The churches represented in the council were those in Marlboro, Putney, and Rockingham, Vermont; Charlestown, Keene, and Walpole, New Hampshire; Berlin, Connecticut, and Granville, Massachusetts. The exercises were as follows: Rev. Aaron J. Booge of Granville, (pastor of the candidate's intended wife,) offered the Opening Prayer; Rev. Nathan Fenn, of Berlin, (pastor of the candidate,) preached the sermon; Rev. Bulkley Olcott, of Charlestown, offered the Ordaining Prayer; Rev. Thomas Fessenden, of Walpole, gave the Charge (to the pastor?);

church consisted of thirty-two male and thirty-seven female members, sixty-nine in all. Considering the state of the times, and the disadvantages under which the church had labored, this was a large growth to have attained. From 1767 to 1790 the country was in a state of violent agitation, being involved first in war, with its exciting, impoverishing, and demoralizing influences, and then in sharp political conflicts occasioned by laying the foundations of the government. It was a transition period, in the affairs of which it was necessary to expend time and toil, and treasure. The State of Vermont had the additional agitation of the long conflict with New York and the struggle for admission into the Union; and some of the most exciting events in that conflict took place in Westminster. That, under all these adverse circumstances, the church made such progress, is good evidence that it was a vine of God's own right hand's planting and preserving. Its growth, however, had been the result of immigration and addition by letter, more than of conversion and profession; and such it continued to be, the additions by profession during the seventeen years which constituted the first period of Mr. Sage's ministry, averaging only about three a year.

In 1794-5, the peace of the church was much disturbed by a case of discipline, not especially important of itself, but made important by the stubbornness with which the offending member resisted, and by the extensive publicity given to the case in the periodicals of the time.* One of the female members had been led to become a believer in Universalism, by her brother, who was one of the early preachers of the doctrine. She absented herself not only from the Lord's table, but also from public meeting, and in various ways showed contempt of the church and its ordinances. For more than six months the church and community were agitated by the proceedings necessary to adjust the difficulty. Numerous church meetings were held, into some of which, persons not members of the church intruded themselves and attempted to take part in the defence of the delinquent. The excitement was made more intense by her own tears and passionate exclamations, which sometimes rendered it difficult for them to proceed. After six months of patience and forbearance on the one hand, and of unyielding obduracy on the other, a sentence of excommunication ended the case. The pastor, giving the most literal application to the teaching of the apostle,—"with such an one, no, "not to eat"—afterward felt it his duty not to sit at the table with her, even though visiting at her house.

In 1793 the members residing in the West parish requested to be organized as a separate church; and in view of the great inconvenience to which they were subjected in attending the ordinances of the Gospel, their reasonable request was granted. This movement was a permanent benefit to the cause of Christ, as well as to the persons directly concerned in it; but its immediate effects upon this church were injurious. The removal of thirty or more members not only weakened the church numerically and morally, but seriously diminished the pecuniary resources upon which reliance could be placed for the support of religious institutions. The difficulty of raising the salary of the pastor was greatly increased by an act of the Legislature passed in 1801. Until that date every person was by law "considered as being of opinion with the major "part of the inhabitants of the town in which he "dwelt," and liable to be assessed on his grand list for the support of such preaching as the majority desired, unless he should procure and exhibit to the town clerk a certificate, signed by some minister, deacon, or elder, that he belonged to some other specified denomination.* In contemplation of law, every man had some religious preference, and was bound to contribute, according to his ability, to support the institutions of the Gospel. But in 1801, a statute was enacted, allowing any person to relieve himself from liability to support the established preaching, by delivering to the town clerk a certificate signed by himself, that he did not agree in religious opinion with a majority of the inhabitants. Nor were the opponents of "the standing order" satisfied, till they procured the passage of a law in 1807, divesting towns of all power to assess taxes for the building of meeting-houses or the support of ministers, and leaving every person to decide for himself, whether he would contribute anything, and, if anything, how much, for those purposes. It was greatly feared that this law would prove disastrous to the cause of religion, and it did temporarily embarrass and discourage many churches.† How much effect the law had upon the ability of the parish to pay Mr. Sage's salary is not to be known, but there can be no doubt that it was much more difficult to raise the salary under the new law than under the old. In April, 1805, Mr. Sage requested a dismissal, but the parish unanimously declined to comply. Two

Rev. Aaron Hall, of Keene, gave the Right Hand of Fllowship, and Rev. Gershom C. Lyman, of Marlboro, offered the Concluding Prayer. The parish paid £1. 15s. 4d. for the board of Mr. Sage and the council at the time of ordination.

* *Farmer's Weekly Museum*, 2 June, and 7 July, 1795, and *Vermont Repository*, June, 1795.

* *Compiled Statutes of Vermont*, 1790, page 203.

† When a similar change in the laws of Connecticut was pending, Rev. Lyman Beecher preached one of his most powerful and eloquent sermons, deprecating the plan of leaving religion to voluntary support, as one that would inevitably open the flood-gates of ruin upon the State.

years afterwards, he renewed the request, a majority of the parish voted to grant it, the church reluctantly concurred, and he was dismissed 19 May, 1807. During his pastorate, ninety-five persons were added to the church, of whom fifty-six united by profession, and thirty-nine by letter.

Soon after Mr. Sage's dismissal, Rev. Jason Chamberlain, afterwards Professor in the University of Vermont, commenced preaching as a candidate for settlement, and supplied the pulpit for several months. In 1808 Rev. Mr. Beardsley preached some months as a candidate. Early in May, 1809, negotiations were commenced with Mr. Sage to induce him to resume the pastorate, and in the following August he was engaged to act as pastor for the term of ten years, his salary being payable half in cash and half in grain at cash price. Without the formality of an installation, he thus entered upon a pastorate which continued for twenty-nine years. For several years preceding and following the commencement of Mr. Sage's second pastorate, a very low state of religion prevailed, and it was not till 1810 that any change for the better took place. This had its origin, so far as means were concerned, chiefly in the earnest and diligent labors of a young man who united with the church in January of that year. He was a recent convert in a powerful revival at Middlebury, where he was a student in college. With all the warmth and zeal of a first love, he endeavored to arouse Christians to a sense of their duty, and to lead sinners to the Saviour. A marked increase of religious interest took place, and though it did not amount to what would be called a revival, the spirituality of the church was greatly promoted, and ten or twelve persons were hopefully converted. Two of those who united with the church at this time, the young man just mentioned and his brother,* became ministers of the Gospel, and their praise is still in many of the churches in Vermont, New Hampshire and Connecticut. Among the converts in that revival were two women, whose names are entitled to be mentioned—Mrs. Lucy Lovejoy and Mrs. Roxanna Goodrich These women, with Mrs. Olive Reed and Mrs. Lusk, established in 1812 a female prayer-meeting. The first meeting was held at Mrs. Goodrich's on the very spot where this house stands, a spot thus consecrated by the prayers of faithful Christian women a quarter of a century before it became the site of a house of worship. This prayer-meeting was continued, with occasional interruptions, till 1829, when the brethren were admitted to it and it became "the Saturday evening prayer-"meeting," which has remained one of the institutions of the church to this day.

* Seth S. Arnold and Joel R. Arnold.

It would seem that a similar awakening occurred in 1816, but no facts in regard to it can be ascertained, except that on the last Sabbath of October in that year, twelve persons united with the church by profession. In 1825 more than usual religious interest existed, and seventeen persons united with the church. With the exception of these two seasons of awakening, there was almost nothing in the history of the church from 1812 to 1830, of sufficient importance to deserve recording. The annual additions were few, and were nearly or quite balanced by removals and deaths. It was not until 1831 that any such spiritual blessings were received as added largely to the church, both in numbers and in grace. That was a year of revival throughout the American churches; the year, indeed, in which revivals of the modern type were first experienced. It was the era of protracted meetings, anxious seats, and other new measures, from which new and large results were obtained. This church, not without some misgivings on the part of the pastor and many judicious Christians, adopted the new measures, and gained by them perhaps as much good and as little harm and loss, as it was reasonable to have expected. During the Fall of 1831 Sabbath evening meetings were held alternately on the plain and the upper street, and in connnection with them were held inquiry meetings which were largely attended. On the 15th of November a protracted meeting commenced, and was continued for four days. Rev. Timothy Field of Westminster West, preached the opening sermon—from the text,—"Prepare to meet thy "God," a plain, pungent, and powerful discourse. Rev. Jonathan McGee of West Brattleboro, Rev. Uzziah C. Burnap of Chester, Rev. Benjamin A. Pitman of Putney, Rev. Elihu Smith of Chesterfield, N. H., and several other ministers preached during the progress of the meeting. The style of the preaching was for the most part hortatory; and while it awakened Christians, and sent conviction into the hearts of many sinners, it also aroused the anger and bitter opposition of the enemies of truth and righteousness. There was great excitement both in the church and out of it, and the effects of the movement were felt for several years. One of the immediate results was the addition of twenty-five persons to the church, many of whom remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. Among these last is "the be-"loved physician,"* whose mortal remains we followed yesterday to the grave, sorrowing that we should no more behold his face in the flesh, yet rejoicing that his ransomed spirit is with God whom he served and with Christ in whom he trusted. Perhaps even now he is looking down upon us from the upper world, and his affection-

* Dea. Pliny Safford, M.D.

ate heart glows with joy at beholding the jubilee of the church which he loved.

This revival gave origin and impulse to several benevolent and reformatory movements, the most important of which was the organization of a temperance society. The evils of intemperance had been severely felt, not only in the community at large, but also in the church, where it had occasioned several painful cases of discipline, ending in excommunication, as well as some disciplinary proceedings which fell short of that result. It became apparent that some special effort must be made to arrest the evil, and in the winter of 1832-3 a temperance society was organized of which Dea. Pliny Safford was President, Michael Gilson, Vice President, Erastus A. Holton, Secretary, and Zacheus Cole, Treasurer. In regard to the success of this movement. a resident of the town wrote in July, 1833, as follows: —"The temperance cause flourishes here beyond "our most sanguine expectations. At our last "meeting our society numbered one hundred and "ten. We have three temperance stores and one "temperance tavern. There is no store in town "where ardent spirits are kept, but there are two "taverns that yet keep it." It soon became the practice of the church not to receive as members any persons whose piety was not sufficient to restrain them from the use of intoxicating liquors, and in January 1839, it was declared by a formal vote, "that in the present light of the tem- "perance reform, and of Divine Inspiration, it is "not expedient to receive any members to this "church who make, vend, or use distilled liquors "as a beverage." In 1842, another step in advance was taken by the organization of a society which interdicted the use of alcoholic liquors of every kind, distilled or fermented. Under the auspices of this society the total abstinence question received a very thorough discussion throughout the community, temperance meetings were held at the meeting-house for several successive days, and for some months there was hardly a Sabbath evening on which there was not a temperance meeting in some school-house in the parish. Though this was regarded by some as "an "intemperate agitation of the subject of temper- "ance," it is believed that the good effects of that agitation are felt to this very day.

The revival of 1831 was the occasion also, though indirectly, of the building of the meeting-house now occupied by the church. It drew the dividing line between the church and the world far deeper than it had ever been drawn before, and it inflamed to violent hostility many persons who had been merely indifferent to the church till it assumed the attitude of an aggressive body. Their hostility showed itself mainly by proceedings calculated to embarrass the church in the occupancy of the meeting-house. They obtained the control of the parish meetings, established a distinction between the parish and "Mr. Sage's "society," and in April, 1834, voted that Mr. Sage's society were not entitled to occupy the house more than three-fourths of the time, and that for the other fourth there should be a "lib- "eral" preaching. "Liberal" preaching was accordingly maintained on the 2d Sabbath in each month for a few years, and in the meantime the church took measures to build a house that should be wholly their own. This house was completed in the fall of 1835, and was dedicated 18 November 1835. In connection with the dedication, a three days' meeting was held, at which there was preaching by several ministers, but the opposition was so great that the meetings were somewhat thinly attended and no conversions took place. Some of the leading men in town positively refused to enter the new house even on the Sabbath day, and it was feared that the new house, though much smaller than the old one, would be too large to be filled by any congregation that could be induced to worship in it. Those fears, however, were not realized, and subsequent events have fully demonstrated the wisdom of our fathers in deciding that a small house well filled is every way to be preferred to a large house half filled.

Having preached the Gospel nearly half a century, and being now burdened with the infirmities of threescore and ten, Mr. Sage decided to close his labors with this church, and, on the last Sabbath in April 1838, he preached his farewell sermon from Phil. 1:27. It is suitable that a somewhat extended account should be given of one who served God and his generation so long and faithfully. Mr. Sage was born in Berlin, Conn., 24 January 1765, a son of Deacon Jedediah and Sarah (Marcy) Sage. He was graduated at Yale College, in 1787, studied theology with Rev. Cyprian Strong, D.D. of Chatham, and was licensed by the Hartford South Association in June 1788. In 1790, he preached in Shelburne, Mass., as a candidate for settlement, and on the question of giving him a call, the church was equally divided; twenty-two voting for the call, and twenty-two against it. From Shelburne he came directly to Westminster. He married, 20 January 1791, Orpah Robinson of Granville, Mass., of whom, however, he was deprived by death, 18 February, 1792; and he married, as a second wife, 7 January 1793, Clarrissa May, youngest daughter of Rev. Eleazer May of Haddam, Conn.* After his dismissal here he went to Braintree, Mass., and was there installed as colleague with Rev. Ezra Weld, 4 November 1807. Rev. Hezekiah May, of Marblehead, preached the sermon. The climate of the seaboard prov-

* She died 16 December 1836.

ing unfavorable to Mrs. Sage's health, he resigned the pastorate and was dismissed 4 May 1809. His ministry there had continued a year and a half to a day, and his farewell sermon was from the appropriate text: "and he continued there a "year and six months, teaching the word of God "among them." Acts 18:11. From Braintree he returned to Westminster, and here he remained till his death, which took place 21 January 1841.

When in the prime of life Mr. Sage was a man of mark. His personal appearance was prepossessing to an unusual degree. Indeed, he was a model of manly beauty. He had an almost perfect form, of full size, erect and symmetrical, and his movements were at once graceful and dignified. His features were regular and the expression which habitually rested upon them was that of kindness and benignity. It was said of him by one of his ministerial brethren,—"If "the epithet *handsome* were allowable to be ap-"plied to men, no one deserved it more than Mr. "Sage." He was very neat in person, and tasteful in dress, and in everything that relates to appearance he was absolutely faultless. He possessed fine social qualities, and in conversation was easy, agreeable and familiar, indulging occasionally in innocent pleasantry, but always preserving the quiet dignity becoming the position which he occupied. In the fullest sense of the word, he was a Christian gentleman.

Intellectually, he held a good standing. His mind, like his body, was sound and well balanced. If he was not so acutely metaphysical or so profoundly logical as some of his neighbors in the ministry, he had a clearness of perception of Divine truth and an ability to make that truth plain to others, in which he was not surpassed, if indeed he was equalled by any of them. In the pulpit his appearance was commanding. His enunciation was deliberate and distinct, his manner solemn and impressive. His sermons were distinguished for clear statement, sound thought, orderly arrangement, purity of language, and neatness of style. In doctrine he was strictly evangelical. While some of his associates in the ministry were lax in their theology, he preached the pure doctrines of the Gospel, with an earnestness which was inspired by the unwavering conviction that they, and they alone, are able to make wise unto salvation. He answered to the letter, Cowper's description of a preacher, such as Paul, were he on earth, would hear, approve and own—

—"Simple, grave, sincere;
"In doctrine uncorrupt, in language plain,
"And plain in mannner, decent, solemn, chaste,
"And natural in gesture; much impressed
"Himself, as conscious of his awful charge,
"And anxious mainly that the flock he feeds
"May feel it too; affectionate in looks,
"And tender in address, as well becomes
"A messenger of grace to guilty men."

Mr. Sage's reputation as a preacher was such that he was frequently invited to preach on special occasions. In 1803 he preached the "election sermon" before the Governor and Legislature of Vermont. He preached at the installation of Rev. Jesse Townshend at Durham, N. Y., in 1798, and at the ordinations of Rev. William Hall, at Grafton, Vt., and Rev. Ephraim H. Newton, at Marlboro, in 1814, of Rev. Seth S. Arnold, at Alstead, N. H., in 1816, of Rev. Jonathan Nye, at Claremont, in 1821, and, doubtless, on other similar occasions that have not come to my knowledge. His farewell sermon at Braintree, his election sermon, and his sermon at the installation of Rev. Jesse Townshend, were given to the press.

On the 1st Sabbath in May 1838, Rev. Seth S. Arnold began to labor as acting pastor, with the understanding that he would give place to an acceptable candidate for settlement, whenever such a one should appear. The state of religion was very low, and the general aspect of affairs discouraging. But man's extremity became God's opportunity. Christians betook themselves to Him with deep humiliation and fervent prayer, and he had regard for them in their low estate. In the latter part of November 1838, a series of meetings began to be held in the afternoon and evening, and continued two weeks. During the first week, Rev. A. D. Barber, of Saxton's River was present, and preached with great pungency and power. It soon became apparent that the Holy Spirit was giving unwonted efficacy to the means of grace. The meetings were in general very quiet and devoid of mere animal excitement, while at the same time the souls both of Christians and of awakened sinners were moved with the most intense emotions. The number of hopeful conversions attributed to this revival was between sixty and seventy; insomuch that the aged ex-pastor, seeing this abundant upspringing of the precious seed which he had so long gone forth to sow in tears, must need have felt, and doubtless said,—"Lord, "now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, "for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation." Among the converts in this revival was Erastus A. Holton, who afterwards employed in the service of God a large measure of the remarkable energy and business ability with which he had before served the world, and whose abundant labors in the causes of temperance and Sabbath Schools, entitle him to be held in long and grateful remembrance. As the results mainly of this work of grace, forty-one persons united with the church in 1839. Some of them still live and are pillars in this church or others, some have gone to their account, and some did run well for a season, but were hindered.

In 1839 Mr. Aaron R. Livermore preached as

a candidate for settlement, and to so good acceptance that the church and society gave him a call to the pastorate. He accepted the call, a day was fixed for his ordination, and letters missive to convene a council were called; but while the church, with unusual harmony, and increasing interest in the pastor elect, was looking forward to receiving him as pastor, he withdrew his acceptance and requested a release from the engagement. A few months after this unhappy experience, a call was given to Mr. Calvin R. Batchelder, with an offered salary of $450, which he accepted, and the ordination took place 22 April 1840.* A low state of religion prevailed for nearly three years, but in February 1843, an interesting work of grace commenced, and continued for some weeks. This work was a marked illustration of the truth that "the kingdom of "God cometh not by observation." Without the use of any but the ordinary means of grace, and while to all appearance an unusual coldness prevailed in the church, it was found at a Saturday evening prayer-meeting that an unusual number of non-professors of religion were present, some of whom were in an inquiring state. The interest deepened and extended, but was confined almost entirely to the young, nor were the reviving influences of the Spirit felt in the church, in a measure at all proportionate to what was experienced by them that were without. Desire for the conversion of souls seemed to be held in check by the fear of producing an unhealthy excitement. With the exception of an inquiry-meeting and an additional weekly prayer-meeting, none but the usual means of grace were employed, and in about two months the interest entirely subsided. During the year, seventeen persons, most of them converts in this awakening, and only three of them men, united with the church. After a ministry of about five years, Mr. Batchelder requested a dismissal, and was dismissed 26 February 1845.†

Revs. S. S. Arnold and Isaac Esty, who were then resident members of the church, were engaged to supply the pulpit on alternate Sabbaths, and continued so to do till March 1846, when Rev. William H. Gilbert became a candidate for settlement. He soon received and accepted a unanimous call, (with a salary of $450,) and was ordained 21 October 1846.* In view of the low state of religion, the church observed a special day of fasting and prayer 10 December 1846, but without any marked results. For some years, the condition of the church was improved not so much by the addition of new members, as by the exclusion of members who had proved themselves unworthy. Discipline was enforced with commendable strictness. The names of persons who had long been absent and not heard from, or heard from only to their discredit, were erased from the records, and several persons who had departed from the faith or fallen into evil habits were removed by excommunication. These proceedings diminished the membership of the church, but added materially to its real strength. After a pastorate of a little more than four years, Mr. Gilbert requested a dismissal, and was accordingly dismissed 5 March 1851†.

Rev. J. W. Pierce became acting pastor soon after Mr. Gilbert's dismissal, and continued to sustain that relation about two years. He was

* The exercises of the ordination were as follows: Invocation and reading the Scriptures by Rev. Broughton White of Putney; Prayer by Rev. Timothy Field of Westminster West; Sermon by Rev. John Wood of Newport, N. H.; Charge to the Pastor by Rev. Charles Walker of Brattleboro; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Abraham Jackson of Walpole, N. H.; Charge to the people by Rev. Jubilee Wellman of Westminster West; Concluding prayer by Rev. S. A. Benton of Saxton's River.

† Rev. Calvin Reddington Batchelder, son of Zechariah and Mary (Knowlton) Batchelder, was born in Wendell, (now Sunapee,) N. H., 9 August 1813. Without taking a collegiate course, he pursued classical and theological studies at Bangor Theological Seminary, where he was graduated in 1838. He was a sound scholar, a faithful pastor, and a good sermonizer. After his dismissal from Westminster, he entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church. From 1847 to 1859 he was rector of St. John's Church, Highgate, during a part of which time he also taught a family school for boys. He was rector of Zion Church, Manchester, from the fall of 1859 to the fall of 1864, and since the last date has resided, with the exception of one year, at Bellows Falls, officiating in Immanuel Church, though not holding in form the office of rector. One of his sons, James E. Batchelder, was a soldier in Co. E, 5th Vermont Regiment and subsequently was appointed a cadet at West Point.

* The exercises were as follows: Invocation and reading the Scriptures by Rev. Edwin S. Wright of Acworth, N. H.; Prayer by Rev. Alfred Stevens of Westminster West; Sermon by Rev. Emerson Davis, D.D. of Westfield, Mass.,; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. S. S. Arnold; Charge to the Pastor by Rev. Amos Foster of Putney; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Joseph Chandler of West Brattleboro; Charge to the People by Rev. E. H. Barstow of Walpole, N. H.; Concluding prayer by Rev. A. D. Barber of Saxtons River.

† The council on occasion of Mr. Gilbert's dismissal affirmed as an important principle of the Congregational polity, "that "every member of the church is bound by Christian principle "and by his covenant obligation to do his part in the pastor's "support, and he cannot be released from this obligation. If "reasons do not exist sufficient for the pastor's dismission, they "are not sufficient to justify any in withholding support, and "any member so withholding should be made a subject of dis-"cipline."

Rev. William Hinman Gilbert, son of Ezra and Rebecca (Minor) Gilbert, was born in Weston (now Easton) Conn., 12 February 1817, was graduated at Yale College in 1841, studied theology one year at Andover, and two years at New Haven Theological Seminary, at which last he was graduated in 1845. From 1 April, 1845 to 1 March, 1846, he was acting pastor of the 1st Congregational Church in Haddam, Conn. After his dismissal from Westminster, he spent a few months at Andover, pursuing his studies. He was installed 3 December 1851, pastor in Ashfield, Mass. Rev. George H. Richards of Boston preached the sermon. He was dismissed 27 August 1855, and was installed in Granby, Conn. 2 July 1856. Rev. Jairus Burt of Canton preached the sermon. He closed his labors in Granby, 24 September 1864, to go into the service of the Christian Commission and the American Bible Society among the soldiers, and continued in that service till the close of the war. He was dismissed 1 October 1865, and within a few weeks was appointed agent of the Vermont Bible Society, in which service he still remains.

His published works are a *Farewell Discourse in Ashfield*, 1855; a *Statement of Facts pertaining to the division of the Congregational Church in Ashfield*, 1855; and a *Manual of the Congregational Church in Granby*.

succeeded by Rev. Isaac Esty, who also supplied the pulpit two years, (from the Spring of 1853 to the Spring of 1855.) Rev. Edwin Seabury began his labors as acting pastor 27 May 1855, and closed them 25 April 1858. His salary was six hundred dollars. During his ministry, the present parsonage was purchased and put in good repair, and he began to occupy it 14 October 1856. Rev. Harrison G. Park, began to supply the pulpit 9 May 1858, was called to the pastorate in the following October, with a salary of five hundred dollars, (including the rent of the parsonage at one hundred dollars,) and was installed, 17 November 1858* His pastorate was short. He was settled with very little opposition, and was dismissed, with none at all, 13 March 1860.† For fifteen years the membership of the church had now been steadily decreasing. During that period only thirty persons had been admitted, and half of these were by letter; while more than sixty had been removed by death, by dismissal, or by discipline. The tendency was downward, and that at a rapid rate of progress; and but for the interposition of Divine grace, the church could look forward to nothing other than speedy extinction.

The ministry of Rev. Andrew B. Foster, which commenced 1 July 1860, was the means of arresting and reversing the downward current. Without any special effort to produce it, or any preceding tokens of its approach, an unusual degree of interest manifested itself, in the summer of 1861, principally among the young. No extra measures were employed to maintain or increase the interest, but inquirers voluntarily sought the counsel and prayers of Christians, and, one by one, were led to give themselves to God, and to rejoice in his mercy. This work of grace effected a pleasing change in the prayer-meeting, the church and the whole cummunity; and as the result of it twenty-four persons united with the church. Mr. Foster's ministry was in all respects acceptable and useful, and would doubtless have continued longer but for protracted sickness in his family, which induced him to close his labors, 26 April 1863. The pulpit was then supplied for some months by Rev. Selah R. Arms. In August 1864, Mr. Francis J. Fairbanks who had previously preached as a candidate, was called to the pastorate, with hearty unanimity on the part both of church and people, and he was ordained 31 August 1864*. His ministry, and the happy results of it, are too fresh in your minds to need any recital on the present occasion.

Upon reviewing the history of the church for the century, we see that it has had seven pastors and six acting pastors,—not taking into account any ministers who have supplied the pulpit less than a year, as candidates or as temporary supplies. The aggregate term of service by pastors has been thirty-four years and a few months, an average of not quite five years to a pastor. The longest pastorate was that of Rev. Sylvester Sage, which continued for sixteen years and seven months; the shortest was that of Rev. H. G. Park, which lasted only a year and four months. The aggregate term of service by acting pastors has been forty-three years and some months, an average of more than seven years. The longest service as acting pastor was by Rev. Sylvester Sage, who labored in that capacity twenty-eight years and eight months. During nearly twenty-three years of its existence the church has been either destitute of preaching, or supplied irregularly, and for short terms. Nearly all of this destitution, however, occurred in the first forty years of the century. Since Mr. Sage resumed his labors in 1809, the whole period in which the church has been without a stated minister does not amount to a year and a half. Three hundred and eighty-two persons have united by profession and one hundred and sixty-eight by letter, making five hundred and fifty in all; from which number

* The exercises were as follows: Introductory Services by Rev. C. D. Jefferds of Chester; Sermon by Rev. Calvin E. Park of West Boxford, Mass.; Installing Prayer by Rev. J. M. Stow of Walpole N. H.; Charge to the Pastor by Rev. Amos Foster of Acworth, N. H.; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Benjamin Ober of Saxton's River; Charge to the People by Rev. J. G. Wilson of Bellows Falls; Concluding Prayer by Rev. Henry M. Grout of Putney.

† Rev. Harrison Greenough Park, son of Rev. Dr. Calvin and Abigail (Ware) Park, was born in Providence, R. I., 28 July 1806, was graduated at Brown University in 1824, and studied theology at Princeton and with Rev. B. B. Wisner, D. D., of Boston. He also studied law three years, with Bradford Sumner, Esq., of Boston and Hon. J. Fisk of Wrentham. He was ordained pastor of the Congregational Church in South Dedham, Mass., 16 December 1829. Rev. Calvin Park, D. D. preached the sermon. He was dismissed in 1835, and was installed in Danvers, 1 February 1837. Rev. Alvin Burgess, D. D. of Dedham preached the sermon. After a short pastorate he was dismissed, and was then employed as traveling agent of the *Mother's Magazine* and in the publication and editorship of the *Father's and Mother's Manual* He was installed in Burlington, Mass., 15 November 1849, Rev. R. S. Storrs, D. D., of Braintree preached the sermon, and was dismissed in 1851. He was installed in Bernardston, 16 August, 1854, Rev. L. L. Langstroth of Greenfield preached the sermon, and was dismissed in 1858. Since his dismissal from Westminster, he has not been again installed, but has preached at several places in New Hampshire.

His publications are a *Memorial Sermon of Rev. George Cowles*, 1837; *A Voice from the Parsonage, or Life in the Ministry;* a volume of shady-side literature 1854; and the *Shortened Bed*, a sermon preached at Saxton's River, 1859.

* The exercises were as follows: Invocation and Reading the Scriptures by Rev. Benjamin F. Foster of Dummerston; Prayer by Rev. T. M. Dwight of Putney; Sermon by Rev. William James, D.D., of Albany, N. Y.; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. George P. Tyler, D.D., of Brattleboro; Charge to the Pastor by Rev. Alfred Stevens of Westminster West; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. A. B. Foster of Bernardston, Mass.; Charge to the People by Rev. J. D. Crosby of Ashburnham, Mass.

Rev. Francis Joel Fairbanks, son of Emery and Eunice (Hayward) Fairbanks, was born in Ashburnham, Mass., 8 September, 1835, and was graduated at Amherst College in 1862. He studied theology one year at Princeton and another at Union Theological seminary, at which last he was graduated in 1864. He was licensed by Worcester North Association, 28 April, 1863. His sermon on the National Thanksgiving of 1864 was published in the Bellows Falls Times.

some deduction must be made for persons who have united more than once. Of all these, less than one-fifth still remain resident members of the church; and of that number, more than half have been admitted within the last twenty years. The fathers and the mothers have rested from their labors. They who toiled side by side in the Christian work, and stood shoulder to shoulder in the Christian warfare, have received a gracious release from labor and conflict. Only here and there one, who in the strength of manhood or the zeal of womanhood, had stemmed the current of life, or bore the burden and heat of the day, during the first half century of the church's existence, remains to tell us of the former days. We rejoice to see here to-day a venerable father in the ministry, who as long ago as 1810 gave himself in the prime of life to God and this church, and who for nearly sixty years has watched over it and prayed for it, and, more than once or twice, has been the instrument in God's hands of its deliverance from declension and impending death; and a mother in Israel, who became a member in 1811, and who, as she looks backward two generations to her grandfather, Ephraim Ranney, and forward two generations to her grandchildren, children of this church, can testify in the fullness of her soul, that God is a God that keepeth covenant with His people and with their children and their children's children unto the third and fourth, and even to the fifth generation.

We have called to remembrance, though imperfectly, the former days, and have seen how God has preserved this vine of his right hand's planting, amidst all the changes and fluctuations of a hundred years, causing it to take root downward and bear fruit upward, and ever and anon returning to "visit His vine and the vineyard "which His right hand planted, and the branch "which He made strong for himself." But how insignificant a part of the history of the church has been narrated. We have attended merely to external events, and of these a hundred have been unnoticed while one has been recorded. The inner history is unwritten, except in the great book of account. When that shall be read, and then only, it will be seen what a work this church has wrought in the earth. The history of a single soul, as seen by the eye of God, is of more account than the history of an empire. There is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth. How much has the happiness of heaven been increased by the three hundred and eighty sinners that have repented, and united with the church. Making ample deduction for those who have run well only for a season, the influence direct and indirect, of these Christians upon families, upon communities, upon States, upon the nation and the world, influence going down from generation to generation, and broadening and deepening as it goes,—can only be adequately estimated by God himself. The church universal on earth, and the world itself, are a very different church and world from what they would have been but for the parents, the teachers in common schools, academies, and colleges, the ministers of the gospel, the ministers' wives, and the business men, the superintendents and teachers of Sabbath-Schools, the men of influence in every walk of life, who have in this church been trained to piety and sent out to work in the vineyard of the Lord.

From the hallowed memories of the past we do not turn away. But from the past itself, we do turn, and, in the strength which God supplies, address ourselves to the way which yet lies before us. How long or how difficult that way may be, God only knows. Upon some of us the lengthened shadows of life's evening hours are already falling, and the day will soon be gone. To some the sun seems to ride high in mid-heaven. The dewy freshness and fragrance of the morning rest upon the pathway of others. But not one of us shall take part in the anniversary which this church will celebrate a hundred years hence. What changes will then have taken place.

Who'll pass along this village street
A hundred years to come?
Who'll tread this church with willing feet
A hundred years to come?
Pale, trembling age, and fiery youth,
And childhood with its brow of truth;
The rich and poor, on land and sea—
Where will the mighty millions be
A hundred years to come?

We all within our graves shall sleep
A hundred years to come.
No living soul for us will weep
A hundred years to come.
But other men our lands will till,
And others then our streets will fill,
And others words will sing as gay,
And bright the sun shine as to-day,
A hundred years to come.

We send forward our greetings to those who will then celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the church, and may God grant that we shall look down upon that scene from the upper glory.

II.—EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS.

By Hon. Thomas Ewbank, First Vice-President of the American Ethnological Society.

Whatever may be thought on this point there can be no harm in keeping alive old statements respecting it.

In Rivero and Tchudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, the opinion is confidently expressed that Irish Colonies were planted in the Carolinas and Florida as early as the Ninth Century. They quote from documents, published by Rafn, "which "make mention of a nation that, according to the "traditions of the Esquimaux, dwelt in their "neighborhood, wore white vestments, uttered "cries, and made use of long rods with pieces of "cloth attached to them;" indicative of a chaunting procession of monks. The authors strangely infer, "according to a probable [?] conjecture the "Country occupied by this nation was Huitramanaland, the *country of white men*, which lay "along Chesapeake Bay, extending down into "Carolina and even still farther South." On this, Dr. Hawks, the translator of Rivero, observes that we know of no other testimony than what is contained in the text.

There is however other testimony and to even earlier settlements, though of a character perhaps equally, if not more doubtful. But as nothing of the kind should be entirely lost sight of, let it be taken for what it is worth. I refer to "*Monas-*"*tichon Britanicum: or, a Historicall Narration of* "*the first founding and flourishing state of the* "*Ancient Monasteries, Religious Rules and Orders* "*of Great Brittaine, in the Times of the Brit-*"*taines and Primitive Church of the Saxons:* "collected out of most authentic authors, Leiger "Books, and Manuscripts. By that learned Anti-"quary, Richard Broughton." London 1655.

The author died in 1634. For the character of this book see Allibone.

Succoth, who took the name of Patricius and subsequently known as St. Patrick, was born in the latter half of the fourth Century. He passed four years with and was ordained by his uncle, St. Martin of Tours; was captured by pirates and taken to Ireland; and died about 460. That he was a genuine travelling teacher, confining himself to no particular nation, is obvious from ancient accounts of him; while to people he could not visit, he deputed Monks of the Order of St. Martin. "These he sent" says Broughton, "into many remote places, and "Nations · · · · We finde in the old written life "of *S. Brendan* that many of them were sent "unto, and lived in the *Isles of America*, and had "been there, some 80 years, some 90; brought "up by ST. PATRICK in his Monasteries in these "parts before. MENNIUS proveth that S. PAT-"RICK preached forty years to diverse extern "nations, who could not be only to the Irish in "Ireland, who were but one extern nation to "Britain." *Page* 131–2.*

"Of S. KENTIGERN, who lived on the plainest "fare, wore coarse garments and carried his pasto-"ral staff, not round and gilded, or sett with pearles, "but of plaine wood, only bended backward, our "antiquaries, even Protestants, with others assure "us he had in his colledg at Elgu, besides others, "always 365 learned, apostolick men, and sent of "them unto the *Orchades* islands, to Norway, "Island [*Iceland*] and other extern nations. "..... also, to Greenland, *accounted part of* "*America* and to many other lands and "isles of the East Ocean to Russia and "many other islands beyond Scautia [*Scotland*] "even until the Pole Arctick." *Page* 187–8.

Broughton mentions a disciple of Brendan, named Machutus, "who was Bishop both in "Great and Little Brittaine [*Brittany*] and "both in Brittaine *and America*." *Page* 334–5.

Leaving the statements respecting America for Time to clear up, I think there is enough in this book from which to infer that an active European navigation in the North Seas was carried on in the fourth and succeeding Centuries, equalling that of Scandinavian rovers. Columbus visited Iceland or Greenland, I forget which, before his immortal voyage. May not Arctic climates have been, Thirteen hundred years ago, less severe than now.

Supposing the accounts of missions from MSS. quoted by Broughton exaggerated, there is evidence that the spirit of extending the Gospel to all nations, in the early Centuries of our era rivalled that of the Apostles themselves; but unfortunately, of marine enterprise in those days next to nothing is known. If the means of reflecting light on it exist, Time will bring them forth.

E.

* The marginal authorities for the preceding are MANUSCRIPT. *Antiq. Capgrave in S. Brendan.* Mennius' *Histor*—supra, MATTH. WESTM. Anno 491. *Antiq. Glastonien. Capgrave in S. Piran.*

III.—COLONEL ISAAC HAYNE.

FROM THE FAMILY RECORDS, BY HIS GRANDSON, I. W. HAYNE, LATE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF SOUTH CAROLINA.*

JOHN HAYNE, the progenitor of all of the name in South Carolina, emigrated to this State, from near Shrewsbury, in Shropshire, England, about the year 1700. He brought with him some property, and settled down as a planter, in the neighborhood in which his grandsons were found at the period of the Revolution.

The eldest son of the emigrant was *John*, who married an Eddings, and left two sons, *William* and *Abram*.

* This paper has been communicated, for publication in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, by our valued friend, WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS, LL.D., Carolina's distinguished historian; and we are sure our readers will be glad to learn that it is only the first of a series of important papers, from the same source, which they may expect to find, from time to time, in our pages.—ED. HIST. MAG.

William married a Miss Bullen, and left no son. His only daughter married John Simmons, father of Doctor William Hayne Simmons, James Wright Simmons, and Mrs. M. J. Keith. William Hayne died before the period of the Revolution.

Abram, the second son of John, the son of the emigrant, married a Miss Branford, and left surviving him a son, William Hayne, the father of Colonel A. P. Hayne, late of the Army, the friend and companion in arms of General Jackson, and of General Robert Y. Hayne, the distinguished Senator.

The only son of the emigrant other than John, who left descendants, was ISAAC HAYNE, who, in 1741, intermarried with Sarah Williamson. He died in 1751, and left as his only surviving child, ISAAC HAYNE, the subject of inquiry.

Colonel ISAAC HAYNE was born on the twenty-third of September, 1745; and in July, 1765, before he was Twenty years of age, married Elizabeth Hutson, daughter of the Rev. William Hutson, then of Beaufort District, afterward Pastor of the Congregational Church, since known as the Circular Church, in Charleston.

Before the period of the Revolution, Colonel Hayne's life was uneventful. He was a planter, eminently domestic, a country gentleman, whose pride and pleasure it was to maintain that character, *par excellence*. He had large possessions, chiefly in Beaufort and Colleton, but had embarked in an enterprise in York District, with Colonel William Hill of that district, who himself became afterward a conspicuous Whig partisan.

The family seat was in Colleton District, a few miles from Jacksonboro, known as "HAYNE "HALL," a very large and elegant residence, with accommodations and grounds fitted up after the English style. It was the center of a hospitality profuse, genial, and elegant.

At the beginning of the War, though he was yet but Thirty years of age, he had been married Ten years and had already Five children. Though somewhat English in taste and habits, averse to politics, and exhibiting, certainly, no military ambition, he, from the first movement in the country, espoused warmly the Whig cause; and his predilections were shown in attaching to the family name of "John," in his second son, the name of Hampden. Of the part he took in public affairs the histories of the time afford my only information. Doctor Ramsey is most to be relied on for accuracy, as he was a personal friend. Colonel Henry Lee, in his *Memoirs* gives an interesting account of some incidents in addition to the capture and execution. I am not sure that Botta or Garden afford anything not previously related. General R. Y. Hayne's article in the first number of the old *Southern Review*, contains EVERYTHING in regard to the capture, the mock trial, and the execution. Colonel Hayne wanted near Two months of being Thirty-six years of age, at the time of his death, and was in the full vigor of manhood. He was very handsome, and remarkable for activity, strength, and physical accomplishments. He was high-spirited, eminently social, singularly amiable, and of irreproachable private character. With such advantages, personal and adventitious, it was but natural that he should have had "troops of friends," and, without any signal public services, have become a man of mark and consideration in the Province.

The Revolution found the Hayne family, after a sojourn of Seventy-five years in South Carolina, from the period of emigration, with only the *Two* adult males, who bore the patriarchal names of ABRAM and ISAAC.

The former, though less known, was really as much a "martyr," as his more distinguished cousin. He, too, bore arms in the Whig cause, was taken prisoner, marched to Charleston by his captors on foot, in the heat of Summer, cast into prison, and died of a fever contracted in the exposure.

Both were wealthy, and the fortunes of both were dissipated or destroyed in the troublous times of the Revolution, and their descendants have inherited their fame alone.

Colonel Isaac Hayne made a large investment in Iron Works in York District, near the North Carolina line, in connection with his compatriot, Colonel William Hill. These works, owned by such noted patriots, and engaged at the time, under a contract with Governor Rutledge, in the manufacture of cannon and ball for the Whig forces, were naturally a mark for the enemy, and in the year were burned down by a force of British and Tories, under command of a Captain Huck, and a very large number of negroes employed in the works carried off and never recovered.

Doctor Isaac Hayne, eldest son of Colonel Hayne, died in 1802, leaving no male descendants. John Hampden died unmarried. William Edward, third son of Colonel Hayne, when he came of age, found only the Iron Works in York District, which had been rebuilt, remaining of the once splendid fortune of his father, and the estate burdened with a debt more than equal to the value of the property. After some years of unavailing efforts, he sold out those possessions for just enough to pay the debts incurred. His surviving sons are: Isaac W. Hayne, Attorney-General of South Carolina, and William Edward, a merchant in Charleston. The name is still confined to South Carolina.

The dust of the martyr rests in the grave-yard at the ancestral seat, where so many of the name, of an earlier day, repose. None of the family, in the olden times, when that region was their Sum-

mer as well as Winter home, passed the age of Thirty-eight. I have recently come into the ownership of the old homestead, and mean that it shall, for all time to come, continue to be the burial place of every Hayne who desires to rest by the side of his fathers.

Colonel Isaac Hayne was famous in the Province for his stud of blooded horses, and, at the time of his capture, was mounted on his favorite, an imported stallion, called King Herod; and his friends thought at the time, from their knowledge of horse and rider, that he would certainly have effected his escape, notwithstanding the surprise, but for the fact that King Herod had just recovered of a founder and gave way in leaping a ditch and dam, in his flight. The British Dragoons came upon him, encumbered by the fallen steed. I have the sword he wore,—a light short sword, silver-mounted, with a green shagreen scabbard. I have seen the silver-mounted small pistols he wore in his belt.

"Hayne Hall" consisted of a center building of Three stories with a cupola, and Two spacious wings. It was of wood, and was burned while in possession of Doctor Isaac Hayne, about the year

The flower-garden and shrubbery were particularly admired. The remains of an artificial fish-pond, and an old brick smoke-house, of the shot-tower style, are all that is left of the old improvements.

I. W. Hayne,
March 5, 1858.

For W. Gilmore Simms, LL.D.

IV.—GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

Reply of Professor George Washington Greene to the Editor of *The Historical Magazine.**

My Dear Dawson:

I have read with care your review of my pamphlet, and you must take this answer as a proofof my personal regard.†

I notice Bancroft's first assertion, first, because I regard it as an entering wedge, and secondly, because it is false. The insinuation of Greene's having joined in misrepresenting Washington at Kip's bay belongs to the same insidious class. Both were designed to produce an impression and that impression, a false one. Need I remind you that by such impressions artfully given the mind is prepared for grave accusations? For the same reason I notice the manner in which Greene is introduced in connection with the attempt upon Staten Island. These insinuations may not affect the mind of an historical scholar like you: but a common reader who receives them for truth will find himself all ready to receive with unquestioning acquiescence the damning assertions that follow. If you doubt it read the review of Mr. Bancroft's IXth volume in the October number of that sedate and thoughtful journal, the *New Englander*.

With regard to Fort Washington I had to choose between the discussion of an opinion and the refutation of an assertion. I chose the latter, and still believe that I chose right. Discussions of opinion generally leave both parties equally convinced of the correctness of the opinion with which they started. Whether the holding Fort Washington was right or wrong, will, in the present state of the evidence, as far as I am acquainted with it, continue to be a question for discussion. I believe that General Greene was right. Mr. Bancroft believes that he was wrong. We might write volumes and each of us carry his original conviction unchanged to the grave. I did not care to meet my opponent on this questionable ground, when there was a question of fact to be squarely met. He threw the responsibility upon Greene. I have proved it to have been Washington's. And there, for the present, I am willing to let the discussion rest.

I differ from you equally with regard to the importance of the sixth and seventh charges. They are links in a continuous chain. To have passed them over would have been to concede that they were true. Few things are more to be guarded against than false coloring, and no instrument is so prompt in the production of false coloring as words.

Your remarks upon the ninth charge show me that you have misunderstood my aim. Mr. Bancroft makes assertions. I undertake to refute him by documents. Where a simple arrangement of the documents seemed to me to carry its argument with it, I have not attempted to force my reasoning upon the reader. I do not see in what way I could have so effectually met his assertions as by showing that they contradict the documents to which all history must make its final appeal.

You cannot see the force of either my tenth or my eleventh division. I am sorry for it. My charge in both instances is a charge of omission for the purpose of confirming the unfavorable opinion of Greene, already expressed in other connections. I was certain that Mr. Bancroft had

* Although the following letter is dated "*March* 28, 1867," the envelope in which it was enclosed is postmarked, "East "Greenwich, R. I., Jul. 27," and it was received by us on the twenty-ninth of July. We make room for it in the earliest issue of *The Magazine*, subsequent to that date, which was not previously occupied and in the hands of the printers; and shall take occasion, hereafter, to examine the statements of the writer, contradicting our own, as well as some of his conclusions.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

† The review to which this is a reply may be found in the February number of this work. (i., 124.) Ed. Hist. Mag.

read Hamilton's statement concerning Greene's share in "the conception" of the movements in New Jersey, and knew the impression which that statement made upon the candid and judicious Sparks. And I had reason to believe that he had given some attention to the subject of the mistaken choice of a camp at Red Clay creek, altho' as that mistake implies an error of judgment on the part of Washington, he does not see fit to mention it. It is not only for what we have done but for what we have left undone that we are taught to ask forgiveness. It is not only by what he says, but by what he leaves skilfully unsaid that the defamer blasts character. I should have been untrue to my instincts as an historian, false to my duty as a grandson, if I had failed to meet either of these implications.

My twelfth division you regard as a "sad "botch." I regret the expression, which seems to me unfit, either for literary criticism or historical discussion. But I pass this as a matter of taste; the substance of your criticism is, that I endeavor, "by inuendo," to claim the merit of the day for Greene, introducing Gordon for this purpose. I deny the accusation. I have introduced Gordon here, as I have introduced him elsewhere, in order to call the attention of my readers to the irreconcilable contradiction between Mr. Bancroft, writing Ninety years after the event, and a contemporary historian, personally intimate with almost all the principal actors, and writing with his extracts from their letters, and his memorandums of their statements, before him. Thus much for the reason of my quotation from Gordon. Now for the facts, premising that I hold it to be an established principle, that the credit of a campaign belongs to the Commander-in-chief, the credit of a battle to the commanding general, the credit of a particular movement, as an executive act, to the commander of the wing or regiment that performed it; credit and responsibility going hand in hand throughout. And therefore, to conceal, misstate, or slur over the services of a subordinate, is to be guilty of a historical falsehood.

My charge against Mr. Bancroft is, that he misrepresents Greene's services, claiming for the Commander-in-chief an executive merit which really belongs to his subordinate. Am I right or wrong? This is the true question between Mr. Bancroft and me.

With the first part of the battle of the Brandywine I have nothing to do. The defence of the much-abused Sullivan may safely be left to Mr. Amory. But for the left wing Greene is responsible. Let us see how he met the reponsibility.

According to Mr. Bancroft, Washington, "at "the sound of the cannon on the right, taking "with him Greene and the two Brigades of Mühlenberg and Weedon," marches swiftly to the support of Sullivan, checks the pursuit, designates the position Greene is to occupy, and thus saves the army.

First, now, it is generally conceded that Washington and Greene were together when the battle began. I shall accept this, therefore, as an established fact. Did they remain together? Mr. Bancroft asserts that they did, and consequently that Washington conducted that swift march to the support of the right wing which has always been regarded as one of the brilliant feats of the day. What authority has he for the assertion? He does not tell us, and therefore we must try to find it for ourselves.

It is not Gordon, whose narrative, giving to Greene the merit of the march, implies that Washington, pausing only to give his orders, hastened personally to the front, leaving the execution of those orders to Greene, (ii., 511, Ed. 1788, London).

It is not Greene, who, in his letter of the fifth of July, 1788, to Henry Marchant, claims the march for himself.

Marshall, however, says, "on the commence-"ment of the action on the right, General Wash-"ington pressed forward with Greene to the "support of that wing" (i., 157, of 2d Ed.; iii., 149, Ed. of 1804).

Now this statement must either be modified, or we must reject the testimony of Joseph Brown as given by Dr. Arlington. Dr. Arlington's character puts his words beyond dispute, and all the laws of historical evidence justify us in accepting Brown's narrative. He told the story to Dr. Arlington's father, the father to his son. Both father and son lived near the ground, and were familiar with the local details and local anecdotes. Had Brown's story been false, they must have heard some contradiction of it. Neither of them hints a doubt. If we reject such testimony, what can we believe?

Marshall's presence in the battle would, even if his personal character were not such as to place his truthfulness above suspicion, entitle him to full acceptance for whatever he states as an eye-witness, and to respectful consideration upon all points within the observation of a subordinate officer. But his account of this battle is meager, and except for a skirmish in the forenoon, without detail; Washington's letters furnished none, and they were his chief reliance. I believe, therefore, that between Marshall's unsupported assertion, and Brown's narrative, supported by the concurrent testimony of Greene and Gordon, we are bound to say that Marshall's words must be modified. This is not difficult. Washington, on hearing the cannon, gave his orders. Greene instantly began to put them in execution, and the advance commenced while

Washington was still with him. The sounds of the conflict came faster and faster. Washington hastened to the front by a cross road, leaving Greene to carry out his orders and join him as soon as he could by the main road. Greene accomplished this in forty-five minutes, and in looking back upon this march the next year felt justified in saying, "I marched One Brigade of "my Division, being upon the left wing, between "Three and Four miles in Forty-five minutes."

But did he take both Brigades with him? He positively says, "I marched One Brigade," and I believe even Starkie would say that, under such circumstances, and with no conceivable motive for mutilating or concealing the truth, his evidence must be accepted. You, however, if I understand you correctly, believe that he had both Brigades with him. You cite Mühlenberg's *Life of Mühlenberg*, 94, 340. Now Mühlenberg gives no authority but Johnson (i., 76), and Johnson no authority whatever. I say no authority but Johnson, for I have expressly stated that the volume of mine, which he also cites, is to be regarded as "an earnest of what I "hoped" some day to do with my grandfather's manuscripts before me, not as the result of a careful study of those manuscripts. Marshall says nothing about Brigades, but simply that "Washington pressed forward with General "Greene," a form of expression which leaves room for either both or one. But Gordon expressly says, "Greene immediately hastened his "first Brigade; the second Brigade is ordered by "Washington to march a different route" (ii., 511).

Now, shall Mühlenberg and Johnson, the only Two who make the positive assertion, be accepted without a document to bear them out, against Greene and Gordon, who make a contrary assertion?

I come now to the question of the position taken by Greene to cover the retreat of the right wing. Mr. Bancroft says, "a strong position "chosen by Washington, which completely com-"manded the road." This, you say, is confirmed by General Mühlenberg, Gordon, and Judge Johnson. If General Mühlenberg had said this, or left it on record, I should have felt bound to accept his statement; but Henry A. Mühlenberg, writing in 1848, and referring to Johnson, who gives no authority for the statement, and to the sketch by Messrs. Bowen and Futhey, who give no authority, cannot be received as a witness. Gordon, at least in the pages to which you refer, makes no allusion to Washington's having chosen the position; indeed, he is so far from saying this that he distinctly ascribes the choice to Greene.

Now, what was the origin of this story so readily taken up and so confidently repeated by succeeding historians? The following passage, I presume, in a certificate given by Colonel Pinckney to General Sullivan, on the twenty-fourth of September, 1777. "General Sullivan, turning to "me, requested I would ride up to General Wee-"don, and desire him to halt Colonel Spottswood's "and Colonel Stephens' regiments in the *ploughed* "*field* on our right, and form them there, which I "did." (*Proc. of Hist. Soc. of Penn.*, i., No. 8, p. 50.) Returning to this subject in 1820, Colonel Pinckney repeats substantially the same story in a letter to Judge Johnson; I say substantially, for the additional details leave the material statements unchanged. It was still the *ploughed field*, and not the *wooded pass*, that Washington pointed out (*Hist. Mag.*, x., 203).

It is not difficult to conceive, although strongly suggestive of caution to observe, how completely the story has been changed, leaving only enough of its origin about it to serve as an excuse for historians who do not feel the necessity of verifying all their assertions.

According to some, Messrs. Bowen and Futhey, for example (*ut sup.* p. 12): "In the course of "the day, Washington had pointed out to Gen-"eral Greene a suitable position for a second "stand in the event of their being obliged to fall "back from either point." According to Johnson, it was the Commander-in-chief and General Sullivan who had noticed this spot (i., 76.)

Now, if we can place reliance upon Dr. Arlington's researches, "General Washington's Head "Quarters were at Benjamin Berg's tavern, about "three-quarters of a mile East of Chad's ford" (*Proc. Hist. Soc. Penn. ut sup.*, 58). "He was "there and thereabout all the fore part of the "day of the battle." Why, indeed, should he have been riding a circuit Four or Five miles from his quarters, with Knyphausen to watch, and tidings every moment expected which might imperatively demand his presence on some other point? Why, even if he chose that moment to reconnoitre for positions, should he take either Sullivan or Greene from their commands?

If Pinckney and Dr. Arlington are right, Washington was with Sullivan when Weedon's Brigade came up. Greene would naturally hasten forward to join them and get his new orders. These, with perhaps some other officers, would form the "Council of war," which, according to Gordon, was held on the field. Sullivan might very naturally have suggested the order conveyed by Pinckney to Weedon, and the "ploughed "field" would thus have become the first stand of the second part of the battle. From that point to the pass where the final stand was made, was, according to Gordon, half a mile, over which Greene slowly retreated, using his field-pieces freely till he came to the pass, which he held till dark, saving the artillery, and giving the broken troops of the right wing time to make

their way to a place of safety. Mühlenberg's Brigade I suppose to have come up very soon after Weedon's marching, as Gordon asserts, by a different road.

If I have allowed my feelings as a grandson to lead me to attach an undue importance to Mr. Bancroft's misstatements concerning Greene's part in the battle of the Brandywine, I must look for my justification to Greene's own words: "I trust "history will do justice to the reputation of those "who have sacrificed every thing for the public "service."

These words must also be my protection against the charge of excessive sensitiveness in the two next sections, or rather throughout the remainder of my pamphlet. Mr. Bancroft's allegations form a whole, closely connected and artfully welded together. Mr. Bancroft's omissions are full of significance. I see no cause for regretting that I have met them both.

I have now answered in a candid and respectful tone the substance of your criticisms without regarding the form. I wish that that had been more consistent with our personal relations, and with the dignity of our common studies. The truth of history has nothing to gain from sarcasm, nor her votaries from mutual recrimination. The most industrious will sometimes fall short of the exactness at which they aim, the most cautious will sometimes stumble, the most upright sometimes err. To help and be helped in turn; to respect earnest labor even when we cannot accept its results; to keep our own frailties in view as a guard against the rash condemnation of the frailties of others; and to bear constantly in mind that the facts of history are worthless unless the spirit that animates the narrative be the spirit of a pure, a zealous, and a generous sympathy with honorable endeavor and noble aspirations—are not these the first and highest duties of the historian?

Very truly yours,
GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE.

EAST GREENWICH, R. I.,
March 28, 1867.

V.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

55.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL JAMES MARSHALL.*

MOUNT VERNON 10th Augt 1796.

DEAR SIR,

If you can recollect by whom, or in what manner the letter for General Pinckney, which went under cover to you, was sent to the Post Office in Richmond, I would thank you for information respecting it.—

That letter, with a note enclosed therein, containing three bank bills for one hundred dollars each, for the sufferers by fire in Charles'ton, had not on the 26th of July been received by that Gentleman; although duplicates, written *after* I had been favoured with your answer has been acknowledged by him.—

In confidence, I inform you that General Pinckney accepts his appointment to France, and will soon be in Phila to prepare for the Mission.

With very great esteem & regd I am Dr Sir Yr Obt Servt

Go WASHINGTON

Genl MARSHALL.
[*Outside address*]
GENERAL MARSHALL
in
Richmond.

President
U. S.

56.—DAVID CROCKETT, M. C. FROM TENNESSEE, TO PETER B. PORTER, SECRETARY OF WAR.*

WASHINGTON 24 January 1829.

DEAR SIR

a cording to your Request I have here in Recomended to your Consideration Mr Amos R. Johnston of Paris Henry County in my district as an aplicant for the appointment of a Cadat Mr Johnston is a Young man of good Morrel Charecter and of a Respectable Parance I have no doubt but what he is well quallifyed and about 18 years of age also Mr William B Partee the young man that I left his letter with you is also of good Charector and as promising a youth as I am acquainted with he is about 16 years of age Mr Partee is the first aplicant and if I am only to have one I wish him appointed I will call and see you on the subject

Respectfully your obt servt
DAVID CROCKETT

P: B PORTER

57.—GENERAL LAFAYETTE TO MR. JEFFERSON.†

PARIS, May 13th 1823.

MY DEAR FRIEND

I avail myself of Mr Gallatin's departure to let you hear of the old friend who would be Happy to Embark with Him, but is now embarked on a political ocean more wide and less to be trusted than the Atlantic. The cause of freedom, after the miscarriage of Italy and some faint attempts elsewhere, is now confined to the peninsula; the limits of a legal opposition in France,

* From the collection of F. S. Hoffman, Esq., of New York.

* From the collection of C. C. Helmick, Washington, D. C.

† From the collection of Nath'l Paine, Esq., Worcester, Mass.

and ministerial liberality in England are soon to be found. Every other exertion that may show itself is Hostile to our cause: Yet there is a general sympathy in its favor: Was it not for the impressions left by the excesses of the french revolution, Resistance to despotism and Aristocracy might be obtained. But the greater obstacle to energetic measure is to be found in the Habits of Egotism, Submission, in the diabolical administrative institutions which the imperial system Has settled upon this Nation. Yet it is more and more evident that on the dispositions and fortunes of france, European liberty Has chiefly to depend: The period is truly critical. Should the peninsula be subdued or voluntarily Bend, our liberal chances are far Removed. I hope it cannot be the case, and from that circumstance, Better and nearer Hopes may arise. the Spanish War is no where so unpopular as it is in france.

You Have Heard of the transactions in our *Charter parliament.* the 4th of March has afforded me a great pleasure, that of a flat refusal from the parisian National guard to an improper order given with much force & eclat. Since that day the *cote gauche* Have not Reentered the House; but the Counter Revolution is nevertheless going on, and will go to every extremity of Anti-National pretensions unless it is manly stopped by effectual opposition.

Four parties are generally Reckoned, Royal or legitimate—Bonapartist, orleanist, and Republican. those of whom Have now come to acknowledge the sovereignty of the people and their right to choose a government: But the very denomination of two of them demonstrate that in the Republican alone there exists a determination to have those rights truly & fully exercised. far I am from denying the Republican inclinations and preferences which brought me to the United States, which I constantly Have acknowledged. Before 89, in the several courts of Europe and since, at the very moment when I Honestly endeavoured to support the Nominal throne which the sovereignty of the people Had constitutionally established. I must add that the experiments of the past three and thirty years, in france, and elsewhere, are not very favorable to the Alliance of popular institutions with an Hereditary Royal Magistracy. and in the alternative between the one and the other Royalty should of course give way, it is However probable that the experiment may be continued in Europe for a quarter of a Century, and whatever is now said among our Civil and Military statesmen, Respecting our Unbending Republicanism we would in case of a commotion only insist upon an immediate Restoration of Elective Municipalities and departmental administrations. Upon the general *armement* of National Guards, naming their own officers, and upon the convention of a Constitutional Assembly originating from the bulk of the people, leaving to them to organize the powers of government, every authority being r't then considered as provisory. So far and no farther do the Republican party go in their demands, reserving themselves to recommend the more National and cheaper institutions which it will be in their power to obtain.

There is now a series of Memoirs on the Revolution published by faithful editors, where amidst the accusations, revelations, apologies of men belonging to the several parties the impartial reader must, I presume to say, do justice to the motives and conduct of the patriots who were designed in the year under the name of *Constitutionals* and Have evinced more love of legal order, and more genuine republicanism than most of their detractors under other denominations.

Your former correspondent, Emperor Alexander, Has Become the chief of Anti-liberalism in Europe, leaving the Greeks to their fate, which, thanks to their *Heroic exertions*, Has not, I think, been a misfortune to them. His mind is Haunted by the progress of freedom in West and South of Europe which He labors to crush and retard as much as he can. Quantum Mutatus ab illo. Whom I have Conversed with in 1811 at the House our illustrious friend M^me^ de Staël. M. de Tracy is in tolerable good Health; He Has the use of His eyes, not so well however as to be able to apply to studies. all my family are well and desire their most affectionate respects to you. Victor Tracy and George are members of the House of deputies. I have been lately reelected in Spighte of the efforts of government. The independent Arrondissement de Meaux, (Seine et Marne my actual department) Have been pleased to return me as the Representative of their electoral College.

I Have Some time ago mentioned the Work of a young female friend to whom I am attached by the ties of paternal affection, & of whom our old friend Bentham has said "she was the strongest and "sweetest mind that ever was cased in a female "body." I send you a second edition of her views on the State of Society and Manners in America, in which a few alterations have been made, one particulaly respecting yourself. I also send a small book entitled a few days in Athens. Her High Respect for you makes me particularly wish you to know these two publications.

Adieu, my dear excellent friend; present my affectionate respects to Mrs. Randolph and think sometimes of an old Companion in the cause of Mankind whose greatest and very necessary comfort is in the Remembrance of our American exertions, and their Happy Consequences, while European transactions are ever thorny, too often sullied, at the best will never afford the admirable products and pure enjoyments of our Colombian

times. let me hear from you, my dearest Jefferson, and receive the love and good wishes of your affectionate friend

LAFAYETTE.

Tracy's excellent book has been reprinted in a small cheap edition; He presents the most grateful regard for the fine edition. I am very sorry to part with Mr. Gallatin. But he goes only on furlough, and may Be will return.

58.—RUFUS KING TO GOVERNOR TOMPKINS.*

WASHINGTON January 25. 1815

SIR,

According to the suggestion which I took the Liberty to make in a former Letter, I have now the Honor to send enclosed to your Excellency, a Copy of the Bill providing for the raising of State Corps—the Bill is before the President, and doubtless will become a Law—We are still in anxious suspense concerning the State of N. Orleans—the last Letters are of the 24th. Decr. the day after the affair between Genl. Jackson and the Enemy—a letter from Warrington, N. C. to Govr. Turner of the Senate, dated Jany. 20th says—"We have just recd. News here by a Letter "to Doctor Berton from some Person in Granville "(a neighbouring County) stating that a Gentle- "man had just passed throh that County from N. "Orleans, and stated that General Jackson had "defeated the British and Indians, near that "Place—the number killed and taken Prisoners "is said to be very great"—

Hopes are cherished that this Intelligence may refer to an action subsequent to that of the 23d.

with great Respect
I am yr Exy. ob Ser
RUFUS KING

PS
The mention of the Indians
renders that Report suspicious
as we have no intimation of
these having joined the Enemy
in this Descent ———

59.—GEN. SCOTT TO GEN. WINDER.†

PLAINS OF BUFFALOE May 6th 1814

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Permit me with heartfelt gladness to congratulate you on your happy return to your family the army your country. Lieut Smith has brought us the pleasing intelligence, nothing can be more auspicious—the return—the exchange—the opening of the campaign Write me my dear General to inform me how these happy changes have been brought about, and shall I not have the happiness of seeing you soon on the frontier? I know your predilection for this theatre from what passed between us at Albany the past Winter.

I have a handsome little army (M. Genl Brown has been absent in the direction of the Harbour since the 21s past) of about 1700 total, to wit the 8th 11th 21st & 25th Regts and two companies 2nd artv. Brig Genl Ripley who received his notification last evening is with me. If many recruits are not forwarded he will be without a Brigade. I am most partial to these Regts. The men are healthy, sober, cheerful and docile. The field officers highly respectable, and many of the platoon officers are decent & emulous of improvement. If of such material I do not make the best army now in service by the first June, I will agree to be dismissed the service.

Our friend Capt Towson is with me. With the manly tears of joy he heard of your return. But a few days since he learned from my aid Lieut Worth that a report had prevailed in Baltimore said to be derived from Capt. T. somewhat to this effect, that he Capt T. very much censured your conduct at Stony Creek &c &c &c. Towson is most indignant at the foul aspersion of *himself*, for so he considers the report and holds you in the highest esteem and respect as he has uniformly expressed himself with all the energy of his honorable and high-toned sensibility. I also assert that not a man in the army at Fort George last summer ever expressed within my hearing or to my knowledge a whisper to your prejudice. This said not on your account for you do not Stand in need of my support, but on account of my friend Towson lest you should imagine he is less than what he professes.

I write you my dear General in haste in the first flush of joy
I am with esteem ever yrs W. SCOTT

Tell me how you left my friend Roach? Vandeventer, Machesney &c. I calculate certainly on having the happiness of receiving a letter from you W. S.

Brig Genl W. H. WINDER.

60.—COMMITTEE OF WAR OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.*

Nov. 11th. 12 o'clock at Noon

GENTLEMEN

The Congress having come to the Enclosed Resolution, and the Situation of Affairs requiring in our opinion, the utmost Dispatch we beg Leave to request that you will immediately appoint a Committee of your honorable

* From the collection of the Editor.
† Communicated by W. H. Winder, Esq., of Philadelphia.

* From the collection of F. S. Hoffman, Esq., of New York city.

Board to meet us at the War office as soon as possible—

We are with Respect
Your very obed^{t} Serv^{ts}
BENJAMIN HARRISON
JAMES WILSON
EDWARD RUTLEDGE
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE

[*Addressed*]
"The Honorable
"The Council of Safety
"for the State of Pennsylvania"
[*Indorsed*]
"War office
"Nov. 11. 1776"

VI.—AN ANCIENT MAP OF THE CENTRAL PART OF IREDELL COUNTY, N. C.

By Professor E. F. Rockwell, of Davidson College.

This document, drawn with a pen, was found about Twenty years ago in the possession of Alexander Nisbett, Esq., of that County; and a limited number of lithographic copies were procured in New York, in 1847, by the present writer,

A DESCRIPTION OF IT: The centre of it is about Two miles North-west of the town of Statesville; and from that center it is laid off in a series of concentric circles, One mile apart, to the number of Eleven, making as many miles from the center to the circumference, and embracing a tract of country Twenty-two miles in diameter, including the town above named, (not then in existence), and all the central part of the County. The following streams are more or less within the limits of it: Rocky creek on the North, and the Catawba river on the South-west; Snow creek, South Yadkin, Third creek, Fourth creek, Fifth Creek, Young's creek, Cavin's creek, Reedy creek, Buffalo-Shoal creek, Elk-Shoal creek, and their tributaries.

ITS DATE: This can only be determined by inference. It was drawn when all this tract of country was included in the congregation of the Church called Fourth creek, which is now the Presbyterian church of Statesville, though still retaining its original name which it had more than Thirty years before the town was located there, which is about equidistant from Third creek on the South and Fourth creek on the North. These creeks, being affluents of the South Yadkin, are named in regular order as they are crossed by the traveller going from Salisbury, West.

It was before the erection, within these bounds, of Two other Presbyterian Churches—Concord on the West, and Bethany on the North, each about Six miles from the old Church. And we learn from an old lady in the vicinity, who remembers the date from an important event in her early life, that the latter Church was erected in 1779. It was building when she was married.

Both the date and the object of making the Map will appear from the following document, which, though not found in connection with it, yet throws light upon the origin of it. It is headed,

"A REMONSTRANCE,

"TO THE NORTH CAROLINA PRESBYTERY WHICH "IS TO SIT IN APRIL, 1773.

"The petition of the members of Fourth creek "congregation humbly showeth, that your petition-"ers have been congregated upwards of twenty "years, and the place of worship in said congre-"gation hath likewise been fixed this sixteen or "seventeen years, and known by the name of "Fourth creek Meeting House.

"Some time the last fall a number of persons "that live nigh or adjoining to the Northern "boundary of said congregation, made a motion "to have a division of said congregation in order "to have another house of public worship, and "nominated sixteen men to carry the same into "execution, and made an order that any thirteen "of them agreeing on any point relating there-"unto, should be final; by which nomination and "rule they were sure to gain their point, as they "had thirteen of said panel nigh upon their own "borders.

"At another meeting, the aforesaid persons and "thirteen of the men nominated to make the di-"vision, and a number more of other extreme "parts of the congregation proposed that the old "Meeting House should be dropped altogether, "and that the congregation should be divided and "two new Meeting Houses should be built, which "would cut off a part of the South side altogether; "which would be quite too far for them to attend, "and proceeded to appoint two places, such as "they said they thought most suitable to build "said houses, and would pay no regard to any-"thing offered to the contrary by the interior "parts of said congregation, which was the only "persons that was at the cost and trouble of "building the old house, and also of supporting "what small measures of the Gospel, God and his "Providence has allowed them.

"Now Reverend Fathers, we beg and beseech "you to take these our grievances under your "consideration, and grant unto us the benefit of "that Rule of Presbytery by you made at a Pres-"bytery held at Cathey's Meeting House" [*Thyatira Church, now in Rowan Co.*] "last year, which "we think seven miles round said house will be "sufficiently able to support and maintain a gos-"pel minister in a decent manner."

This document would seem, then, to have been drawn up in the Winter of 1772–3, as the writer speaks of what was done "last Fall," and it was

for the action of the Presbytery of North Carolina, in April, 1773. The petitioners had formed a congregation upwards of Twenty years, while the location of their house of worship had been fixed Sixteen or Seventeen years. Now the country in this region began to be settled by emigrants from Pennsylvania, about 1750–51, and *upwards of twenty years* will then come to 1772–3.

And it is known that they differed about the location of their house of worship, and that a place was first selected about Two miles North of Statesville, near Allison's Mill, where a graveyard was commenced; they then moved about a mile nearer town, where they prepared to build, and some families having begun to bring their dead there, they have continued the practice to the present time. The spot is inclosed, though in the uncleared forest, and is known as "the "Allison grave-yard."

"The Old House," spoken of, is the second predecessor of the present house of worship, and stood in the rear of that one. The immediate predecessor of the present was built of very heavy logs, about 1780; it was removed a few years ago, when the present structure was erected with brick.

The forming of this Map, then, was connected with the division of the congregation spoken of in this paper, which contemplated the giving up of the location finally selected, and the erection of Two new Churches, One in the extreme North-east part of the congregation, near Rocky creek, where it will be seen, by an inspection of the Map, the number of families was larger: and another on the opposite side, at a place known at this day as "Beattie's Old Field." And the time cannot differ much from 1773; as we see above, the paper was for a meeting of Presbytery about to take place in the ensuing April, the *place* not being stated; and we know from other sources that the Presbytery was not formed before 1770. And we know that in old times, party feelings ran high on the subject of dividing Churches and congregations: and having more than One Church within certain limits belonging to the same denomination; hence the rule alluded to of "*Seven miles round.*"

The writer knows of an instance of strife of this kind, where the opposing party could not get a majority to vote to remove the old Church to a more central position; and to carry out their purpose, they first set the Church on fire in the tower under the bell in the dead of winter; and not succeeding in the destruction of the house in this way, the following summer they came by night disguised as wild Indians with a large number of ox-teams; pulled it down, and carried the materials just One mile, and there re-erected it and changed themselves into a different denomination. Though the Governor of the State, a name well known in history, and the Chief-justice, lived in the immediate vicinity, they were not interfered with in their work, but were made to pay for the riot afterwards; and the other part of the congregation erected a new Church of brick on the old spot, which is still standing. The transaction was published not only in this country, but also abroad, and even in the English papers in India. But to return:

WHAT RENDERS THIS OLD MAP IMPORTANT? It contains the names and the locations of all the heads of families belonging to the congregation at that time; and as it is within about Twenty years from the time that settlements began in that region, we presume that these are the pioneers in this then wilderness. The Map is divided by a line passing through the "Old "House," and by another at right angles to this, passing through the centre, making the Four parts unequal in size.

In the North-west quarter are Seventy-five families; in the North-east Fifty-four families; in the South-east, Thirty families; in the South-west, Thirty-seven families; making in all One hundred and ninety-six families.

The following names are found: Adams, Alexander, Allison, Andrew, Archibald, Bailie, Beard, Beattie, Bell, Black, Bones, Bowman, Boyd, Brown, Caldwell, Carson, Cavin, Chambers, Clindermon, Cooper, Davis, Dobbins, Dobson, Duffie, Edmund, Fleming, Forgey, Freeland, Gay, Grey, Griffiths, Guthrie, Harden, Hall, Hamilton, Harris, Henderson, Henry, Hill, Holmes, Houston, Ireland, Irvin, Johnson, Kilpatrick, King, Knox, Leach, Locke, Logan, Long, McCallom, McCletchy, McRary, McGuire, McHargue, McFarland, McLelland, McLean, McKee, McKnight, McKinney, McKown, McNeely, McWhorter, Milligan, Miller, Montgomery, Morrison, Morton, Murdock, Newbury, Nichols, Nisbett, Oliphant, Ormond, Porter, Potts, Purviance, Reed, Rodman, Rogers, Rosebro, Rowly, Rutledge, Sharp, Shay, Simonton, Sloan, Smith, Snoddy, Steel, Stevenson, Stinson, Stuart, Tazen, Thomas, Thompson, Thornton, Tracey, Trotter, Waddell, Wasson, Watt, Waugh, Whaley, White, Wilson, Witherspoon, Woodfork, Woods, One hundred and eleven in all.

Some of these names are misprinted on the Map, and that of *Davis* has in the course of time become Davidson.

At least Ten of these names are found on the roll of the Committee of Safety for Rowan County in 1774–5,* viz.: John Archibald, John Montgomery, John Purviance, John Nisbett, David Caldwell, Samuel Harriss, Jacob Nichols,

* See the Journal of that body printed for the first time in *Wheeler's History of North Carolina*, ii., 360–362. It had been brought to the notice of the public, a short time before by the present writer, in the *Salisbury Watchman*.

Robert King, Ninian Steele, Wm. Sharpe, the author of the Map.

These people, who settled in what is called the Mesopotamia of North Carolina, between the Yadkin and Catawba rivers, were mostly of the Scotch-Irish race, and emigrated hither from Pennsylvania, to which they, or their anccestors, had previously emigrated from Ireland. They could not find a resting-place in the "Old Domin-"ion," because the laws were oppressive to dissenters from the Estalished Church; though, as we shall afterwards see, they labored under some disabilities here. Soon after they settled here, however, a colony of the Highland Scotch came. One of their principal settlements was about Eight miles West of Statesville, and formerly called New Scotland. In 1772 about a Dozen or Twenty families came and settled not far from the Catawba, near to Sterling Chnrch. There were the McKays, the McIntoshes, the Mathewsons, the Campbells, &c. Colin Campbell was a kind of a chieftain among them. Here originated Geo. W. Campbell of Tenn., the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States in 1814, and afterwards minister to Russia Another settlement of these was formed about the same time, and about the same distance from Statesville (not then built), East or South-east. They continued to come till within the present century. Some who came in 1804 returned to Canada. Others have emigrated to the Western country, and there are few families now remaining. Times have greatly changed since they appeared here in their peculiar costumes, with their bonnets, kilts, and short clothes; with their long stockings and large silver shoe-buckles.

A different set of names from either of the above classes came soon after the time of this Map, and from a different source, and occupied the country between Rocky creek and Hunting creek. They were from Montgomery county in Maryland. Some of their names are Fitzgerald, Ferrill, Gaither, Lazenby, Keith, Shaw, Beggarby, Giddings, Belt, Summers, Tomlinson, Ellis, Albed, &c. They came, it is said, between 1779 and 1795.

They filled the space on the North border of our Map. They were different in some respects from the Scotch-Irish, by the side of whom they built their cabins. They were, perhaps, more refined than the latter, and contributed to improve them in some things, while, in return, they learned of them what proved useful to themselves. Particularly in domestic manufactures—the chief dependence at that time,—the Scotch-Irish were superior to the Marylanders; while in the culinary arts, and in agriculture, the latter excelled. The Marylanders were the better farmers, especially in raising corn. For a long time there was a deep-rooted prejudice in the minds of each people against the other. Their young people did not associate together, nnd parents would not allow intermarriages.

One *great* distinction between these two races of people was, that while the Scotch-Irish used *mush* mostly, the emigrants from Maryland thought *hominy* indispensable; and while the latter depended on a supply of *meat*, their Scotch-Irish neighbors thought those most fortunate who abounded in milk; with which an extensive open range of pasture furnished a ready supply. Said Mrs. Gaither to Mrs. Lazenby, "Have you "plenty of milk at your house?" "*Yes*," was the reply. "Then I don't *mourn* you" (*i. e.* I think you well off), said Mrs. G.

All, both men and women, wore wool hats with an exceedingly narrow brim. A few, however, of the highest rank, had them made of the fur of the beaver, which would last a life time.

The young people of both sexes, in summer, when about their ordinary business, went without shoes and stockings; the young women wore short gowns and petticoats; and the young men, hunting shirts, with trowsers of tow and cotton. Boots were not common; they were worn only by a few of the higher class. Both boots and shoes were sharp-pointed at the toes.

For Sunday dress the men hnd coats and small clothes of cotton and wool mixed; and if colored a little black or blue, though not sheared, they were regarded as very fine.

These early settlers here, though in the wilderness, did not forget their God; they were a church-going people. When they came here, they left behind them the land of Churches and of a preached Gospel. And till then, these valleys and rocks had never been vocal with the praises of their Maker—had never smiled when a Sabbath appeared. Yet scarcely had this log cabins of the pale faces become mingled among the wigwams of the copper-colored race, or had displaced them, before rude structures called "*stands*"* were erected in the woods, and men gathered around these to hear a sermon, whenever a missionary from the Synod of New York,

* The meaning of this term "stand," for preaching, is well understood in the South and West, but perhaps not in the North and East. These structures are common in the new settlements, and consist of temporary arrangements for preaching and hearing when a Church cannot be erected. A small rude building is raised in its floor a few feet above the ground, and a few feet square, and with a roof for the accommodation of the speaker. There is a book-board in front to lay the Bible and hymn book upon, and this formerly, was sometimes fastened between Two trees which upheld the ends of it. One of these, thus arranged, where a missionary preached, about Three miles from Statesville, One hundred years ago, was seen not long since, with the ends grown deeply into the wood. Logs were laid at suitable distances apart, and at right angles to the front of the pulpit, and then split logs across these made the seats, leaving a passage for an aisle out in front of the speaker; and similar ones in other directions. Large audiences could with comfort thus hear the Gospel under the shade of the trees.

or Philadelphia, came along to look after the sheep scattered in the wilderness.

Thus they were cheered, and their hearts nerved against danger.

But, at first, living at a great distance apart, most of them were compelled to travel each time, many a weary mile, and return home again the same day. To go Ten or Twelve miles to attend on the means of grace, was accounted *then*, little hardship, even if they all had to walk by the guidance of *blazed* trees.

Often, as they journeyed thus in company to their homes on Sabbath evenings, they rehearsed to one another the good word of God to which they had listened that day. Many a weary mile did they thus beguile. The young women carried, tied up in a handkerchief, their fine shoes and stockings, together with their linen aprons of their own manufacture, bleached white as snow, nicely folded up and pressed in little squares and triangles, so that the folds would all show when spread out.

When they came near the place of worship, they sat down on a rock, stump, or log, and put on these articles of finery to appear in public; and on their return replaced them as before; and the same foldings of their aprons (on which they prided themselves) were carefully preserved to be opened again the next time; and their fine shoes would last a long time.

They were in those days subject to few diseases; dysentery, pleurisy, some fevers, and, rarely, fever and ague filled the list. They lived in a simple, frugal manner, endured great hardships, eat their meat upon wooden trenchers, and drank their milk from little noggins also of wood, of which a friend of the writer has one carefully preserved, that his ancestors used in those days, and which holds about a pint. Tea was unknown, coffee was little used. It is said that if a merchant brought from Charleston or Philadelphia a small sack of this article, of which such immense quantities are now used, or if a man went to market and brought home a few pounds, he was thought extravagant. It was used only once a week, on Sabbath mornings, or assigned to the sick, while now it is often freely used in some families Three times a day, and regarded as a necessary of life.

When this country first came into their possession, it is represented as being most desirable land, very much like the famed prairies of the West, and altogether different in quality and appearance from what it now is. It was open and mostly clear of timber, so that the sight could reach a great distance. The under-growth was kept down by the Indians burning it over so often. The bottoms were thick cane-brakes, and the hills and plains were covered with a natural growth of wild pea-vines, which furnished abundant pasture for stock of all kinds, which needed little attention, even in winter.

Buffaloes, wolves, bears, deer, panthers, &c., roamed through all the land, furnishing provisions for the early settlers as well as the savages. There are traditions connected with many spots where the ancestors of the present inhabitants saw immense herds of buffaloes. But, alas! they with their associates, the Indians, have disappeared from here forever.

Of the One hundred and eleven names on the Map, about Twenty have become extinct in this region, if not in this part of the country. But many of the descendants of these families have *drifted* off to the West and Southwest, and may be found from here to Texas, New Mexico and California.

Within the limits of this Map are found at this day, not only the parent Church at Statesville (which retains its original name, *Fourth creek*), but those of Concord and Bethany, the first colonies from it. Also, in part, the congregations of Shiloh, Bethesda and Fifth creek. There are, at least, Three Associate Reformed, Four Lutheran, Eight or Ten Methodist, and One Baptist Churches, making more than a score of Churches within the bounds of what was One congregation about One hundred years ago.

And it would be interesting to know how many families there are now, in place of about Two hundred then.

As Episcopacy was then established here by law, this region was included in St. Luke's parish; the church being at Salisbury, Twenty-eight miles from where Statesville is. This was the case when Rowan was cut off from Anson county in 1753. All freeholders were required to meet at the church in Salisbury every third year to elect vestrymen, under a penalty of Twenty shillings.

The author of the Map, William Sharpe, whose name is found in the vicinity of Snow creek, commonly known as "Lawyer William," was the maternal grandfather of Hon. David F. Caldwell, of Salisbury, lately deceased; whose grandfather on the other side, David Caldwell, is also on the Map. William Sharpe was born in Cecil county, Maryland, and when he became of age he migrated to Mecklenburg county, N. C. He had only a common English education, and it is not known where he pursued his legal studies. He married, in 1768, a daughter of David Reese, one of the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration; and soon after settled in Snow creek, where his name is recorded. He practiced surveying extensively; was a member, and sometimes the chairman, of the Committee of Safety in his own county, in 1774–5; was aid to General Rutherford in his expedition against the Cherokees, in 1776. He was influential in establishing that academy in his vicinity, so famous in its day, and almost a college, called "Clio's

"Nursery." At the time General Davidson was killed at Cowan's Ford, February, 1781, he was engaged in raising volunteers; and it is reported that he was so inimical to the British that Tarleton offered Five hundred guineas for his head. He was a member of the State Congress in 1775, and of the Continental in 1779–82. He was regarded as a most estimable citizen.*

NOTICE OF SOME OTHER LOCALITIES: We have already remarked that Statesville was about equidistant from the North and South lines of the State; the Court House of the county was located at the "*Meeting House*" of Fourth Creek Church in 1790.

It has now become an important village, with Two large hotels, and about a dozen stores, on the Western extension of the North Carolina Railroad. It has increased in population and business since the establishment there of the Concord Female College, a fine building on a beautiful site just West of the town, which it overlooks, fronting down the main street. It is now in successful operation, with an able Faculty, in which the North and the South are united; and parents at the North would find this a most excellent place to educate their daughters.

"The situation embraces a picturesque moun-
"tain scenery for a distance of more than One
"hundred miles. Among the highest peaks, are
"to be seen Table Rock, in Burke county, Grand-
"Father, Hump-Back, Mount Mitchell, in one di-
"rection, and Pilot Mountain in the other."

On the Northwest part of the Map, near the South Yadkin, is the name of William Waddell. We learn from Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, that he landed in Charleston, from Ireland, in 1767, and after remaining there a short time he removed to this spot, where, in 1770, Moses, the last of Three sons, was born. He obtained his early education at the Clio Academy in the neighborhood, and became at length Rev. Moses Waddell, D.D., the President of Athens College in Georgia; and the father of Rev. John Waddell, D.D., the President of the State University at Oxford, Mississippi. "Iredell" (says one) "has been the nursery of great and "good men."

A little West of the center of the Map is the name of William Morrison, on Third creek. He, with two brothers and their families, and the family of a fourth, who died in Pennsylvania, emigrated from that State in 1751, and they settled in this vicinity. They were the ancestors of a large number of families of that name, distinct from those of the same name in Cabarrus county and elsewhere. William, the eldest, built the first mill in this region, which, singularly enough, was spared by the Indians in the French war, when all the inhabitants were driven into the Fort not far off, and all the other buildings were destroyed.

He was buried in the old graveyard, about a mile West of Concord church, and this request is engraved on his tombstone, "that as he was the "first inhabitant of the country, and possessor of "this land, his grave and that on his left" [*that of his wife*] "should not be disturbed." The reason of this request is, that in Ireland, whence he came in 1730, the custom prevailed of opening graves after a certain number of years, to be filled with new occupants.

Near his house, as an old lady said, "Concord "Church was raised the 11th of June before they "went to the Cherokee nation."* That is, the expedition from this part of the State against that tribe in July, 1776. It has long since been replaced by a new house. Near where James Hall occurs, the father of Rev. James Hall, D.D., Bethany church was erected, in 1779, which stood about Eighty years, when, though the timbers were still sound, it was removed and a new building was placed near the spot.

FORT DOBBS: After the defeat of General Braddock at Pittsburg, in July, 1755, the Western settlements of the Southern provinces were left exposed to the attack of the savages, which they renewed with vigor and courage. In the course of that summer, Governor Arthur Dobbs, who came into office the year before, visited the Western counties, to ascertain what locations were most favorable for the erection of forts; and when the Legislature met at Newbern, on the twenty-fifth of September, we are told that "he "recommended the erection of a fort between "Third and Fourth creeks, near the South Yad-
"kin, in the county of Rowan, near that of Ire-
"dell, a central spot between the Northern and
"Southern boundaries of the Province." *Martin's History*, ii., 82, 83.

When Governor Dobbs came into office he brought from England One thousand firelocks and a few pieces of cannon as a present from the Crown to the Province. The year before his arrival the Legislature had appropriated "One "thousand pounds for the frontier counties of "Anson and Rowan, for purchasing arms and "ammunition for the use of the poorer inhabi-
"tants of said counties; Five hundred pounds to
"Mr. Caleb Howell and Mr. Charles Robinson of
"Anson county; and Five hundred pounds to Mr.
"James Carter and Mr. John Brandon, of Rowan
"county, to be by them applied for the use of the
"respective counties."†

* For other facts in his life, see *Wheeler's History of North Carolina*, ii., 216.

* About Twenty years ago, in making inquiries of old people about matters of interest when they were young, an old lady gave this reason for the name *Concord*:—there was a strife about the location, and the party that conquered called it so.

† See *Laws of North Carolina*. Printed by James Davis 1773, p. 157.

The spot where Fort Dobbs was built *is nearly* in the middle of the State, North and South. And the historian tells us that the fort which the Governor recommended was built; and that for this and other purposes, the Legislature granted a supply of Ten thousand pounds. The site of the *fort actually built* does not correspond to the one recommended by the Governor, according to the historian. For that location would carry it Ten or Fifteen miles farther East towards Salisbury; and remove it by so much from the frontier settlements where it was most needed. It would be brought near the present site of Third creek Church, in Rowan.

But we can make the language of Martin correspond to the fact by supposing a mistake in one word; and we remember that Iredell did not exist till 1790, and he is speaking of 1755. Amend then by saying, "he recommended the "erection of a Fort between Third and Fourth "creeks, near the South Yadkin in the County of "Rowan *now*," (*i. e. at the time Martin wrote*) "that of Iredell, &c." Put *now* for *near*, and the statement comes right, and places it in the actual location, and where it was most needed. It was a Block House, "of an oblong shape, 53 feet "long by 43 wide; 24 feet high, and had Three "floors from each of which, above One hundred "muskets could be discharged at once." It is not known what military force was stationed there. The families from the surrounding country fled there for protection, and more or less remained while the war lasted. An old woman born there in 1758, died in 1859. There was no safety for the people anywhere else; they were kept in a constant state of alarm; did they go out to cultivate their lands, they carried their weapons of war, as well as their implements of agriculture. Did they carry their grain to mill, they bore their arms, and imagined every stump by the side of the road an Indian lying in ambush for them. Did they assemble at a "*stand*," to hear a sermon, their fire-arms were stacked near at hand. They carried their lives in their hands. Men were waylaid and killed in all circumstances; families were found all murdered and scalped on their own floors, if, too confident, they remained at home.

The most disastrous attack of the enemy of which any account is preserved, during the time of the Fort, was when a party of about Twenty men went out for forage to Moses Potts' house, which stood on a branch of Fourth creek. They were attacked at the house very suddenly, and *Seven young men* were killed and buried there. Some of the remainder escaped and reached the place of safety, but One fell mortally wounded, died, and was buried in front of the house known as the Alex. Higgins place, where his grave is still seen. This is a specimen of what was of frequent occurrence.

Tradition preserves an account of One, and of only One, attempt of the merciless foe to storm the Fort. In what year, or at what time in the year, this occurred, we are not informed; but it is said to have been, contrary to what we might have expected in Indian warfare, on a bright moon-light night. Their approach was indicated early in the evening by the unusual barking of the dogs. An officer was directed to take a squad of soldiers and go out to scour the woods and drive them away. He was reluctant to go, and was also dissuaded by a female *friend*, when the officer in command said he would go himself.

He drew up his men in a line outside of the fort with the highest officers at each end; these the enemy endeavored to kill. And being in large force, the Indians fired once, and then advanced with their usual war-whoop, and drove the men back into the Fort. They made a desperate effort to take it, but in vain; the well directed fire of muskets from Three floors, with the execution done by the Two cannon of Governor Dobbs, was too much for them. They met with too hot a reception, and soon drew off, crying "Pugh! "Pugh!" and made no further attempt to storm the Fort. It is supposed that they lost a large number, as much blood was found on the leaves and on the ground; but, according to their custom, they carried off their dead, and retreated to the mountains.

This Block-House was near to where the name of Alexander Newbury is found on the Map, and about Three miles North of the town. After the close of the war it was burnt; the remains are still visible. There has always been a tradition in the country that there was a deep well, as we may well suppose there must have been, in the Fort; and that when it was destroyed, the field-pieces of Governor Dobbs were thrown into the well, and it was filled up. In February, 1847, the citizens of the town and vicinity, made an effort to open the well and recover the cannon, but they did not succeed. They were unable to find the spot where the well was; after penetrating about Forty feet, where an excavation had before been made, they came to a solid rock, which the former operators could not penetrate, and must have dug again in some other place. So that those guns, if thrown into the well, are still there.

As this was for several years an important point, and a place of refuge from danger, it became the great center of *roads* in this part of the country. And as Salisbury, Thirty miles distant, was the oldest town in this part of the State, a military post, and the Court House of the county, there would be much passing between these Two points. But owing to great changes arising

from new arrangements in the country, the roads have altered their direction. "The old Fort "road," as it was called, is almost unknown to the present generation. It came out from Salisbury on the track of the present Sherrill's Fort road to the Catawba, about Fourteen miles; then it crossed Third creek into the present Statesville road, which it followed till within Four miles of the town; it was then divided, and one part went to the right, passing near the house of the upper Thomas Allison on the Map; crossing the mill-pond of the late Andrew N. Allison, on the left-hand prong of Fourth creek, and thus on to the Fort. It is a long time since the last few miles of this road was in use. The other part passed up about a mile West of the town to Morrison's mill, before mentioned, on Third creek, which it crossed a little above, and went thence near Sterling's church to the Island Ford on the Catawba, and so on West. Over the upper portion, and near that ford, Twelve miles West of the town, General Morgan's army passed flying into Virginia before Cornwallis, in 1781, after the battle of Cowpens.

Query with regard to Fort Dobbs: It appears that at that time the Americans had a chain of forts on this side of the Alleghanies corresponding to those of the French on the West side, intended to cut off the Colonies from the great Valley. There was Fort Littleton in Pennsylvania, Sixty miles above Fort Cumberland, in Maryland. Then Winchester, in Virginia, was a great center and rallying point for that State. In 1756, Governor Dinwiddie "pro- "jected a chain of frontier forts, from the Poto- "mac to the borders of North Carolina," "The "plan of a frontier line of Twenty-three forts "was persisted in."

"As to the sites of the frontier posts, they were "decided upon by Washington and his officers, "&c." "He visited such as were in progress "and near at hand." "In the Autumn he made "a tour of inspection along the whole line, &c." From the connection, we infer that this line extended from Fort Loudon (Winchester), South, through Virginia to some point in or on the borders of North Carolina. For the historian adds, when he seems to be speaking of his return after having inspected "*the whole line from the* "*Catawba*, he was escorted along a range of "forts by a Colonel, &c."* Was Fort Dobbs, erected by the direction of the Governor of North Carolina, in any way connected with this chain or line of forts in Virginia? Did it in any way come under the inspection of Washington and his officers? Did he visit it in the fall of 1756? It was within about Ten miles of the Catawba river, and the only place where, if he approached the Catawba at all, he would return from it. But the line projected by the Governor of Virginia was to extend only to "the borders of "North Carolina." This was not in the province of Washington; there is no tradition in the country that he ever visited this spot. Moreover, he speaks of setting out (apparently from his Southern limit), "and by the protection of "Providence reached Augusta Court House in "Seven days," which he could not have done from here. But the Yadkin, with its tributaries, lies between here and the Virginia line, and if he did not cross that, it is difficult to see why the Author mentions the Catawba.

What does he mean by saying, "From the "Catawba, &c.?" E. F. R.

* *Irving's Life of Washington*, i., 216, 219, 224, 226.

VII.—PATRICK HENRY.

1.—A Memorandum by Thomas Jefferson.*

My acq^ce with mr Henry commenced in the winter of 1759-60. on my way to the college I past the X^mas holidays at Col° Dandridge's, in Hanover, to whom mr Henry was a near neighbor. during the festivity of the season I met him in society every day, & we became well acquainted, altho I was much his junior, being then but in my 17^th year & he a married man. The spring following he came to W^msbg to obtain a license as a lawyer, & he called on me at college. he told me he had been reading law only 6. weeks. two of the examiners, however, Peyton & John Randolph, men of great facility of temper, signed his license with as much reluctance as their dispositions would permit them to shew.

mr Wythe absolutely refused. Rob: C. Nicholas refused also at first, but on repeated importunities and promises of future reading, he signed. these facts I had afterwds from the gentlemen themselves, the two Randolphs acknoleging he was very ignorant of law, but that they percieved him to be a young man of genius, & did not doubt he would soon qualify himself.

He was some time after elected a representative of the county of Hanover and brought himself into public notice on the following occasion, which, I think took place in 1762. or a year sooner or later. the gentlemen of this country had at that time become deeply involved in that state of indebtment which has since ended in so general a crush of their fortunes. Robinson the Speaker was also Treasurer, an officer always chosen by the Assembly. he was an excellent man, liberal, friendly and rich. he had been drawn in to lend

* From the original manuscript in the office of *The* (Philadelphia) *Age*.

on his own account great sums of money to persons of this description, & especially those who were of the assembly. he used freely for this purpose the public money, confiding for it's replacement in his own means & the securities he had taken on those loans. about this time however he became sensible that his deficit to the public was become so enormous as that a discovery must soon take place, for as yet the public had no suspicion of it. he devised therefore with his friends in the assembly a plan for a public loan office to a certain amount, from which monies might be lent on public acc^{t} & on good landed security to individuals. this was accordingly brought forward in the House of Burgesses, and, had it succeeded, the debts due to Robinson on these loans would have been transferred to the public, & his deficit thus compleetly covered. this state of things however was not yet known; but mr Henry attacked the scheme on other general grounds in that style of bold grand and overwhelming eloquence, for which he became so justly celebrated afterwds. he carried with him all the members of the upper counties, and left a minority composed merely of the aristocracy of the country. from this time his popularity swelled apace, & Robinson dying 4. years after, his deficit was brought to light, & discovered the true object of the proposition.

The next great occasion on which he signalised himself was that which may be considered as the dawn of the Revoln. in March 1774. the British parliament had passed resolns. preparatory to the levying a revenue on the colonies by a stamp tax. the Virginia assembly at their next session, prepared & sent to England very elaborate representns addressed in separate forms to the King, Lords and Commons, against the right to impose such taxes. the famous stamp act was, however, past in Jan., 1765 and in the session of the Virgi assembly of May following, mr Henry introduced the celebrated resolns of that date. these were drawn by George Johnston, a lawyer of the Northern neck, a very able, logical and correct speaker. mr Henry moved and Johnston seconded these resolns successively. they were opposed by Randolph, Blood, Pendleton, Nicholas, Wythe & all the old members whose influence in the house had till then been unbroken. they did it, not from any question of our rights, but on the ground that the same sentiments had been at their preceding session expressed in a more conciliatory form to which the answers were not yet received. but torrents of sublime eloquence from mr Henry, backed by the solid reasoning of Johnston, prevailed. the last however, & strongest resoln was carried but by a single vote. the debate on it was most bloody. I was then but a student and was listening at the door of the lobby (for as yet there was no gallery) when Peyton Randolph, after the vote, came out of the house and said, as he entered the lobby "By god I would have "given 500 guineas for a single vote" for as this would have divided the house, the vote of Robinson, the speaker, would have rejected the resolution. mr Henry left town that evening and the next morning before the meeting of the house, I saw Peter Randolph, then of the Council, but who had formerly been clerk to the house, for an hour or two at the clerk's table searching the old journals for a precedent while he was clerk, of a resolution of the house erased from the journals by a subsequent order of the house, whether he found it or not I do not remember; but when the house met, a motion was made & carried to erase that resoln; and there being at that day but one printer, & he entirely under the controul of the governor, I do not know that this resoln ever appeared in print. I write this from memory, but the impression made on me, at the time, was such as to fix the facts indelibly in my mind.

I came into the Legislature as a burgess for Albermarle in the winter of 1768/9. on the accession of L'd. Botetourt to the government and about 9. years after mr Henry had entered on the stage of public life. the exact conformity of our political opinions strengthened our friendship, and indeed, the old leaders of the house being substantially firm, we had not after this any differences of opn in the H. of B. on matters of principle, tho sometimes on matters of form. we were dissolved by Ld Botetourt at our first sesssion; but all were re-elected. there being no divisions among us, occasions became very rare for any display of mr H.'s eloquence. in ordinary business he was a very inefficient member. he could not draw a bill on the most simple subject which wd bear legal criticism, or even the ordinary criticism which looks to correctness of style & idea for indeed there was no accuracy of idea in his head. his imagination was copious, poetical, sublime, but vague also. he said the strongest things in the finest language, but without logic, without arrangement, desultoryly. this appeared eminently & in a mortifying degree in the 1st session of the 1st Congress which met in Sep 1774.

mr Henry & Richard Henry Lee took at once the lead in that assembly, and by the high style of their eloquence were in the first days of the session looked up to as *primi inter pares*. a petition to the King, an Address to the people of G Britain, and a Memorial to the people of British America were agreed to be drawn. Lee, Henry & others were appointed for the first, & Lee, Livingston & Jay for the two last. the splendor of their debut occasioned mr Henry to be designated by his commee to draw the petn to the king, with which they were charged, and mr Lee was charged with the address to the people of England. the last was first reported. on reading it every coun-

tenance fell and a dead silence ensued for many minutes. at length, it was laid on the table for perusal and considn till the next day when first one member, and then another arose, & paying some faint compliments to the composition observed that there were still certain considerns not expressed in it, which should properly find a place in it. at length mr Livingston (the Govr of N. J.) a member of the commee rose & observed that a friend of his had been sketching what he had thought might be proper for such an address, from which he thought some paragraphs might be advantageously introduced into the draught proposed: and he read an address which mr Jay had prepared *de bene esse* as it were. There was but one sentiment of admirn. the address was recommitted for amendment, and mr Jay's draught reported & adopted with scarce any altern. these facts were stated to me by mr Pendleton and Col°. Harrison of our own delegation, except that Col°. Harrison ascribed the draught to Govr, Livingston & were afterwards confirmed to me by Gov'r Livingston, & I will presently mention an anecdote confirmative of them from mr Jay and R. H. Lee themselves.

Mr. Henry's draught of a petn to the king was equally unsuccessful, and was recommitted for amendment. mr John Dickerson was added to the commee & a new draught prepared by him was passed.

The occasion of my learning from mr Jay that he was the author of the Address to the people of Gr. Britain requires explanation by a statement of some preceding circumstances. The 2d session of the 1st Congress met on their own adjmt in May, 1775. Peyton Randolph was their president. in the meantime Ld. North's conciliatory proposns came over to be laid by the Governors before their legislatures. Ld. Dunmore accdly called that of Virginia to meet in June. This obliged P. Randolph as Speaker to return. our other old members being at Congress, he pressed me to draw the answer to Ld. North's proposn. I accdly did so, and it passed with a little softening of some expressions for which the times were not yet ripe & wire-drawing & weakening some others to satisfy individuals. I had been appointed to go on to Congress in place of Peyton Randolph, & proceeded immediately, charged with presenting this answer to Congress. as it was the first which had been given, and the tone of it was strong the members were pleased with it hoping it would have a good effect on the answers of the other states. a Commee which had been appointed to prepare a Declaration to be published by Genl. Washington on his arrival at the army, having reported one, it was recommitted, & Dickinson & myself added to the commee. on the adjournment of the house happening to go out with Govr. Livingston, one of the Commee, I expressed to him my hope he would draw the Declaration. he modestly excused himself, & expressed his wish that I would do it. but urging him with considerable importunity, he at length said "you & I, sir, are but new acquaintances: "what can have excited so earnest a desire on "your part that I should be the draughtsman? "Why, sir, said I, I have been informed you "drew the Address to the people of Gr. Brit. I "think it the first composition in the English "language, & therefore am anxious this declara-"tion should be prepared by the same pen." He "replied, that I might have been misinformed on "that subject." a few days after, being in conversation with R. H. Lee in Congress till a little before the meeting of the house, mr Jay observing us, came up, & taking R. H. Lee by a button of the coat said to him pretty sternly, "I under-"stand, Sir, that you informed this gentleman "that the Address to the people of Gr. Br. pre-"sented to the commee by me was drawn by "Govr. Livingston." the fact was that the Commee having consisted of only Lee, Livingston, who was fath-in l. of Jay & Jay himself & Lee's draught having been rejected & Jay's approved so unequivocally, his suspicions naturally fell on Lee as author of the report; & the rather as they had daily much sparring in Congress, Lee being firm in the revolutionary measures, and Jay hanging heavily on their rear. I immediately stopped mr Jay, and assured him that tho' I had indeed been so informed, it was not by mr Lee, whom I had never heard utter a word on the subject.

I found mr Henry to be a silent & almost unmeddling member in Congress. on the original opening of that body, while general grievances were the topic, he was in his element & captivated all by his bold & splendid eloquence. but as soon as they came to specific matters, to sober reasoning and solid argumentation he had the good sense to perceive that his declamation however excellent in it's proper place, had no weight at all in such an assembly as that, of cool-headed, reflecting, judicious men. he ceased therefore in a great measure to take any part in the business. he seemed indeed very tired of the place & wonderfully relieved when, by appointment of the Virginia convention to be Col°. of their 1st regiment he was permitted to leave Congress about the last of July. how he acquitted himself in his military command will be better known from others. he was relieved from this position again by being appointed Governor on the first organization of the government. after my service as his successor in the same office my appointment to Congress in 1783. mission to Europe in 84. & appointment in the new govmt in 89. kept us so far apart that I had no further personal knolege of him.

Mr Henry began his career with very little property. he acted, as I have understood, as barkeeper in the tavern at Hanover C. H. for sometime. he married very young; settled, I believe, at a place called the Roundabout in Louisa, got credit for some little store of merchandize, but very soon failed. from this he turned his views to the law, for the acquision or practice of which however he was too lazy. whenever the courts were closed for the winter session, he would make up a party of poor hunters of his neighborhood, would go off with them to the pinywoods of Fluvanna, and pass weeks in hunting deer, of which he was passionately fond, sleeping under a tent, before a fire, wearing the same shirt the whole time, & covering all the dirt of his dress with a hunting-shirt. he never undertook to draw pleadings if he could avoid it or to manage that part of a cause & very unwillingly engaged but as an assistant, to speak in the cause. and the fee was an indispensable preliminary, observing to the applicant that he kept no accounts, never putting pen to paper, wch was true. his powers over a jury were so irresistible that he received great fees for his services, & had the reputation of being insatiable in money. after about 10. years practice in the County courts he came to the Genl. court, where however being totally unqualified for anything but mere jury causes, he devoted himself to these, & chiefly to the criminal business. from these poor devils it was always understood that he squeezed exorbitant fees of £50, 100. & 200£. from this source he made his great profits, & they were said to be great. his other business, exclusive of the criminal, would never, I am sure, pay the expenses of his attendance. he now purchased from mr Lomax the valuable estate on the waters of Smith's river, to which he afterwards removed. the purchase was on long credit & finally paid in depreciated paper not worth oak leaves. about the close of the war he engaged in the Yazoo speculation, & bought up a great deal of depreciated paper at 2/ & 2/6 in the pound to pay for it. at the close of the war, many of us wished to reopen all accounts which had been paid in depreciated money, and have them settled by the scale of depreciation. but on this he frowned most indignantly, & knowing the general indisposition of the legislature, it was considered hopeless to attempt it with such an opponent at their head as Henry. I believe he never distinguished himself so much as on the similar question of British debts in the case of Jones & Walker. he had exerted a degree of industry in that case totally foreign to his character, and not only seemed, but had made himself really learned on the subject. another of the great occasions on which he exhibited examples of eloquence such as probably had never been exceeded, was on the question of adopting the new constitution in 1788. to this he was most violently opposed, as is well known; and after it's adoption he continued hostile to it, expressing more than any other man in the U S. his thorough contempt & hatred of Genl. Washington. from being the most violent of all anti-federalists however he was brought over to the new constitution by his Yazoo speculation, before mentioned. the Georgia legislature having declared that transaction fraudulent & void, the depreciated paper which he had bought up to pay for the Yazoo purchase was likely to remain on his hands worth nothing. but Hamilton's funding system came most opportunely to his relief, and suddenly raised his paper from 2/6 to 27/6 the pound. Hamilton became now his idol, and, abandoning the republican advocates of the constitution, the federal government on federal principles became his political creed. Genl. Washington flattered him by an appointment to a mission to Spain, which he declined; & by proposing to him the office of Secretary of State, on the most earnest sollicitation of Genl Henry Lee, who pledged himself that Henry should not accept it; for Genl Washington knew that he was entirely unqualified for it, & moreover that his self-esteem had never suffered him to act as second to any man on earth. I had this fact from information, but that of the mission to Spain is of my own knolege because after my retiring from the office of Secy of State Genl. Washington passed the papers to mr Henry through my hands. mr Henry's apostacy sunk him to nothing in the estimation of his country. he lost at once all that influence which federalism had hoped, by cajoling him, to transfer with him to itself and a man who thro a long & active life had been the idol of his country beyond any one that ever lived, descended to the grave with less than it's indifference, and verified the saying of the philosopher, that no man must be called happy till he is dead.

2.—Mr. Jefferson and Patrick Henry.*

We read the other day in the Philadelphia *Age* a curious tract or memorandum by Mr. Jefferson on Patrick Henry. It is not a pleasant document. As it bears no date, one can only conjecture the circumstances and influences under which it was written, and it is natural to attribute it to that portion of Mr. Jefferson's life when, in absolute retirement at Monticello, he allowed himself to be embittered not only by memories of past animosities, but to be irritated into fresh re-

* Communicated to *The* (New York) *World;* and published in that paper on the second of August, 1867.

sentments by busy, gossiping correspondents. His old age was not, in this respect, a picturesque one. He had the misfortune to keep a "Note-"book" and a "Diary," and there he jotted down not only the occurrences of the day, which is the most innocent form of the nuisance "Diary," but what other people told him and what he fancied were his recollections. This Patrick Henry memorandum reads very much like a page from *Ana.* Mr. Jefferson never duly measured the new terror of death—posthumous publication of his private papers, and he has suffered grievously from it. Not so much, perhaps, as his great rival Hamilton, whose fame has literally been slaughtered by an unnatural son, but still the work of self-disparagement was pretty well done. His relatives and biographers have illustrated another defect of personal character, which is now very prominent. Mr. Jefferson never seemed to rise to the dignity of proud contentment with the great triumph which he and his party won over the Federalists, and which kept them in full possession of the Government for a quarter of a century—from 1800 to 1825. Mr. Madison did. Mr. Jefferson seemed always in a fume—in a political fret. He was always thinking of the Federalists and their chiefs as if they were in full life and in the field against him—angrily of Hamilton, who was in his bloody grave; as angrily of Burr, who had put him there, though an exile and an outcast; of Henry Lee; of Judge Marshall, who was out of his way and moving innocently in the pure serene of his high function; of Washington; and now, it seems, of Patrick Henry. On his tomb, Mr. Jefferson long after wrote what we must describe as the ill-natured epitaph which the *Age*, though evidently with some misgiving, reproduces.

As to Mr. Jefferson's recollections of Henry in early life and his comments on his professional qualifications and intellectual characteristics, we can say nothing. They may be just or not. Mr. Jefferson was a man of the pen and not of the tongue. Patrick Henry was the reverse. Mr. Jefferson, in this memorandum, bows down in reverence to the triumphs of the pen, even when won by those whom he disliked as much as he did Mr. Jay and Mr. Dickinson. He rather pooh-poohs the "orator," and this thread of disparagement of Henry's intellect runs through this whole criticism, and must, we think, be apparent to every one. But there is, in our judgment, a graver defect in this "character" of Henry. It is historically inexact. It is worth notice, too, that Mr. Jefferson, who was a rhetorical artist, puts the sharp sting at the end. After whittling away Mr. Henry's good name on small matters, and leaving chips all about him as to his "rapacity for fees," and his "parsimo-"ny," and "the Yazoo speculation," he winds up with the following, in which the reader will observe that at one blow, in which all his spiteful energies are concentrated, he strikes Washington, Lee, and Henry.

"General Washington flattered him by an ap-"pointment to a mission to Spain, which he de-"clined; and by proposing to him the office of "Secretary of State, on the most earnest solicita-"tion of General Henry Lee, who pledged himself "that Henry should not accept it. For General "Washington knew that he was entirely unqual-"ified for it, and moreover, that his self-esteem "had never suffered him to act as second to any "man on earth. I had this fact from informa-"tion; but that of the mission to Spain is of my "own knowledge, because, after my retiring from "the office of Secretary of State, General Wash-"ington passed the papers to Mr. Henry through "my hands. Mr. Henry's apostacy sunk him to "nothing in the estimation of his country. He "lost at once all that influence which Federalism "had hoped, by cajoling him, to transfer with "him to itself, and a man who, through a long "and active life, had been the idol of his count-"ry beyond any one that ever lived, descended "to the grave with less than its indifference, "and verified the saying of the philosopher, that "no man must be called happy until he is "dead."

Here, so far as facts are concerned, Washington and Lee are most disparaged—the former as party to a small stratagem for buying up a political adversary by an offer (and that, too, of a Cabinet office) which he knew would not be accepted; and General Lee as the go-between on the occasion. Unfortunately for Mr. Jefferson, facts (stubborn things), as now ascertained, do not support his theory. He ignores the fact that between Washington and Henry there had always been a kind feeling dating as far back as 1777, when Henry refused to join the "Cabal." Differences as to the Federal Constitution before its adoption, in which we incline to think, from what we see now-a-days, Henry was right, separated them. But concurrence of opinion as to the insanity of the French Revolution—the bloody radicalism of the Convention in France, so like our "Convention" in the District of Columbia—brought them together again. This it is that Mr. Jefferson, crazy as he was on the subject of France, never forgave. *Hinc illae objurgationes.* As to the traffic for posts in the Washington Cabinet, there is not a shadow of foundation for the gossip. The private letters on the subject, unseen, of course, by Mr. Jefferson, are now in print. They tell a story very different from his imaginings. On the seventeenth of August, 1794, Lee wrote to Washington that he had met Mr. Henry in Virginia, who expressed some fears that mischief had been made, and that he (Henry) was

looked upon as "a factious and seditious man,' by the President. "He seems," says Lee, "to be "deeply and sorely affected. It is very much to "be regretted, for he is a man of positive virtue "as well as of transcendent talents." Washington replied at once that there was no foundation for this idea; and added, and it shows how long Washington remembered the base means once employed to ruin him: "On the question of the "Constitution, Mr. Henry and myself, it is well "known, have been of different opinions, but per- "sonally I have always respected and esteemed "him; nay more, I have conceived myself under "obligations to him for the friendly manner in "which he transmitted to me *some insidious anon-* "*ymous writings that were sent to him in the* "*close of the year* 1777 with a view to embark "him in the opposition forming against me at "that time." This was communicated to Henry, who at once said in a letter, every word of which is instinct with patriotism: "My present views "are to spend my days in privacy. If however "it shall please God, during my life, so to order "the course of events as to render my feeble ef- "forts necessary for the safety of the country in "any, even the smallest degree, that little which "I can do shall be done. Whenever you may "have an opportunity, I shall be much obliged "by your presenting my best respects and duty to "the President, assuring him of my gratitude for "his favorable sentiment towards me." It was in this letter he said, "Although a Democrat "myself, I like not the late Democratic Societies."

These Societies, we all know, were Mr. Jefferson's pets, even when he was in Washington's Cabinet. In October, 1795, Washington wrote, not to Lee, whose agency in reconciliation had long since ceased, but to Edward Carrington, that he was desirous to bring Mr. Henry into his Cabinet, but *feared* he would not accept the place; and on the ninth of October he offered him the post of Secretary of State. Mr. Jefferson says he made the offer knowing he was unfit, and under an assurance from Lee that it would not be accepted—a very disingenuous and discreditable trick. Washington's letter lies before us and we wish we had room to print every word of it. Its first words—remember, reader, it is Washington who writes—"Whatever may be the reception of this letter, "truth and candor shall mark its steps. You "doubtless know that the office of State is va- "cant; and no one can be more sensible than "yourself of the importance of filling it with "a person of abilities, and one in whom the pub- "lic would have confidence. My wish is that "you will accept it," and then he adds:

"My ardent desire is, and my aim has been, as "far as depended upon the Executive Department, 'to comply strictly with all our engagements, 'foreign and domestic; but to keep the United "States free from connections with every other "country, to see them independent of all, and "under the influence of none. In a word, I want "an *American* character, that the powers of Eu- "rope may be convinced we act for ourselves and "not for others. This, in my judgment, is the "only way to be respected abroad and happy at "home, and not, by becoming the partisans of "Great Britain or France, create dissensions, dis- "turb the public tranquillity, and destroy, per- "haps, forever the cement which binds the Union. "I am satisfied these sentiments cannot be other- "wise than congenial with your own. I ask your "aid in carrying them into effect."

Does this look like a half-hearted offer, such as Mr. Jefferson represents it? Mr. Henry declined the position in a letter which has not been preserved, and Colonel Pickering was appointed.

In the last years of their lives Washington and Henry corresponded on terms of the most affectionate intimacy. Washington begged him to go back to the Virginia Legislature, which he did; and it was at this time Henry wrote a letter, from which we wish, in conclusion, we could make some extracts, every word of which, if seen, would have been gall and wormwood to Mr. Jefferson and his Gallo-maniacs. We are compelled here to close our effort to do exact justice to the honored dead—especially the dead of that great and glorious Commonwealth—the mother of *States* and creator of the Constitutional Union. Now, Niobe in her voiceless woe.

3.—Thomas Jefferson and his Contemporaries.*

There was printed, yest rday, on the editorial page of *The World*, an interesting communication on Jefferson and Patrick Henry. Lest the place we gave it should be deemed to imply assent, we wish to state that, in several particulars, the article expressed views which are not ours. Its apparent purpose was to defend Washington, by documentary proofs, against the opinion of Jefferson, that he had tendered to Patrick Henry the office of Secretary of State, expecting and wishing that Henry would decline it. The defence seems successful; but the acrimonious vivacity with which the writer depicts the old age of Jefferson was not called for by the occasion. The unlovely view of that statesman's later years is quite different from the one his correspondence, and the published accounts of visitors and inmates, had led us to adopt; but we have no space for that general question. The writer makes that topic relevant by his conjecture that a memoran-

* From *The* (New York) *World*, of the third of August, 1867.

dum expresssing the opinion he contests was written after Jefferson's retirement. If the opinion in question had just come to light, and had never been expressed by Jefferson except in that memorandum, the conjecture respecting its date might perhaps make it pertinent to account for the opinion by the suspicious peevishness of old age. But, in point of fact, this opinion was expressed by Jefferson at the time of the transactions, before he was elected Vice-President, and before Patrick Henry had given that adhesion to the Federalists which was subsequent to, if not in consequence of, these proffers of office.

In a letter dated July 10, 1796, Jefferson told Monroe: "Most assiduous court has been paid to "Patrick Henry. *He has been offered everything* "*which they knew he would not accept.* Some im- "pression is thought to be made, but we do not "believe it is radical. If they thought they could "count upon him, they would run him for their "Vice-President; their first object being to pro- "duce a schism in this State. As it is, they will "run Mr. Pinckney." It seems to us, therefore that in combating this opinion, there was nothing in its date, or the circumstances of its formation, requiring a repulsive picture of Mr. Jefferson's old age. The resemblance, so far as it has any, is that of caricature; and it is irrelevant.

A scholar so erudite and so ripe in habits of historical research as is our contributor can have but slight respect for the authority of a writer like Hildreth, who dumps all his authorities in a heap at the end of his last volume, and never by specific references enables us to test the value of any particular statement. But we are not aware that Hildreth's honesty has ever been impeached. The fact that a statement is made by him may be taken as a proof that he found authority for it somewhere. Hildreth corroborates the statement of Jefferson, which our correspondent contradicts, that the office of Secretary of State was offered to Patrick Henry on Henry Lee's suggestion. That opinion must have had sufficient currency to exonerate Jefferson from the suspicion of having wantonly invented it. Hildreth also ascribes Henry's surprising conversion from the most violent of all the opponents of the Constitution to a stiff Federalist in part to personal motives. "*Few* "*persons,*" says Hildreth, "*are insensible to per-* "*sonal motives*, and besides these political con- "siderations urged by Washington, Henry had "strong personal reasons for thinking well of, "and giving his support to, that system of Gov- "ernment which he had once so vehemently "opposed. *Within a few years past*" [previous to 1799] "*he had entered extensively into the pre-* "*vailing land speculations*, and, more judicious "and fortunate than many others, he had been "made wealthy by the appreciation of his landed "property."

Our contributor ascribes Jefferson's opinion of Henry's unfitness for the office of Secretary of State to his inability to appreciate an orator. In point of fact, Jefferson had a lively appreciation of oratorical excellence, and his admiration of Henry as an orator was unbounded. There is abundant evidence, in his Autobiography and Correspondence, of his high estimate of Henry's wonderful powers, of his patriotism, and of his pre-eminent services in setting in motion the ball of the Revolution. In his Autobiography, begun in 1821, at the age of Seventy-seven, Jefferson bears this shining testimony to Henry's prodigious powers: "I attended the debate at the door of the "lobby of the House of Burgesses, and heard the "splendid display of Mr. Henry's talents as a "popular orator. *They were great indeed, such as* "*I never heard from any other man. He appeared* "*to me to speak as Homer wrote.* My recollec- "tions of these transactions may be seen in page "60 of the *Life of Patrick Henry*, by Wirt, to "whom I furnished them." Wirt, who was a fervent admirer of Henry, constantly consulted Jefferson about his Biography, submitted to him the proof sheets as they were printed, and asked his corrections and suggestions. He was led to do this by the frequency and fondness with which Jefferson was accustomed to allude to Henry in conversation. The habitual kindness of Jefferson's allusions to Patrick Henry appear in the published memoranda and letters of persons who lived with him at Monticello in his last years.

Our contributor says that, in his old age, Jefferson "was always thinking angrily of Hamilton, "who was in his bloody grave." This is in contradiction to evidence which we suppose to be authentic. In Martin Van Buren's posthumous work on Political Parties there is a letter, written to him at his request, by Nicholas P. Trist, who married Jefferson's granddaughter and lived in his family, describing the general tone and purport of Jefferson's remarks on Hamilton. Mr. Van Buren states that in his visit to Monticello, they talked more of Hamilton than upon any other topic, and that Jefferson spoke of him in the same liberal spirit described by Mr. Trist.

We have given to this subject all the space we deem fitting, although there are other things in the contribution we published yesterday, from which we dissent. As to the matter which forms the gist of the writer's criticism, even his rebutting evidence proves, not indeed that Washington *believed* Henry would not accept, as Jefferson alleged, but that he "*feared*" he would not—and the event showed that the fears were perfectly well-founded.

VIII.—THE INVASION OF CANADA, IN 1775.

A FRAGMENT OF A LETTER FROM COLONEL HENRY CALDWELL TO GENERAL JAMES MURRAY.*

ON BOARD THE *Hunter*, SLOOP-OF-WAR, June 15, 1776.

MY DEAR GENERAL:

In my last letter, I gave you a full account of the state of our Province at that time. I am not now certain whether Arnold had arrived when my letter went away; he, however, with the greatest difficulty, got, with about 800 men, to Sertigan, in the beginning of November. The people, from hunger and fatigue, were in a very weak condition; so much so that fifty men properly posted, might have made the whole party prisoners; nor, indeed, could they have got forward, had not the Canadians sent bullocks and other provisions to meet them.

The 8th they got to Pointe Levy, where they took post, as also at my mill. The fellow whom I had employed to put the mill in order, and who was to have had a share in the profits of it, turned out a great scoundrel, put me to great expense, and has proved to be in the rebel interest. He contrived to detain some of my flour, and two hundred bushels of my wheat, which was at the mill, for the rebels' use; he afterwards was appointed their Commissary of Provisions, and acted in that position till the siege or blockade—whichever you please to term it—was raised, which happened on the 6th May, on the arrival of the *Isis*, man-of-war, and two frigates with some transports, and the 29th Regiment; a frigate also arrived a few days after, with the transports of the 47th Regiment from Halifax.

I think, in my last letter, I mentioned to you the surrender of St. John's; a few days after, Generals Carleton and Prescott evacuated Montreal, with about one hundred and fifty men, the remains of the 7th and 26th Regiments, with the staff, who embarked in the *Gaspé*, sloop-of-war, and some armed vessels that lay there; they fell down the river till they got within a few leagues of Sorel, where the enemy, by that time, had taken post, and erected batteries of 2, 3, 6, 9, and 12-pounders each. The wind not serving, the ships stopped there about the 16th of November, when Gen. Carleton quitted the *Gaspé* in the night, escaped in a birch canoe, and arrived at Quebec about the 20th. Two days after, as we were told, the pilots on board the vessels mutinied, and refused to conduct them past the batteries; and Prescott, with his people, surrendered, with, I suppose, about 100 seaman, chiafly Canadians, that were on board the different vessels—I must confess, to my great surprise. Nor have I been able to account for it, since there must have been some circumstances with which we were unacquainted; for the pilots might have been obliged to do their duty, and, waiting for a leading gale of wind, the ships might have passed the narrows with little loss, in spite of the batteries on the shore, or a floating battery, which, by means of a heavy gun, might have been kept at a distance, and annoyed them a little. Be it as it may, our garrison at Quebec suffered considerably in the loss of the men and officers that were taken.

In the mean time, Arnold, as I before told you, had taken post of Pointe Levy, with about 800 men; not a soldier at Quebec but Col. McLean, who just arrived about that time from Sorel, from whence he had been obliged to decamp, with about 100 of his new corps of emigrants; about 60 of the Fusileers, composed chiefly of their recruits, and about 100 recruits of McLean's corps, which Malcolm Fraser and Captain Campbell had raised in Newfoundland, and had just landed. The *Lizard*, frigate, arrived also about the same time, with £20,000 cash; though that gave us some spirits, yet the town was in great danger of being given up, through the cabals of the disaffected, whom Cramahé permitted to remain in town, notwithstanding the repeated representations made to him to order them away. Indeed, to tell the truth, I believe he was throughly frightened.

However, a kind of Council of War was summoned, at which the Captains of the *Lizard* and *Hunter*, sloops, Colonels McLean and I, with some others, assisted. It was there determined that the town should be defended to the last; and that it was for the King's service that the *Lizard* and *Hunter* should winter at Quebec, and their crews assist in the defence of the place. That an embargo should be laid on the ships in the harbour; and that their masters and crews should also assist. The money was got on shore; and the militia assembled. The Canadians, at first, were very lukewarm, and said if the English inhabitants would defend the town, they would; and the British subjects, to their eternal honour, not only set an example on that, but on every other occasion during the siege.

We were about 330, officers included; everybody did duty, either as officers or privates, and I can assure you, duty was never done with more punctuality or earnestness. Inhabitants worth £3,000 or £4,000, standing sentry in their turn, during our severe winter nights, with the greatest alacrity; and what is still more to their honour (as it was found necessary to mix the guards, British and Canadians), they submitted

* From *Manuscripts relating to the early History of Canada*, recently published under the auspices of The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

with the greatest cheerfulness to the command of the Canadian officers, whom they held cheap, and who were in reality their inferiors, both as to education and fortune. Indeed, in general, I had the greatest reason to be satisfied with my corps (for Cramahé gave up his share of the command of it, never making his appearance out of doors, the whole winter.) Indeed, the better kind of people, by keeping up a spirit of emulation amongst them, hardly ever put it in my power to reprimand them; those of a lower class were kept in very good order, by fining them of their pay, and by the black-hole, on bread and water,—a punishment they were much afraid of;—and though, at first, I didn't attempt it, yet in a little time, I brought them to it without murmuring.

Arnold crossed the river about the 14th of November; landing at Wolf's Cove and Sillery; and marched directly to *Sans Bruit*, where he surprised some of my servants, who were busy loading some of my carts and waggons for town. They got there before day, seized on all my working bullocks, about 20, and 4 or 5 fat ones, with all my horses; and there they lived away on my beef and potatoes, about a week, when they retreated to Pointe-au-Tremble, on a rumour of our intentions to attack them from the town; for their ammunition had been spoiled, carrying through the woods, so that they had not more than 4 rounds a man; and their shoes and clothes were all in pieces, and the men themselves but ill recovered from their fatigues; we had indeed talked of attacking them the morning they passed the river, and I wished for it much from the idea I had formed of their situation, but our field-pieces were not in readiness, and that plan was laid aside: the day Arnold retreated, General Carleton arrived.

I saw, as affairs were situated, that the public service might suffer by my being on bad terms with him, and resolving that every thing should give way to that, I went to see him, which I had not done for six months before; and we have been on good terms ever since.

On the General's arrival, he ordered all the people that were disaffected and those that did not choose to take up arms, out of town, on pain of being taken up and treated as spies. That Order strengthened the garrison considerably. We could guard against open and avowed enemies, but not against those lurking about town: cabals then ceased; and every body seemed zealous for the public service; the Bonfields left the town on that occasion; Wells, Zachary McCauley, Murdock Stewart, John McCord, and several others, amongst whom were four or five of the militia officers appointed by Cramahé. It is not doubted whether your friend, Mr. Allsop, would have been of the number, had it not been for the employments he held. He continued, however, to be almost the only man in the garrison that did not do duty; pleading his business as Commissary, to which employment Mr. Carleton named him.

When Arnold retreated, I got in a little of my hay, some oats, wheat, &c, but they again returned whilst I had about 15,000 bundles of hay out; and a day or two before their return, as I suppose, some Canadians, wanting to pilfer something at *Sans Bruit*, where I had only an old man to take care of the house, the fire from his pipe, I imagine, fell in some hay (of which there was a quanity in each room to serve as beds to the Yankees) set it on fire, and before morning, the house was burned to the ground. The out-house, however, still remained; and La Gorgendière's house was then in pretty good repair; but when the siege was raised, it was pitiful to behold the desolation and waste that reigned about all my farms; the barns and stables torn to pieces and burned; the fences torn all to pieces; and though the house at La Gorgendière's was not burned, yet it was torn to pieces. In the inside, the floors torn up and useless, the windows all broken, and the offices entirely destroyed; that, however, must be my future residence,* and I have given orders to have it repaired. That I have suffered in my fences and farms, &c, &c., including hay, carts, and ploughs, and, at my mill, in wheat and flour stolen, independent of the destruction of my houses and offices, which you can form an idea of, (and which must have cost you about £2,000)† is not less than £100 sterling, for I had just got every thing in order, and was beginning to put myself snug and comfortable, when those plunderers came to disturb me. However, they have not gained much by their expedition; and I flatter myself Government will take compassion on a poor ruined farmer who has not been inactive in their service. The burning of my house led me into this digression.

The day after this happened, my clerk, (Joshua Wolf) trying to save some more work, was taken prisoner by some of the enemy's flying parties; and a few days after, General Montgomery (brother to him, you might remember, at Quebec) and lately a Captain in the 17th Regiment, and your old acquaintance and friend, Colonel Donald Campell, Quarter-master-general, arrived at Holland's house (now the rebel head-quarters.)

We were not idle, in the meantime, in town: we got the merlons and embrasures repaired, platforms laid, guns mounted, the picketing at

* La Gorgendière's house stood close to where the residence at Belmont has since been built.

† This sentence can leave no doubt that this letter was addressed to Genl. James Murray; as it is well that he had once owned, and sold, the estates in this neighborhood to Colonel Caldwell.

Cape Diamond and behind the Hotel Dieu repaired; barriers were made between the upper and lower town, and at the extremities of the lower town, at Sault-au-Matelot, and at the other side, at Près-de-Ville, which, you may remember, is on the further side of the King's Wharf, past the old King's Forges; these posts were strengthened with cannon.

In that situation, we were in the month of December; about the 14th, Mr. Montgomery got a battery formed of gabions, filled with snow and rammed close, with water thrown on it, which made it freeze, which, intermixed with fascines and snow, did not answer well; but as well as could be expected. On this battery, he mounted five guns, 12 and 9-pounders; and then sent a flag of truce, which the General would not receive, except on condition that they came to implore the King's mercy, which, indeed, was the way he treated several flags of truce that the enemy wanted to send in. Mr. Montgomery then contrived to have several letters thrown into the town on arrows, directed to the ——— and inhabitants of the town, full of threats and scurrility. He then opened his battery, which was erected on a rising ground, in a line with the tanners, who lived on the road to *Sans Bruit*, but without any effect: and Arnold's corps, which took post in St. Roch, under our walls, were continually firing at our sentries—the three Rifle companies in particular—these sometimes wounding a sentry. They also got seven Royals behind Grant's house,* and threw a number of shells into town, also to no effect; and their battery was soon silenced, and some of their guns dismounted by the superior fire from the town.

About the 23rd, at night, my clerk made his escape, and brought with him one of their people. He effected it by getting a bottle of rum, and making the sentry over him drunk. He brought us the first certain accounts of their intention to storm the town; of their having ladders prepared; and of the different attacks that they were to make, as talked of amongst their troops; that Mr. Montgomery had declared his intention of dining in Quebec, on Christmas day; and, in public Orders, he promised the plunder of the town to his soldiers, which we afterwards found was true.

We had before kept a good look out, but this put us more on our guard. The few regular troops, such as they were, were off-guard, ordered to be accoutered; with their fire-arms beside them; the sailors, formed into a corps, under the command of Capt. Hamilton, of the *Lizard*, lay in their barracks in the same manner; and the two corps of militia, assembled at different points to take their rest, in the same manner also.

* Grant's house stood about the center of St. Roch.

They remained quiet until the 31st of December; about five o'clock in the morning we were alarmed at our picket by Capt. Frazer, who was Captain of the main guard, and returning from his rounds, told us that there was a brisk firing kept up at Cape Diamond. The morning was dark, and at that time a drizzling kind of snow falling. McLean (who was second in command in the garrison, and who really, to do him justice, was indefatigable in the pains he took) begged that I would take part of my corps to Cape Diamond; and if I found it a false attack (as we both supposed it to be), after leaving the necessary reinforcements there, I might return with the rest. I accordingly went there, found the enemy firing at a distance; saw there was nothing serious intended; and after ordering a proper disposition to be made, proceeded to *Port Louis*. There I met Captain Laws, an officer to whom the General had given the command of an extra picket, composed of the best men of the detachment of the 7th and McLean's corps there; him I ordered back again to wait the General's orders, and proceeded to St John's Gate, where I first learned that the enemy had surprised the post at Sault-au-Matelot, and had got into the Lower Town.

I still had part of the B. Militia with me, and took upon me also to send some whom I found unnecessary on the ramparts, to the party, to wait for orders; and took an officer with a small party of the Fusileers with me, by Palace Gate, just at the time when the officer I had mentioned to you, with about 70 men, was ordered to make a sortie and attack the enemy at the Sault-au-Matelot in the rear. I hastened, with what expedition I could, by the back of the Hotel Dieu, in the Lower Town; and on my way, passed by the picket drawn up under the field-officer of the day, who was Major Cox, formerly of the 47th, and now Lieut.-Governor of Gaspé. I got him to allow me to take your friend Nairne, with a subaltern and thirty men, and then proceeded to the Lower Town, where I found things, though not in a good way, yet not desperate. The enemy had got in at the Sault-au-Matelot; but, neglecting to push on, as they should have done, were stopped at the second barrier which our people got shut just as I arrived. It was so placed as to shut up the street of the Sault-au-Matelot from any communication with the rest of the Lower Town. As I was coming up, I found our people, the Canadians especially, shy of advancing towards the barrier; and was obliged to exert myself a good deal. To do old Voyer, their Colonel, justice, though he is no great officer, yet he did not show any want of spirit. However, my coming up with Nairne and a Lieutenant, with fifty seamen, gave our people new spirits I posted people in the different houses that com-

manded the street of Sault-au-Matelot; some in the house where Levy, the Jew, formerly lived, others at Lymeburner's; the officers of the Fusileers I posted in the street with fixed bayonets, ready to receive the enemy in case they got on our side of the barrier; they had on their side of it, fixed some ladders, and then another to our side, as it was to come down by. That was useful to us. I ordered it to be pulled away, and fixed it to the window in the gable end of a house towards us; the front of which commanded the street of the Sault-au-Matelot, and their side of the barrier. Then I sent Captain Nairne, and Dambourges—an officer also of McLean's Corps* —with a party of their people; Nairne and Dambourges entered the window with a great deal of spirit, and got into the house on that side, just as the enemy was entering it by the front door. But Nairne soon dislodged them with his bayonets, driving them into the street; nor did they approach the barrier afterwards. They however kept up a brisk fire from back windows of the houses they had occupied in Sault-au-Matelot street, on our people in Lymeburner's house, on his wharf, and the street adjacent, from one of their houses.

I had a narrow escape; for going at day-break to reconnoitre on the wharf under them, just as they took post there, they asked, "Who is there?" At first, I thought they might have been some of Nairne's people, who I knew were next door to them, and answered "A friend.—Who are you?" They answered, "Captain Morgan's company." I told them to have good heart for they would soon be in the town, and immediately got behind a pile of boards beside me, not above ten or twelve yards from them, and escaped. Their fire, however, a good deal slackened towards nine o'clock, especially after I brought a 9-pounder on Lymeburner's wharf to bear upon them: the first shot of which killed one of their men and wounded another. I then called out to Nairne, in their hearing, so that he should let me know when he heard firing on the other side: our General had sent 500 men to hem the enemy in on that side; they soon after began to give themselves up and surrendered to Nairne, who sent them through the window to us. They then began to crowd in, in such numbers, that we opened the barrier; and they all gave themselves up on that side; while the party that made the sortie were buisy in the same manner, on the other side of the post, and which had delayed so long from coming up, in taking and sending in by Palace Gate some straggling prisoners; but they had not a shot fired at them, and just arrived on that end of the post the enemy surprised, at the time the officer I sent to take possession by Nairne with 100 men; thus ended our attack on that side, in which the enemy had about 20 men killed, upwards of 40 men wounded, and about 400 made prisoners.

Had they acted with more spirit, they might have pushed in at first and possessed themselves of the whole Lower Town, and let their friends in at the other side, before our people had time to have recovered from a certain degree of panic which seized them on the first news of the post being surprised.

In the mean time, Mr. Montgomery made his attack at Près-de-Ville; rockets were thrown up as a signal to Arnold that both attacks might be made at same time. He got past some pickets, where we at first established our advance post; the guard was alarmed in time and prepared for his reception, but the post was much stronger than, I believe, he imagined; and defended by four cannons there and a 4-pounder. They were served by some seamen under the orders of the master of the transport; his name was Barnsfare. The guard was under the command of a* Canadian officer of Militia; the men, Canadians and British, mixed. Barnsfare declared he would not fire till he was sure of doing execution, and with the utmost coolness, waited till the enemy came within his view, at about 30 yards distance, where they received a general discharge from the cannon and musketry. Nothing but groans were heard, and the rebels immediately retired: their General, his Secretary, two or three other officers, and about five privates killed on the spot; their wounded got off.

We had a block house on Cape Diamond, over Drummond's wharf, where the enemy formed. Had the officer of the Canadian Militia, who commanded there, done his duty, great havoc might have been made among the enemy, who was quite exposed directly under them, and not a shot fired at them.

Soon after the enemy was repulsed at that side, some old women brought an account that the rebels had surprised the post at Sault-au-Matelot, and had got into the Lower Town; part of the garrison that had lately behaved so well, were struck with a panic and began, some to hide their arms, some to throw them in the river; the ——— officer began to feel a little frightened, when a Mr. Coffin, a British gentleman, who with his wife and twelve children had taken refuge there, expecting to find there peace and quietness, and who had served previously in our militia, drew his bayonet, and declared he

* It was there that an athletic Canadian, named Charlant, distinguished himself, together with Captains Dumas and Dambourges.

* Error: two Canadian Militia officers were in command of this post: "alors le Sieur Chabot et le Sieur Alexandre Picard, "qui commandaient ce jour là la garde, donnèrent ordre de "mettre le feu aux cannons chargés à mitraille"—*Sanguinet's Journal.*

would put the first man to death who laid down his arms or attempt to abandon his post, by which means he re-established order; and with the assistance of Captain Barnsfare, who commanded the seamen, got two of the guns pointed on the opposite sides, in case Arnold's people, having got into the Lower Town, should attempt to force the post on that side: they, however, at that time were surrendering themselves prisoners; and immediately, having secured the post that had been surprised, I ordered all the rest of the men to the parade, to wait the General's orders, in hopes that we should have marched out directly, and completed our victory. But all that was done, was going out as far as Mr. Grant's, in St. Roch, and bringing in 7 Royals, that were placed behind his house; one small brass field-piece was also taken; and a few of the houses in which the enemy had before posted themselves, and from whence they had much annoyed us, were burned. The General did not choose to risk anything further; his ideas seemed entirely to centre in the preservation of the town, certain of succours arriving in the Spring; nor did he seem to carry his views towards the operation of the Summer Campain, which might have been much forwarded by the entire rout of the enemy, as, in that case, St. John's might have been recovered, some of their craft and the entrance into Lake Chambly secured.

Indeed, by the intelligence we received afterwards, their little army was thrown by our success into the greatest confusion. Above three or four hundred remained in a body together; and parties from them were continually on the march after large parties that were deserting with the intention of going homewards. We were, however, kept blocked up in the town; received little or no intelligence of what the enemy were about, except now and then by a deserter; indeed, such was the extent they obliged to guard, that, had I been in their situation, the expectation of having my quarters beat up would have prevented me from sleeping very sound.

From the 31st, things wore another face in town; the Yankees were no longer held in a respectable light; our success at least was equal to a reinforcement of 500 men; the garrison was in high spirits and wished for nothing more than a second attack. Never were people more alive or watchful: for my part, I never thought the enemy could be brought to a second attack; though, for example sake, I hardly ever lay at my own house at night; on duty for a great part of the winter every second day, never less than the third day, and nobody in the garrison ever took off his clothes, and the men of the militia who were not for guard the next day, always assembled at pickets in the evening, in order to turn out if necessary, at a moment's warning. Thus we remained the remainder of the winter, always on the *qui vive*.

The army of the rebels retreating, for as they all had engaged only to certain periods, so, when their time was up, many insisted on going home, and those were replaced by others; nor do I think that troops of that kind can be ever formidable, for as they only engage for a year or a year-and-a-half, as soon as they know anything, they are discharged, and as their officers are very little their superiors in point of birth, they cannot enforce the respect which is necessary to keep up proper discipline; and, indeed, I believe also that the Quebec expedition will make them heartily sick of engaging in war out of their Provinces, as I do not think, by all accounts, they could have lost by sickness less than 500 men in the course of the winter: the small-pox also raged violently amongst them; and of those we had taken prisoners, not less than two hundred were cured of that disorder.

A great part of their army was also composed of Europeans; on these they had the greatest reliance, and with some reason, the same spirit that caused them to emigrate would naturally operate in every other circumstance of life. Of the prisoners we took, about 100 of them were Europeans, chiefly from Ireland; the greatest part of them engaged voluntarily in Col. McLean's corps, but about a dozen of them deserting in the course of a month, the rest were again confined, and not released till the arrival of the *Isis*, when they were again taken into the corps.

You can have no conception what kind of men composed their officers. Of those we took, one Major was a blacksmith, another, a hatter; of their Captains, there was a butcher, a ———, a tanner, a shoemaker, a tavernkeeper, &c., &c. Yet they all pretended to be gentlemen. They, as well as their privates, were treated well, had full allowance of provisions, and allowed as much liberty as the nature of our situation would admit; some of them abused that liberty and suffered for it. Some officers, tampering with the sentries, were discovered and put in irons; and their privates had actually laid a plot, named their officers, and proposed seizing one of the gates and endeavour to open it for their friends, who they found means of informing of the design, by one of them making his escape. The plot was discovered, and the delinquents put in irons; they were, however, all released on the arrival of the *Isis*.

Nothing very violent was attempted after the 31st. Their numbers, for two months after that period, did not, by all accounts, exceed 1400 men. Finding, however, that we attempted nothing against them, they were enabled effectually to

block up the town, so as to prevent any fresh provisions coming into it, and but little intelligence of what was passing. Of the former we were not very much in want; the hospital was sufficiently provided. Most families had taken care to provide themselves; those that did not, could buy from the butchers at 1s. per lb. The militia that would receive pay had 1s. per day, and provisions for themselves and family; they lived by that means at least as well as they had ever done before. It is true, they were dear troops; but the situation of affairs made that necessary. The rebels, as I mentioned before, continued to hem us in, on every side. They raised a battery of four guns at Pointe Levy; another of three guns near the ferry on the River St. Charles; and they were busy erecting another of six guns on the heights of the town between Port* Louis and St. Jean, which was to have opened on the 8th of May. From the two former they cannonaded the town as briskly as they could (with red-hot shot) considering the fire opposed them; and sometimes, from Pointe Levy, they fired at our shipping in the Cul-de-Sac, but to very little purpose. The women and children were at first a little afraid; but in a short time walked about the town as usual. By their whole fire we lost but one man and one child killed, and three men and one child wounded. In the mean time we had strengthened ourselves in the Lower Town, which was most accessible. We made ourselves very strong from Levy, the Jew's, house to Lymburner's wharf, as well as in every other accessible place. We kept the ditches clean of snow—every man without distinction, taking a shovel on that occasion; we got at length about 140 pieces of cannon mounted in different parts about the town; we had not originally above 30 carriages made from the King's ships, and the carriages made during the winter, the rest were completed.

Things were at this situation on the 1st of May, plenty of provisions in the garrison, and every body in good spirits, expecting soon to be relieved, when on the 2nd, in the evening about 9 o'clock, a vessel † was seen coming around Pointe Levy: Everybody was in high spirits, expecting it to be the forerunner of the fleet. She came up, to the great joy of every one in town, within hail of our battery; when not answering, she was fired upon, and then soon proved what she was, for she sheered into the Cul-de-Sac (where all our shipping were laid—a 28-gun frigate, a King's sloop, and 30 merchant-men and transports—) and was immediately set on fire. Had she got one hundred yards further, she would have effected her purpose; but the people were frightened and quitted her too soon. When the sails took fire, which they did immediately, she lost way; an eddy tide took hold of her, and she dropped down clear of the shipping, which had they taken fire must have communicated to the Lower Town, and in the confusion consequent thereon, it is imagined the enemy intended to attack us. They knew, at this time, of the *Isis* being in the river; and being now near 3000 strong, they attempted this as their last effort: we were, however, prepared to receive them well everywhere, every man retiring to his alarm post.

On the 6th of May, early in the morning, a frigate hove in sight; and in about an hour after, the *Isis* and a sloop-of-war appeared to the great joy of the whole garrison. Lord Petersham, with the Grenadiers and a small party of the 29th, were on board the *Isis*. They, with the Marines, were immediately landed, to the amount of about 200 men. A sortie was immediately ordered, not with the intention of attacking, but merely to see what the enemy was about. Our sortie consisted of from 1000 to 1200 men. When we got on the heights, a few straggling shots were fired at us from a great distance, by part of their rear-guard, left, I suppose, to cover their retreat and prevent our getting intelligence of their motions. We also saw some small parties filing off by Holland's house, and some people at Mabane's house,* which they had made an hospital of; and I had got the wood near the back gate of *Sans Bruit* reconnoitred, and intended getting near the ruins of the house, in order to try and * * * * some of those people and get a nearer view of the enemy, but did not succeed. My scheme would have been, to have pushed the rebels off the heights as far as Cape Rouge, at least, as far as *La Suède*, which, if you remember, is the cross-road which leads from old Lorette to St. Foy. By taking post there, we must have cut off all the out-parties that had been on the lower road of the General Hospital and Beauport, which they had no time to call in, and which must have past that way. I mentioned it to Major Carleton, who arrived in the *Isis*; he spoke of it to his brother, the General, but he still (perhaps with propriety) adhered steadily to his resolution of running no risk as to the safety of the place.

No body was more ready than he was, at all times, to expose his person; his timidity was only shewn in respect to others, and the safety of the town. Other people in his situation, perhaps, might have extended their views to the

* An old word from the Latin *Portare*, from the circumstanee that when Romulus caused a plough-furrow to be drawn, to show the position of the walls of future Rome, the plough was earried over the plaees meant for *gates*.

† The *Gaspé*, which belonged to Simon Fraser, had wintered at the Island of Orleans and been taken possession of by the Yankees.

* Judge Mabane had purchased this property from the reverend gentlemen of the Seminary, shortly after the eonquest. It had previously belonged to Bishop Dosquet, and ehanged its name of "Samos" to that of "Woodfield."

recovery of the country, and to the operations of the Summer Campaign. I confess, those ideas struck me in the course of the winter. No body knows better than you do, how far the minds of mankind are depressed on receiving a check, and that, in all military operations, there are particular circumstances which authorize a commander to undertake, with propriety, what with reason may be deemed rashness at another time; that there are particular moments which, if lost, may never be regained, when it is of the greatest consequence to see with quietness and judgment, and execute with rapidity. By all accounts, which we afterwards received, had we followed up our blow of the 31st December, the enemy might have been driven out of the Province. Not more than 400 of them together; and they were obliged to send large parties every two or three days afterwards to bring back their fugitives; and, indeed, during a great part of the winter, we were blocked up by the rebels, not superior to us either in numbers or the goodness of their troops; and they were, of necessity, obliged to post themselves round us in such a straggling manner, to cut of our communication with the country (which they absolutely effected), that had we taken advantage of it, their headquarters might have been beaten up, and they punished for their temerity. Had they been the best troops in the world, and the best officered, we could not have treated them with greater respect. However, a great many circumstances combined to do as we have done; and which were more, I believe, than was expected from us. Nor is it possible to conceive that people unused to arms, could do more than our Militia, the British in particular.

I forgot to mention a circumstance in favor of the Canadians, (I would willingly say as much in their favour, consistent with truth, as I could). A *habitant* [peasant] from Beaumont (the only one that crossed to town during winter from that side) came to Quebec in a canoe, with some fresh provisions; and mentioned that many of the inhabitants of the South side were inclined to serve the Government, if they knew how. The General by this man wrote to Mons. de Beaujeu, who lived in obscurity on the *Isle aux Grues*, to try and endeavour to assemble the Canadians, and cut off the guard they then had at Pointe Levy. He engaged about 150 Canadians in that design; but they were betrayed by others of the disaffected Canadians. Some of them, assembled in a house together, were surrounded, and about thirty taken prisoners. Messire Bailly, a priest, was shot through the body, and also taken; he, however, has since been released, and recovered of his wounds. The priests, in general, behaved well, and refused to confess the Canadians in the rebel interest, for which they suffered persecution, Messire de Lotbiniere, alone excepted. He they proposed to make Bishop. Mons. De—— was almost the only person of the *noblesse* that did not every thing he could for the public service.

I mentioned to you before of having refused the command of the Militia, without the rank of Colonel in the King's service. * * * * *

[*The remaining portion of the manuscript is missing.*]

IX.—NOTES ON THE RECENT CIVIL WAR.—Continued.

2.—Muster Rolls of the Confederate Army for 1862, 1863 and 1864.*

Among the documents which fell into our hands at the downfall of the Confederacy are the returns, very nearly complete, of the Confederate Armies from their organization in the Summer of 1861 down to the Spring of 1865. These returns have been carefully analyzed, and I am enabled to furnish the result in every department, and for almost every month, from these official sources. In respect to the great "Army of "Northern Virginia," commanded from almost the first down to the last by General Lee, the reports are wanting for three very important periods; June, 1862, when the operations of the "Seven days" were commenced which resulted in forcing McClellan from the Chickahominy to the James; August, 1863, when the movement was commenced which resulted in the defeat of Pope at the "Second Battle of Bull Run," or, more properly, of Groveton, followed by the invasion of Maryland and the battle of Antietam; and June, 1863, when was commenced the campaign for the invasion of Pennsylvania, marked by the battle of Gettysburg. But I am able from other sources to give almost exactly the Confederate forces at these great epochs. In the tables which follow, these figures will be given, inclosed in brackets, to distinguish them from the remaining numbers, which are summaries of the official reports. The third column of figures, throughout, shows the number of men borne on the rolls; the second, those returned as "Present;" the first, those reported at the respective dates as "Present for Duty." The effective force of the armies at any given period is measured very nearly by the numbers reported as "Present for Duty;" although in case of sudden movements the number may possibly have been somewhat increased from the merely "present," and slightly by getting back to the ranks some of the "absent."

The Confederate forces may properly be considered as forming Two great armies: that of the

* From *The New York Tribune*

East comprising all the troops in Virginia and the States bordering on the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, and that of the West, composed of those operating in the Valley of the Mississippi and the adjacent region. There is a prevalent belief that these armies mutually reënforced each other: that is, that troops were sent from the East to the West, and from the West to the East, very frequently at critical periods of the campaigns. But as a careful analysis of the ensuing tables will show, this took place only in a single instance: in September, 1863, when Longstreet, with his corps, was sent from Virginia to Tennessee, the remnants of this corps returning to Virginia in the Spring or Summer of 1864. In fact, there was a much greater interchange of troops between the Union armies of the East and the West than between those of the Confederacy.

1.—*The Confederate Armies of the East.*

Although, as will be seen, there were very considerable forces in the Carolinas and in Georgia, the bulk of the Confederate force in the East was throughout comprised in that of the "Army "of Northern Virginia." This was fairly organized in the Spring of 1862, when McClellan had made his movement to the Peninsula. Previous to that time the Confederate forces in Virginia had been divided into a number of "districts." There was, for example, the "Army of the Pen-"insula," under Magruder; the "Department "of Norfolk," under Huger; the "Aquia Dis-"trict," under Holmes, and several others at different times. These were finally concentrated in the Spring of 1862 at Yorktown and Richmond, under the command of J. E. Johnston. I have the full returns of these separate bodies, but I do not think it necessary to give them, as the condition and strength of the army concentrated under Johnston was furnished to me by the Commander himself. I may add, however, that the statement of General Johnston coincides wholly with the returns which came into my hands more than a year later. In answer to a letter of inquiry, General Johnston, under date of the third of January, 1866, wrote to me:

"In September, 1861, the effective strength of "the army under my command in Northern Vir-"ginia was about 37,000. It occupied Leesburg, "Centreville, Manassas, and the Lower Occoquan. "On the thirty-first of December it had increased "to 54,000, including Jackson's command. This "army was much reduced during the Winter; "but received some recruits in the early Spring. "When, in April, 1862, it moved to Williams-"burg, its strength (effective) was about 50,000, "of which 6,000 were left with Jackson in the "Valley, and 6,000 with Ewell on the Rappa-"hannock. The remaining 38,000 were sent to "the position near Yorktown. Magruder's own "force was about 15,000, making our army at "Yorktown, about the middle of April, near "53,000, exclusive of cavalry. Sickness and the "fight at Williamsburg reduced this number by "6,000; our loss at Williamsburg was about "1,800. The strength of this army, when it "reached the neighborhood of Richmond, was "about 47,000. To these were added Anderson's "and Branch's troops, about 13,000, and Three "brigades of Huger's, not quite 7,000. This "would make the effective of the army amount "to about 67,000 at the time of the battles of "Fair Oaks and Seven Pines (May 31)."

Johnston was severely wounded at Fair Oaks, and the command devolved upon G. W. Smith; but he had held it only for a day or two when he was attacked by a paralytic stroke, and R. E. Lee was placed in command of this army, which he retained as long as it existed. On the twenty-sixth of June he began his movement against McClellan. We have, in the official Confederate report of the Seven days, full means of arriving at the force then under his command. Including Jackson's command, which then joined him, and ever after constituted a part of his army, it numbered a little more than One hundred thousand effective men, a number which it never exceeded, and nearly equaled only upon Two subsequent occasions. Lee's first report of his force is of the date of the twentieth of July, more than a fortnight after the battle of Malvern Hill.

DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, FEB. 28, 1862—FEB. 28, 1865.

Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862. Feb.	J. E. Johnston	47,617	56,396	84,225
May	" "	[67,000]		
June	R. E. Lee	[100,000]		
July	"	69,559	94,686	137,080
Aug.	"	[95,000]		
Sept.	"	52,609	62,713	139,143
Oct.	"	67,805	79,395	153,778
Nov.	"	73,554	86,583	153,790
Dec.	"	79,072	91,094	152,853
1863. Jan.	"	72,226	93,297	144,605
Feb.	"	58,559	74,435	114,175
March	"	60,298	73,578	109,839
May	"	68,352	88,756	133,689
June	"	[100,000]		
July	"	41,135	53,611	117,602
Aug.	"	56,327	71,964	133,264
Sept.	"	44,367	55,221	95,164
Oct.	"	45,614	57,251	97,211
Nov.	"	48,267	56,088	96,576
Dec.	"	43,558	54,715	91,253
1864. Jan.	"	35,849	45,139	79,602
Feb.	"	33,811	39,562	68,435
March	"	39,407	46,151	79,202
April	"	52,626	61,218	97,576
June	"	51,863	62,571	92,685
July	"	57,097	68,844	135,805
Aug.	"	44,247	58,984	146,838
Oct.	"	62,875	82,535	177,103
Nov.	"	69,290	87,860	181,826
Dec.	"	66,533	79,318	155,772
1865. Jan.	"	53,445	69,673	141,627
Feb.	"	59,094	73,349	160,411

The great difference between the returns of

the Army of Northern Virginia for June and July, 1862, shows the loss sustained during the Seven days; that between August and September, the losses sustained in the campaign beginning with Groveton and ending with Antietam; but of the Forty thousand quite half were stragglers, who never rejoined their ranks.

The difference (Fifty-nine thousand) between the returns for June and July, 1863, shows the losses of all sorts for the campaign of Gettysburg, lasting but Six weeks. There were many deserters; but the absolute loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, was fully Forty thousand, almost half the army. The diminution in September was owing to the transfer of Longstreet's Corps to the West; the increase in the Autumn of 1864, to the calling to Virginia of every man that could be spared from North and South Carolina. The highest nominal number in this army was in November, 1864, when it showed a force of One hundred and eighty thousand; but of these more than half were absent, and little more than a third present for duty. These proportions had indeed existed for Six months, and continued to the close of the war. It is doubtful whether the army, when in April it finally retreated from Richmond, numbered, all told, Thirty-five thousand men; but the returns cease on the twenty-eighth of February, when there were still Fifty-nine thousand present for duty. The quarters from which came the troops composing this army are shown by the returns for the campaign of Antietam, where the losses in each regiment are given. Probably nearly every regiment was at one time or another brought into action. I found One hundred and seventy-seven regiments of infantry mentioned: of these there were from Virginia Thirty-nine, Georgia Thirty-seven, North Carolina Twenty-six, South Carolina Seventeen, Alabama Sixteen, Mississippi Twelve, Louisiana Nine, Texas Three, Tennessee Three, Florida Two, Arkansas One. At Chancellorsville, out of One hundred and twenty eight regiments Thirty-two were from Georgia, Twenty-six from Virginia, Twenty-five from North Carolina, Ten from Louisiana, Twelve from Alabama, Nine from South Carolina, Eight from Mississippi, Three from Texas, Three from Florida; but at this time there were Three divisions, containing, probably, Ten Virginia regiments in North Carolina with Longstreet.

DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA AND FLORIDA.

During 1861 the forces in this department varied from One thousand five hundred up to Five thousand. In the Spring of 1862 they were largely increased, as follows:

Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862. March	J. C. Pemberton	29,172	34,448	40,955
April	"	26,471	32,796	38,472
May	"	18,134	22,524	25,984
June	"	23,433	29,842	35,717
July	"	18,732	24,547	31,055
Aug.	"	16,281	21,618	28,914
Sept.	G. T. Beauregard	15,486	20,962	27,141
Dec.	"	21,353	25,319	32,212
1863. Jan.	"	18,883	21,625	27,052
Feb.	"	25,843	29,449	37,135
March	"	31,630	36,150	43,010
April	"	32,988	37,520	44,770
May	"	20,045	22,902	27,946
June	"	19,400	22,006	27,666
July	"	21,226	25,281	34,285
Aug.	"	21,471	29,919	42,192
Sept.	"	28,898	35,070	51,226
Oct.	"	29,366	35,235	50,277
Nov.	"	28,536	33,378	46,845
Dec.	"	29,582	34,064	47,421
1864. Jan.	"	33,287	38,222	51,853
March	"	28,672	32,652	42,802
April	Sam. Jones	25,498	29,034	38,752
May	"	11,719	13,282	17,510
June	"	12,421	14,278	18,383
July	"	11,190	13,979	19,562
Aug.	"	11,651	13,881	20,294
Sept.	"	11,536	13,861	20,967
Oct.	W. T. Hardee	12,446	15,035	23,605
Nov.	"	12,466	14,680	21,678
1865. Jan.	"	22,659	30,069	49,307

DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA.

1862. Jan.	C. E. Gatlin	9,016	10,743	11,755
March	T. H. Holmes	19,924	24,085	28,629
April	"	16,042	19,868	22,507
June	"	17,217	21,261	26,856
Sept.	S. W. French	8,560	10,582	11,130
Nov.	"	6,069	7,559	9,070
Dec.	G. W. Smith	11,074	12,007	18,895
1863. Jan.	S. G. French	28,515	43,114	40,821
Feb.	"	14,934	19,888	26,534
March	J. H. Longstreet	45,103	52,708	73,116
May	D. H. Hill	22,149	26,838	34,469
June	"	18,607	22,822	30,757
July	W. H. C. Whiting	8,556	9,900	11,997
Aug.	"	7,391	8,867	11,889
Sept.	W. H. C. Whiting / S. G. French	14,758	17,891	23,015
Oct.	G. E. Pickett / W. H. C. Whiting	10,603	12,726	15,570
Nov.	G. E. Pickett / W. H. C. Whiting	15,022	17,021	22,645
1864. Feb.	G. E. Pickett / W. H. C. Whiting	19,393	22,952	30,317
June	G. T. Beauregard	12,592	17,130	22,785
Aug.	"	22,005	26,678	44,273
1865. Jan.	Braxton Bragg	11,548	13,164	23,807
Feb.	"	11,200	12,769	23,645
March	S. G. Marston	1,525	1,741	2,903

The great decrease in this department in March, 1863, was owing to the transfer of Longstreet's Corps from the army in Virginia. These returned to Lee in the Spring, but not in time to take part in the actions at Chancellorsville. Upon this corps, however, fell the heaviest blows at Gettysburg. During July and August North Carolina was almost stripped of troops; every man that could be spared was sent to Richmond, or to the army on the Rapidan. The reports for the Summer and Autumn of 1864 appear to be only partial. They indicate that there were only Two or Three thousand men left in North Carolina. All the rest had joined the forces at Petersburg and Richmond.

DEPARTMENT OF RICHMOND.

This department appears to have been organ-

ized in the Summer of 1862, at the time when Lee's army was away from the capital, engaged in the campaign against Pope.

	Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862.	Sept.	G. W. Smith	23,602	19,072	35,598
	Oct.	"	23,134	29,028	36,697
	Nov.	"	26,677	31,996	42,099
	Dec.	A. Elzy	6,225	7,516	12,033
1863.	Jan.	"	5,113	6,095	7,820
	Feb.	"	5,285	6,164	7,672
	March	"	5,789	6,099	7,485
	April	"	3,065	3,602	4,529
	May	"	8,533	9,287	11,762
	June	"	7,396	8,535	10,187
	July	"	14,406	16,419	20,790
	Aug.	"	12,501	14,554	19,188
	Sept.	"	4,928	6,200	10,238
	Oct.	"	5,354	6,758	10,317
	Nov.	"	5,122	6,223	8,585
	Dec.	"	6,206	7,558	11,601
1864.	Jan.	"	5,152	5,981	8,494
	Feb.	"	6,558	7,841	11,688
	March	"	7,500	9,025	13,023
	April	R. Ramseur	7,389	8,899	12,682
	May	"	5,746	6,986	9,989
	June	R. S. Ewell	6,176	7,127	9,136
	July	"	4,395	5,523	7,668
	Aug.	"	4,392	6,008	9,451
	Sept.	"	4,731	5,985	9,356
	Oct.	"	3,349	4,073	8,742
	Nov.	"	6,344	7,379	17,045
	Dec	"	5,652	6,658	16,660
1865.	Jan.	"	5,536	6,442	16,229
	Feb.	"	4,692	5,431	9,675
	March	"	4,529	5,175	9,455

This department, after December, 1863, appears to have consisted of the local militia, composed mainly of Government employés, and exempts from the regular service. The returns are of special interest, as showing with what ease Richmond might have been taken by a sudden attack made up the James, or even across the Peninsula. Thus, in June, 1863, when Lee began his march to Pennsylvania, a demonstration was actually made by a force of some Fifteen thousand from Yorktown; it reached the Chickahominy, but finding the bridges guarded, it returned without making any attempt at going further. At this time, there were but Six thousand men there present for duty, and but Nine thousand, counting all, present and absent. Again, in February, 1864, when Kilpatrick made the raid in which Dahlgren was killed, having actually penetrated the lines of fortification, there were but Seven thousand five hundred of these militia in Richmond, besides about Two thousand under Winder, forming what was called "the "Department of Henrico," who formed the guard for the prisoners. Had Kilpatrick kept his cavalry force together, he might have rode into the city and liberated the prisoners. Or had this cavalry raid been supported by a few thousand infantry, Richmond might have been taken and held. When the prisoners were removed to Andersonville, and elsewhere South, the Department of Henrico seems to have been given up, for I find no returns from it, except for the months of March, April and May, 1864.

In Western Virginia there was during 1863 a small body of troops, numbering at different periods from Seven thousand to Nine thousand, under General Sam Jones. These, in March, 1864, were placed under J. C. Breckinridge, but he was defeated and driven out of the region in April.

In the Gulf States there were few troops until near the close of the war. They were mainly in the "Department of the Gulf." The number was usually about Six thousand; the highest being in January, 1864, when there were Ten thousand, under Maury. The returns are full for 1863 and 1864, but it is not necessary to quote them in full. They were mainly in and around Mobile. At the close, there were here probably about Twenty thousand, made up from the remnants of other departments.

2.—*Armies in the West.*

In the various Confederate armies of the West, the departments and commanders were frequently changed in accordance with the shifting scenes of the war. The numbers at any one time can be ascertained by a careful examination of the dates of the returns which follow:

FIRST DIVISION, WESTERN DEPARTMENT.

	Date.	Commander.	For Duty.	Present.	Present for Duty.
1861.	Oct.	L. Polk	18,806	23,318	26,458
	Nov.	"	20,049	23,098	24,488
	Dec.	"	21,081	25,798	28,630
1862.	Jan.	"	17,606		
	Feb.	"	15,465	22,061	24,784

CENTRAL ARMY OF KENTUCKY.

861.	Nov.	W. H. Hardee	1,178	15,977	19,815
	Dec.	"	12,846	16,258	22,008
1862.	Jan.	"	22,660	30,789	39,558
	Feb.	"	11,650		17,651

ARMY OF TENNESSEE.

1862.	Nov.	Braxton Bragg	30,649	36,686	61,229
	Dec.	"	51,030	59,075	88,484
1863.	Jan.	"	36,981	49,331	83,780
	Feb.	"	42,088	55,138	87,783
	March	"	49,915	65,594	96,301
	April	"	52,069	67,849	98,217
	May	"	50,333	64,722	93,217
	June	"	45,974	59,545	83,597
	July	"	39,513	52,690	81,295
	Aug.	"	45,041	59,027	83,273
	Sept.	"	41,970	53,857	
	Oct.	"	46,496	65,603	102,990
	Nov.	W. H. Hardee	43,094	58,755	113,255
	Dec.	J. E. Johnston	42,439	57,428	98,215
1864.	Jan.	"	41,533	55,059	88,459
	Feb.	"	37,787	48,010	79,071
	March	"	42,125	55,113	85,953
	April	"	43,887	63,807	96,863
	June	"	54,085	77,441	137,192
	July	J. B. Hood	44,495	65,601	136,634
	Aug.	"	47,326	71,327	136,543
	Sept.	"	40,403	60,948	123,090
	Oct.	"	30,600	45,719	96,367
	Dec.	"	23,053	24,439	86,995

ARMY OF EAST TENNESSEE.

	Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862.	April	E. K. Smith	10,366	12,715	16,209
	May	"	11,066	14,469	20,402
	June	"	13,458	16,294	24,886
	Nov.	"	26,219	31,412	43,832
	Dec.	"	7,311	9,258	15,419

Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1863. Mareh	D. H. Donalson	11,857	15,828	23,593
April	D. H. Maury	14,158	17,678	25,554
July	S. B. Buckner	15,335	17,828	26,411
Oct.	Sam. Jones	7,975	9,471	17,057
Nov.	"	10,546	12,592	18,580
Dec.	J. Longstreet	15,362	21,286	44,173
1864. Jan.	"	18,667	25,514	52,851
Feb.	"	19,010	25,204	45,085
Mareh	"	18,387	23,917	44,042
July	S. B. Buckner	14,907	17,343	25,618
Aug.	J. H. Morgan	2,930	3,374	5,205
Sept.	J. Echols	3,904	4,145	6,842
Oct.	J. C. Breckinridge	3,001	3,782	7,138
1865. Feb.	J. Echols	3,103	4,003	10,052

DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862. Mareh	A. S. Johnston	35,147	44,524	55,977
April	G. T. Beauregard	45,712	66,908	93,522
May	Braxton Bragg	49,873	72,230	108,054
July	"	49,306	68,126	98,201
Aug.	"	27,320	31,184	47,215
Oct.	L. Polk	27,360	32,425	57,446
Dec.	J. C. Pemberton	39,545	48,223	70,241
1863. Jan.	"	40,902	51,830	73,114
Feb.	"	46,012	58,464	77,997
Mareh	"	48,845	29,411	82,234
May	J. E. Johnston	28,154	36,289	54,190
July	"	23,379	30,411	53,976
Nov.	"	18,942	24,589	44,497
1864. Jan.	L. Polk	19,350	25,041	44,225
Feb.	"	15,680	20,270	34,205
Mareh	"	15,224	19,765	33,934
April	"	15,314	19,780	34,491
May	L. D. Lee	15,113	18,807	30,932
June	"	13,103	16,686	29,824
July	D. H. Maury	8,622	11,984	22,407
Aug.	"	10,268	13,686	26,536
Sept.	Diek Taylor	16,578	21,999	39,271
Oct.	"	15,024	21,106	37,649
Nov.	"	10,459	15,592	32,148

TRANS-MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT.

Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862. Sept.	Diek Taylor	3,351	4,702	5,845
Nov.	T. H. Holmes	23,834	27,632	35,551
1863. Jan.	Diek Taylor	3,586	4,775	7,233
Feb.	J. B. Magruder	5,679	7,038	9,322
Mareh,	"	13,354	16,152	26,991
April,	"	20,698	25,324	41,318
May,	E. K. Smith	19,186	22,274	34,534
Sept.	"	26,047	30,489	46,121
Oct.	J. B. Magruder	33,489	42,405	66,473
Nov.	"	17,169	20,870	36,250
Dec.	E. K. Smith	34,845	40,987	73,289
1864. Sept.	"	38,046	52,867	76,834

The following tables give, approximately, and in round numbers, the strength and disposition of the different Confederate armies at several important periods during the war. It is not possible to make these out with perfect accuracy, because in a few instances there are no returns from all the armies, of the precise date. In such cases the return nearest to the date indicated has been adopted.

JULY 20, 1862.

	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
Dept. of Northern Virginia - -	70,000	95,000	139,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	19,000	25,000	31,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	17,000	21,000	27,000
Total Army of the East -	106,000	141,000	197,000
Dept. of Tennessee - - - -	40,000	53,000	81,000
Dept. of East Tennessee - -	15,000	18,000	26,000
Dept. of Mississippi - - - -	49,000	68,000	98,000
Dept. of the Gulf - - - - -	7,000	9,000	10,000
Total Army of the West -	111,000	148,000	215,000
Total Armies of East and West	217,000	289,000	412,000

SEPTEMBER, 1862.

Dept. of Northern Virginia -	53,000	62,000	139,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	16,000	21,000	27,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	9,000	10,000	11,000
Dept. of Richmond - - - -	24,000	29,000	36,000
Total Army of the East -	102,000	122,000	213,000
Dept. of Tennessee - - - -	42,000	53,000	85,000
Dept. of East Tennessee - -	15,000	16,000	25,000
Dept. of Mississippi . - - -	27,000	31,000	47,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi - -	24,000	28,000	36,000
Dept. of the Gulf - - - - -	7,000	9,000	10,000
Total Army of the West -	117,000	137,000	203,000
Total Armies of East and West	219,000	259,000	418,000

MARCH, 1863.

Dept. of Northern Virginia - -	60,000	73,000	109,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	32,000	36,000	43,000
Dept. of S. Virg. and N. Carolina	45,000	53,000	73,000
Dept. of Richmond - - - -	6,000	6,000	7,000
Total Army of the East - -	143,000	168,000	232,000
Dept. of Tennessee - - - -	50,000	66,000	96,000
Dept. of East Tennesee - - -	11,000	16,000	23,000
Dept. of Mississippi - - - -	49,000	59,000	82,000
Dept. of of Trans-Mississippi -	2 ,0 0	25,000	41,000
Dept. of the Gulf - - - - -	8, 00	9,000	10,000
Total Army of the West -	138,000	175,000	252,000
Total Armies of East and West	281,000	343,000	484,000

JULY, 1863.

Dept. of Northern Virginia - -	41,000	54,000	117,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	21,000	25,000	34,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	9,000	10,000	12,000
Dept of Richmond - - - -	14,000	16,000	21,000
Total Army of the East -	85,000	105,000	184,000
Dept. of Tennessee - - - -	40,000	53,000	81,000
Dept. of East Tennessee - - -	15,000	18,000	26,000
Dept. of Mississippi - - - -	28,000	36,000	54,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi - -	25,000	30,000	46,000
Dept. of the Gulf - - - - -	5,000	6,000	8,000
Total Army of the West -	113,000	143,000	215,000
Total Armies of East and West	198,000	248,000	399,000

APRIL, 1864.

Dept. of Northern Virginia - -	52,000	61,000	97,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	26,000	29,000	39,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	5,000	6,000	7,000
Dept. of Richmond - - - -	7,000	9,000	13,000
Total Army of the East -	90,000	105,000	156,000
Dept. of Tennessee - - - -	44,000	64,000	97,000
Dept. of East Tennessee - -	15,000	21,000	44,000
Dept. of Mississippi - - - ,	15,000	20,000	34,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi - -	38,000	53,000	77,000
Dept. of the Gulf - - - - -	7,000	8,000	12,000
Total Army of the West -	119,000	165,000	274,000
Total Armies of East and West	209,000	270,000	430,000

AUGUST, 1864.

Dept. of Northern Virginia - -	44,000	59,000	147,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	11,000	14,000	20,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	22,000	26,000	44,000
Dept. of Richmond - - - -	4,000	6,000	9,000
Total Army of the East -	81,000	105,000	221,000

	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent
Dept. of Tennessee	44,000	65,000	127,000
Dept. of East Tennessee	18,000	21,000	89,000
Dept. of Mississippi	10,000	14,000	27,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi	38,000	53,000	77,000
Dept. of the Gulf	6,000	7,000	9,000
Total Army of the West	116,000	160,000	329,000
Total Armies of East and West	197,000	265,000	550,000
NOVEMBER, 1864.			
Dept. of Northern Virginia	69,000	88,000	182,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	12,000	15,000	21,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	3,000	4,000	5,000
Dept. of Richmond	6,000	7,000	17,000
Total	90,000	114,000	225,000
Dept. of Tennessee	30,000	46,000	96,000
Dept. of East Tennessee	3,000	4,000	7,000
Dept. of Mississippi	15,000	21,000	38,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi	38,000	52,000	77,000
Total	86,000	124,000	218,000
Total	176,000	248,000	443,000

The Confederate army undoubtedly reached its highest point, both in numbers and efficiency, in the early Summer of 1863, when the movement into Pennsylvania was commenced. At the close of March, before all preparations had been made, the returns show a nominal force of Four hundred and eighty-four thousand, of whom Three hundred and forty-one thousand were present, and Two hundred and eighty-one thousand present for duty. Probably about Twenty thousand were added during the next Six weeks to the Army of the East; so that we may safely say that at the middle of June there were a little more than Five hundred thousand on the muster rolls, of whom Three hundred thousand were present for duty. The army, especially that under Lee, were in the highest state of efficiency. The recent victories at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville had inspired them with perfect confidence in their own invincibility. The Confederacy was at that time like an athlete in the highest condition of training. Fully one-half of the men of military age were enrolled in the army. If we take into account those exempt by infirmity, those employed in the various civil departments, and those detailed directly to perform labor in the various military work-shops, it is hardly an over-statement to say that every able-bodied man was enrolled; of these Seven out of Ten were actually present, and Six out of Ten were "present for duty." No people could long sustain such a strain. In the first week of July they suffered losses amounting to fully One hundred thousand men. At the end of the month Lee had only Forty-one thousand for duty out of the One hundred thousand with which he had set out Six weeks before; and in a month by every exertion he could get together only Fifteen thousand more, and out of this Fifty-six thousand, all told, he was forced to send Fifteen thousand of his best troops to the West. If the Autumn campaign of 1863 in Virginia had been prosecuted by the Union commander with anything approaching vigor, there is no reason to doubt that it would have closed the war; for Meade had an army fully double that of Lee. When in the Spring of 1864 Grant opened his campaign, Lee had only a little more than Fifty thousand, and in August, when the siege of Richmond was fairly opened, he had, counting in those present with him, though still nominally belonging to the Department of North Carolina, less than Sixty thousand. From this time the returns show how prevalent became desertions from the Confederate armies at the East and West. In August, out of a nominal force of Five hundred and fifty thousand, there were not Two hundred thousand present for duty in all the armies. At the close of February, the date of the latest report in our possession, Lee, out of a nominal force of One hundred and sixty thousand had present but Seventy-three thousand, and for duty but Fifty-nine thousand. More than half were absent wholly, and little more than a third were present for duty. When he finally abandoned Petersburgh and Richmond, it is doubtful whether he had Thirty-five thousand men all told.

We judge that, in all, Six hundred thousand different men were in the Confederate ranks during the war. Of these we do not believe one-half are alive this day. Once in the ranks there was no escape except by death, disablement from wounds or sickness, or desertion. Of the Three hundred thousand of the Confederate soldiers yet alive, no man can say what proportion are wholly or in great part disabled by wounds or disease; but it is safe to say that in three years the South lost by the war alone, fully one-third of its able-bodied white male population. A great part of the accumulated wealth of the people was swept away; not merely changing from one hand to another, and so in the natural course of things certain to be redistributed, but absolutely annihilated. Not merely the created wealth, but the means of creating it has been destroyed. We think that there is not in all history the record of a war attended by such utter disaster. These facts are quite sufficient to account for the great cry of distress which surges up to us from that unfortunate region. The mills of the gods have ground swiftly, but they have yet ground exceedingly fine. With the ghastly array before us of the figures which have been set forth in this paper, we have little sympathy with any man—even though he may have suffered the loss of his best and dearest—who will now lift up hand or voice save to aid and console the suffering people of the South. If they committed—as we believe they did—a grievous wrong, most grievously have they answered for it.

X.—EXPEDITION OF NARVAEZ TO CONQUER FLORIDA.

[This document, a curious relic of the past, exists in the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville, in the package inscribed "Nª. Espana *Descubrimientos, descripciones y Poblaciones.* "*Legº.* 1: *años* 1520 *á* 1527.," a copy of which was brought to this country a few years ago by Mr. Buckingham Smith, and now, in a translation, is first published. It appears, in the original Spanish, to be the draft in blank for a formal authorization with the signature of Charles V., and is one of the earliest original papers extant relating to the history of this country. No appointment to the office designated seems ever to have been made; other offices were filled, as follows: Cabeça de Vaca, Treasurer and High-Sheriff; Alonso Enriquez, Comptroller; Alonso de Solis, Distributor and Assessor, and Juan Xuarez, friar of San Francisco, Commissary.—Ed. Hist. Mag.]

INSTRUCTION TO THE FACTOR OF FLORIDA.

THE KING.

What you, , are to do in the office you take with you as our Factor of the Rio de las Palmas and land Pamphilo de Narvaez,—whom we have provided with the government thereof,—goes to settle, is as follows:

First: In the City of Sevilla you will present our provision, which you bear for that station,—to our officials, in the House of Contratacion of the Indias, residing in said City, of whom you will ask an account of the notices that appear to them you should learn and have of the matters of that land, and, beyond this instruction, of the manner in which you should discharge the duties of that office for the perfect security of our Exchequer.

Likewise: In that land you will receive into possession all merchandise and property that at the present time are there, or shall be sent there under our order, from the officials of said City of Sevilla, as well as from the officials of the Islands of Española, San Juan, Fernandina and Santiago, for expenditure and distribution in those lands equally the things that appertain to our service as those for sale and exchange, all which you are to do under our Comptroller of that land.

So likewise: All the things of our Exchequer that shall be in your charge you will barter and sell and utilise in the manner most for the growth of the public treasure, and distribute by the orders and drafts signed by our Comptroller, whom we direct to take account and specification of the transactions, as well the time as the place thereof, that in our Exchequer there be proper security.

Also: The things that you have in possession not necessary for our service and that shall be for sale, you must acquaint thereof our Governor of the country, and our officers residing therein, that you all collectively determine what should be sold and at what price, and you shall try to dispose of them to the greatest advantage possible; but, since it might happen, as has been known, that at the time things are appraised they are worth the price at which they are valued and then cannot be sold, they come incontinently so to depreciate, that if kept to be sold for the price at which they are valued, they would become injured, then in such event you will attempt and strive to dispose of such things at the highest rate that you can, in the opinion of said Governor and officers, and keep you specification and account of the price of each article sold, that when asked you may be able to state, as is reasonable and your duty to do.

Again: You will go, with all the money that may arise from such articles in your charge as you shall sell, to , our Treasurer in that land, so soon as they are sold, without any deduction from the money or price at which they may have been sold while in your possession and control, all which you thus deliver to be entered in the book of our Comptroller, that in it may exist the particulars and amounts of all.

So likewise: You will have great care and diligence in protecting and preserving our Exchequer to the extent it may be in your charge, and improve and benefit it to the extent possible, giving all the good care and solicitude requisite and for which I confide in you.

Likewise: You must take account, and in general particulars, of all the things that are sent or given to you, and of those you sell or deliver, each article by itself apart, that whenever worth while the entire account may be seen and understood. More than this, you will have a care to inform us of the profits there may be on each article and likewise those said officers at Sevilla, and of the Island of Española, of San Juan, of Cuba and of Jamaica, that the advantages, if any, on each article may be known, and whether it will be for our interest to send such merchandise or otherwise.

Also: You will be vigilant and make much effort to learn what things are most profitable and necessary to be sent to that land, as much for barter as sale and contract, holding first advisement with our said Governor and officers, and then informing us with particularity of all, as well those said officers at Sevilla and of the mentioned Islands, that they may provide therefor.

And in as much as the offices of our Governor, Treasurer, Comptroller and Factor of that land are separate, each in its sphere having for object whatever may be for the good of our royal revenue and well populating and pacification of that land, every one, consequently, should consider the offices of the rest as his, and on this account you should communicate and converse of all matters touching your office that are for our service and whatever else with said Governor and officers, joining with them that, collectively, you may see and commune respecting what in

every instance should be done, as well for matters there, as to serve and inform us respecting all.

So, likewise: You must have great care that whatever occurs touching your charge and office, wherein it may be necessary to resolve and determine by judicial proceeding, by free decision of a true man, or by agreement of friends, you will converse and communicate upon with our said Governor and our other said officers.

And, for the fulfilment of the foregoing and safety of our Exchequer, I command our said officials at Sevilla to take and receive of you, the said , before they allow you to depart in the exercise of the office, securities ample and approved; and, since it may be difficult for you to give such in Sevilla, before our said officials, our will and disposition are that you may give them in any part of our kingdoms, before the Board of Magistrates of the Province where you shall so offer them, and whom we command to receive them of you, full and sufficient, in ducats, which we order, with the evidences and obligations of the bonds you shall give, be put and kept in the archive, among the papers of said House, and, thus executed, they permit you to go freely to the exercise of said office, even though you may not have given the securities in said city.

And, that in our Exchequer there may be the requisite security, I command that all the gold, pearls and seed-pearl that shall come into the possession of our Treasurer of that land, as well our fifths as those of excise and dues of every other kind, be put in a chest with three different keys, of which you shall have one, and the two others our Treasurer and Comptroller of said land, that no gold be taken from that chest save by hand of the three, obviating by this arrangement the inconveniences and frauds that otherwise might ensue and recur, and thus may be sent to us at the times we have required, which we order you to observe and comply with, likewise our said Treasurer and Comptroller, under pain of forfeiture of your offices and goods to our tribunals and treasury, in which pains we will condemn you, and hold you condemned, the contrary doing.

Done at , on day of the month of , of the year One thousand five hundred and twenty . I, THE KING.

XI.—OLD NEW YORK REVIVED.—CONTINUED.

21.—THE "BOZ" BALL.

1.—*The Preliminary Meeting of Citizens.*

It having been announced in the public prints that Mr. Charles Dickens had landed in the United States, a numerous meeting of citizens was held at the Astor House, on Wednesday evening, the twenty-sixth of January, to take into consideration the propriety of tendering to him a suitable welcome on his arrival in New York. The meeting was called to order by William H. Maxwell, who nominated Robert H. Morris as Chairman. Prosper M. Wetmore named D. C. Colden and D. C. Fell as Secretaries. The officers being duly elected, the meeting was addressed by Philip Hone, Charles W. Sandford, J. W. Edmonds, J. R. Livingston, Jr., J. W. Francis, Alexander Hamilton, Jr., Prosper M. Wetmore, and other gentlemen; whereupon, William H. Maxwell, after some appropriate remarks, offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:—

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this meeting "it is proper and becoming in the citizens of New "York to unite heartily in those demonstrations "of respect and esteem which have been, and "will be, everywhere in our land, called forth by "the visit of Mr. Dickens to America; not be- "cause of his talents alone, but in consideration "of the noble use he has made of those talents in "vindicating the rights, and claims, and feelings "of humanity at large, without distinction of "rank or circumstance.

"*Resolved*, That in welcoming Charles Dickens "to America, we feel that we are at once paying "due homage to genius and fulfilling the demands "of gratitude; for as individuals we owe grati- "tude to the minister of intellectual delight, and, "as republicans, we are bound to thank him who "has, in his writings, so eloquently maintained "the cause of the humble and oppressed; who "exhibits in every line his own keen sensibility "to wrong; and the pervading spirit of all whose "works is a touching illustration of the truth "that in the elementary constitution of men "there is no difference, whatever difference cir- "cumstances may have created.

"*Resolved*, That in the arrangement of a fit- "ting reception for the visitor whom we delight "to honor, regard be had to the participation "therein of the ladies; for we feel assured that "our countrywomen will look with little favor "on any device which excludes them from join- "ing in a festival given in honor of him whose "imagination and heart gave birth to 'Little "'Nell.'

"*Resolved*, That all the gentlemen present, and "such others as may be hereafter named, consti- "tute a General Committee."

GENERAL COMMITTEE.—Robert H. Morris, J. B. Nicholson, Philip Hone, Henry Brevoort, Valentine Mott, W. H. Maxwell, David Graham, James W. Webb, Alex. W. Bradford, A. S. Doane, E. A. Duyckinck, Daniel B. Tallmadge, John C. Cheeseman, Henry Inman, A. M. Cozzens, W. B. Dean, J. M. Smith, Jr., Thos. J. Oakley, Chas.

Delaforest, Wm. L. Morris, P. M. Wetmore, J. Prescott Hall, James E. Cooley, W. K. Northall, Chas. W. Sandford, M. M. Noah, Alexander Hamilton, Jr., John W. Francis, George P. Morris, Duncan C. Pell, Hugh McLean, Gerard H. Coster, John S. Bartlett, Charles P. Clinch, William Turner, Moses H. Grinnell, W. Starr Miller, John Inman, Wm. Kent, Beverley Robinson, Jr., Robt. J. Dillon, Wm. H. Appleton, S. Draper, Jr., F. W. Edmonds, Saml. I. Hunt, H. G. Stebbins, Augts. Fleming, Francis F. Waddell, Wm. Grandin, Chas. A. Clinton, Joseph Hudson, Charles M. Leupp, J. W. Gerard, F. A. Tallmadge, Wharton Griffith, Edward S. Gould, N. G. Ogden, D. C. Colden, J. W. Edmonds, J. Philips Phœnix, Dudley S. Gregory, John O. Sergeant, Theodore E. Tomlinson, A. G. Stout, George S. Doughty, C. A. Stetson, Charles A. Davis, R. Fayerweather, Martin Hoffman, James Phalen, R. C. Wetmore, P. S. Townsend, Wm. L. Shuttleworth, C. C. Cambreleng, Andrew Warner, Saml. Jones Mumford, Alfred A. Smith, Marshall O. Roberts, James R. Whiting, Joseph Gaillard, Jr., Cornelius R. Savage, John D. Van Buren, Edmund Simpson, Samuel P. Lyman, J. R. Livingston, Jr., J. Beekman Fish, Thos. J. Cummings.

On motion, Messrs. Sandford, Maxwell, G. P. Morris, Wetmore and J. W. Edmonds were appointed a Committee to withdraw and report forthwith a suitable plan for a Ball to be given to Mr. Dickens.

The meeting then resolved, unanimously, that Philip Hone be requested to write a letter of invitation in behalf of this meeting to Mr. Dickens, and that D. C. Colden be appointed to deliver it in person. Mr. Hone immediately prepared the following letter, which was signed by all the gentlemen then present:—

"New York, Jan. 26, 1842.

"Sir,

"The citizens of New York having received the "agreeable intelligence of your arrival in the "United States, and appreciating the value of "your labors in the cause of humanity, and the "eminently successful exercise of your literary "talents, are ambitious to be among the foremost "in tendering to you and your lady the hearty "welcome which they are persuaded is in reserve "for you in all parts of our country.

"With this object in view we have been ap"pointed a Committee, in behalf of a large Meet"ing of gentlemen convened for the purpose, to "request your attendance at a public Ball to be "given in this city.

"M r. C. D. Colden, one of our number, will "have the honor of presenting this invitation, and "is charged with the agreeable duty of present"ing their congratulations on your arrival. We "shall expect, through him, your kind acceptance "of this invitation, and your designation of the "day when it may suit your convenience to at"tend.

"We are, Sir,
"With great respect,
"Your Obed't Serv'ts."

The Committee, of which Charles W. Sandford was Chairman, appeared and made the following Report:—

"REPORT.

"With a desire of tendering to Mr. Dickens "those hospitalities and courtesies due to a "stranger of such eminent genius and private "worth, and in order to afford the Ladies, as well "as the citizens at large, of New York an oppor"tunity of exchanging salutations with him, we "deem it an appropriate compliment to invite "him and his Lady to a Ball, to be given expressly "for the occasion.

"To heighten the effect, and in compliance with "the desire universally expressed, it is recom"mended that the Ball Room represent various "'compartments of 'Curiosity Shop,' in which "'the productions of 'Boz' may be illustrated. "In order to add a strikingly novel and agree"able feature to the intended fête, it is suggested "that a number of Tableaux Vivants be formed by "competent Artists in the intervals of the dance, "drawn from the Novels, Sketches, Poems and "Dramas of Mr. Dickens, and shadowing forth, "in living pictures, the graphic and glowing de"lineations of this singularly gifted and original "author.

"As it is believed that the demand for Cards of "admission will be very great, and that no Ball "Room in the City will be large enough to contain "the numbers desirous of being present on the "occasion, it is recommended that the Park Thea"tre be engaged, and that the Ball take place at "the earliest date, of which due notice will be "given in the public prints.

"The Committee also recommend the following "sketch of decorations and devices for the Ball "Room, and arrangements for the floor:—

"1. The inside of the Theatre to represent a "magnificent Saloon, hung with Chandeliers.

"2. The audience part of the house to be orna"mented with festoons of flowers, garlands, dra"peries, and trophies emblematical of the different "States of the Union.

"3. The floor to extend from the front of the "boxes to the back of the building, where, on an "elevated stage, arrangements be made for the "representation of numerous Tableaux Vivants "from the works of Mr. Dickens, represented by "Artists under the direction of the Committee.

"4. The stage part of the Theatre to be highly "embellished with various designs from the "'writings of 'Boz,' illustrating many of his

"striking, original, novel, graphic, and familiar "scenes.

"5. A full and efficient Orchestra, comprising "the principal musical talent at present in the "City, to be engaged, and so arranged as to add "to the general effect, without diminishing the "space allotted to the Company.

"6. The Ball Room to afford accommodations "for upwards of Three thousand persons.

"7. The following arrangements are also rec- "ommended:—

"ORDER OF THE DANCES AND TABLEAUX VIVANT.

" 1—Grand March.
" 2—Tableau Vivant, 'A Sketch by Boz.'
" 3—Amilie Quadrille.
" 4—Tableau Vivant, 'The Seasons,' a poem, "with music.
" 5—Quadrille Waltz, selections.
" 6—Tableau Vivant, the book of 'Oliver Twist.'
" 7—Quadrille March, Norma.
" 8—Tableau Vivant, 'The Ivy Green.'
" 9—Victoria Waltz.
"10—Tableau Vivant, 'Little Nell.'
"11—Basket Quadrille.
"12—Tableau Vivant, the book of 'Nicholas "'Nickleby.'
"13—March.
"14—Tableau Vivant, 'A Sketch,' by Boz.
"15—Spanish Dance.
"16—Tableau Vivant, 'The Pickwick Papers.'
"17—Boz Waltz.
"18—Tableau Vivant, 'Washington Irving in "'England and Charles Dickens in Amer- "'ica.'
"19—Postillion Quadrille.
"20—Tableau Vivant, 'Curiosity Shop.'
"21—March.
"22—Tableau Vivant, 'The Club.'
"23—Contra Dance.
"24—Tableau Vivant, the book of 'Barnaby "'Rudge.'
"25—Gallopade."

On motion, it was resolved, that the Chairman appoint a Sub-committee of Sixteen to carry the foregoing arrangements into effect.

The following gentlemen were then named by by the Chair:—

Philip Hone, George P. Morris, Martin Hoffman, J. W. Francis, W. H. Maxwell, John W. Edmonds, Daniel B. Tallmadge, Charles W. Sandford, John C. Cheeseman, Charles A. Davis, James M. Smith, Jr., Henry Inman, Prosper M. Wetmore, Francis W. Edmonds, John R. Livingston, Jr., William Starr Miller.

The Chairman and Secretaries were subsequently added to the Committee.

The letter of invitation to Mr. Dickens being handed to Mr. Colden, the meeting then adjourned to meet again at the Astor House on his return from Boston.

ROBERT H. MORRIS, *Chairman.*
D. C. COLDEN, } *Secretaries.*
D. C. PELL, }

2.—*Meeting of Committee of Arrangements.*

The Committee of Arrangements met on Saturday evening, the twenty-ninth of January, at the Green Room of the Park Theatre, when the Chairman read the following letter from Mr. Dickens:

"TREMONT HOUSE, BOSTON, Jan. 28, 1842.
"MY DEAR SIR,

"I beg to convey to the Committee of Gentle- "men, whose organ you are, my hearty and cor- "dial thanks for their most kind congratulations, "and my glad acceptance of the honor they pro- "pose to confer upon me.

"I have had the pleasure of seeing your agent, "and of explaining my movements and arrange- "ments to that gentleman.

"Rest assured that I shall only be too proud "and happy to meet you at any time you may "appoint, after receiving his explanation of my "engagements.

"With many thanks to you and the Committee "generally,

"I am, My dear Sir,
"Yours, faithfully and obliged,
"CHARLES DICKENS.

"ROBERT H. MORRIS, Esq."

The Committee thereupon Reported that the Ball take place at the Park Theater, on Monday, the fourteenth of February next.

The following Rules and Regulations to be observed on the occasion:

The doors to be opened at half-past seven, and the dancing to commence at nine o'clock.

The Committee to appear in full Ball dresses, and wear rosettes with appropriate designs.

Military and Naval officers to appear in their respective uniforms.

All fancy dresses to be positively excluded, except such as are admitted under the direction of the Committee.

An ample supply of Refreshments to be provided for the company.

Cloak and Retiring Rooms to be set apart for the accommodation of the Ladies, and suitable attendants to be in waiting.

Tickets admitting a Lady and Gentleman to be $5. Any gentleman whose party may exceed more than one lady, to be furnished with extra ladies' tickets, not to exceed two, at $2 each.

Cards of admission to be obtained from either of the Committee, at the Committee Room, in the Astor House, where the name of every person

who purchases a ticket will be registered in a book provided for that especial purpose.

Gentlemen applying for tickets will please to give the names of their Ladies, in order that the same may be written in the cards of invitation.

Each member of the Committee issuing tickets will endorse his own name on the back of the Cards.

An early application for Cards of admission will be necessary, as no more persons will be admitted to the fête than the Ball Room can conveniently accomodate.

An awning to be erected in front of the Theatre, to cover the sidewalk.

Carriages on arriving and departing will comply with the City regulations for the maintenance of good order at Public Assemblies.

Gentlemen are requested to dismiss their carriages on arriving at the door, and to take the one opposite to the entrance on their departure.

The Superintendent of Carriages will be in attendance to preserve regularity, and to see that no imposition be practiced upon the company through carelessness, extra charges, or otherwise.

An efficient Police to be engaged to secure order in the arrival and departure of the company.

3.—*Meeting of the General Committee of Arrangements.*

At a meeting of the General Committee, held at the Astor House, on Monday evening, the thirty-first of January, the foregoing Report was unanimously adopted, and the Executive Committee was directed to carry the same into effect

ROBERT H. MORRIS, *Chairman.*

JNO. R. LIVINGSTON, Jr., WM. B. DEAN, } *Secretaries.*

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

XII.—COINS AND COIN COLLECTORS.

1.—THE MICKLEY COLLECTION.

This collection, so widely known to our readers, having passed from the hands of its author, JOSEPH J. MICKLEY, Esq., of Philadelphia, into those of the Bonner of Roxbury, Doctor W. ELLIOT WOODWARD, the latter has determined to sell it at auction in the city of New York, during the coming Autumn, and thus separate what should be kept together, in some public Institution. In order, however, that the Collection may be duly recorded, for the benefit of those who shall come after us, we propose, very briefly, to describe some of its principal features.

Passing, for the present, such specimens as the Dollar of 1804, of which only *Four* copies are known, the Half Dime of 1802, which is still more rare, and the multitude of Mint and Pattern-pieces, Colonial coins, and Medals, the rarity and commercial value of which, in each instance, are enough to give character to any ordinary collection, we shall notice, at this time, only those rare specimens of which not more than *Two* copies are known to us; and, hereafter, if space can be afforded, we shall allude more generally to what we now omit.

FIRST: The rare SOMMER ISLAND PIECE, is here. This piece has, on the *Obverse*, a Hog, on the field of the coin, with the numerals, XII, above him, outside of all of which, within Two circles of dots, are the words SOMMER ISLANDS. On the *Reverse*, is a Three-masted vessel, firing a gun, within a circle of dots.

All who have attempted to describe this piece have said it is of *Brass;* but their error will be seen from this specimen, which is indisputably *Copper.*

This rare coin was purchased from the celebrated Hollis Collection, in England, and, until within a year, it was considered unique; but that distinction no longer belongs to it, since another copy was discovered, a few months since, in a bag of copper coins in the city of New York. The report that a third copy is in a Museum in Bermuda is not credited.

SECOND: An unique PINE-TREE SHILLING OF 1650, on the *Obverse* of which is a Pine-tree in the field surrounded by a circle of large dots. Outside of the latter are the words MASATHUSETS IN, the whole of which are, also, surrounded with another circle of dots. The *Reverse* of this piece has, on the field, the date, 1650, and the denomination, XII, outside of both which, between Two circles of dots, are the words NEW ENGLAND, AN. DO.

THIRD: Another unique PINE-TREE SHILLING OF 1650, of the same general character as that which we have just described, but wholly different from that in the details of its execution—the tree, in particular, is much smaller, with limbs less numerous but more sub-divided; and the inscription possesses a more slender or wirey appearance.

FOURTH: Another unique PINE-TREE SHILLING OF 1650, the *Obverse* of which, in its general features, resembles the Pine-tree and Oak-tree money; but the *tree* is quite unlike that on any other type—the limbs bearing a large number of Cones;—and the inscription is MASSACHUSETTS IN. The *Reverse* contains the date and denomination in the center, surrounded by Two circles of dots, between the last of which are the words NEW ENGLAND AN DO.

This piece is of silver; nearly twice as large as the two specimens before referred to; and only one other specimen of it is known.

The Three Pine-tree pieces just described, differing in date from all other known types, are believed to have been struck as Patterns, before the coinage of the Pine-tree and Oak-tree money was authorized. They were all obtained, originally, from an old gentleman in New Hampshire, who declared that they had been in his family from the period of their coinage. It is true, that their genuineness has sometimes been questioned; but the weight of evidence seems to be greatly in their favor—they were sold by their original owner for so small a sum that fraud on his part seems to have been out of the question; and Mr. Mickley, whose judgment in such cases affords a pretty sure guarantee, paid a very high price for them and never doubted their authenticity.

FIFTH: The unique, SILVER PINE-TREE PENNY OF 1662. This excessively rare specimen, in design, resembles the other well-known Pine-tree specimens—one side bearing a Tree, more resembling an Oak than a Pine; and the other, the Date and Denomination.

The existence of the Pine-tree Penny, *in silver*, has been questioned, however; but as it was both described and figured by Folkes, who wrote at a period almost contemporary with its issue, it is only fair to conclude that the coin was *then* known; and as this piece bears every mark of genuineness it is believed to be authentic, although it is the only specimen known to be in existence.

SIXTH: The unique NEW ENGLAND ELEPHANT PIECE, of Copper, on the *Obverse* of which is an Elephant; and on the *Reverse*, the words GOD PRESERVE NEW ENGLAND 1694, in Five lines running across the field of the coin.

Four varieties of Elephant Half-pennies are known—that now under consideration; another with the inscription, on the *Reverse*, GOD PRESERVE CAROLINA AND THE LORDS PROPRIETORS; and two bearing on their *Reverse* GOD PRESERVE LONDON—each of which has the same Elephant on the *Obverse*.

The Carolina piece and one of the London pieces are very rare; no other copy than this, of the New England piece is known; but the other London piece is quite common.

SEVENTH: The unique NEW ENGLAND STIVER, the following description of which, from Mr. Mickley's Catalogue, embraces all that is known or has been conjectured concerning it:

"*Obverse*, NEW ENGLAND. M. *Reverse*, 1 "S. V. C. Two lions, rudely executed, to Right "and Left, in field of the coin. See *Dickeson* "Plate XX., No. 14.

"No one acquainted with the coins of Holland "can hesitate for a moment as to the origin of "this: it differs in no respect, in its general ap- "pearance and particular style of workmanship "from the Dutch Stiver of Two hundred years "ago."

We are told, also, that Mr. Mickley, "with great "ingenuity and probability rendered the letters "on the *Reverse*, 1 S[*tiver*] V[*on*] C[*onnecticut*]," and that "here, for the present, speculation may "as well rest;" but, notwithstanding the *ingenuity* referred to, the *probability* of the case is not so apparent, since the Dutch neither recognized their Colony on the Connecticut, as in "New En- "gland" but in Nieuw Nederland;* nor inscribed their coins in *English*, but good *Dutch* or *Latin*; nor had they any currency especially for New Netherland except Beaver-skins and Wampum.

Whatever may have been the origin of this piece, it possesses great interest to every American Numismatist; and its late owner regarded it not only as one of the most valuable, but one of the most important specimens in his vast collection.

It is of copper, a little larger in size than a Dime.

EIGHTH: The unique ANNAPOLIS SHILLING. The *Obverse* of this piece has, in three lines across the field, the words EQUAL TO ONE SHILLING, with a branch above, and clasped hands below, the legend. The words I. CHALMERS ANNAPOLIS, 1783, are also on this face of the piece, and probably designate the name of the artist by whom it was struck. On the *Reverse* are a pole with liberty-cap, an eye above Thirteen stars, and Thirteen rings arranged as an endless chain.

This piece is of Silver; and as it differs from all other known specimens, on both the Obverse and the Reverse, it is probably a Trial piece.

NINTH: THE LORD BALTIMORE PENNY, which is so celebrated among Numismatists.

This celebrated coin presents, on the *Obverse*, a profile bust of Lord Baltimore, facing the left, with the leged CÆCILIUS DNS TERRÆ MARIÆ &C.; and, on the *Reverse*, Two flags issuing from a Ducal Coronet, with the legend, DENARIUM TERRÆ MARIÆ.

It was formerly in the cabinet of James Bindley, Esq., of England; and as Mr. Mickley purchased it at auction, in England, for about £100 in gold, when American coins were little cared for, it may be considered, in a commercial sense, the most valuable of American coins. It is of copper; nearly as large as a half cent; and is widely known among Numismatists, both in Europe and America, as possessing unusual inter-

* This is no where more apparent than in the Journal of the Delegates from New Netherland to the General Assembly at Hartford, in which, under date of "20th October," 1663, while answering the claim of Connecticut to part of Long Island as included in the Patent of the former, it is said that that Patent "contained a tract of land lying in America, *in New England*, "AND, CONSEQUENTLY, NOT IN NEW NETHERLAND." The Dutch made no pretensions of Sovereignty over *New England*, while they denied all rights of Sovereignty, claimed by others, in *New Netherland*.—H. B. D.

est. It is undoubtedly unique; and the struggle to obtain it will probably form one of the features of the intended sale.

TENTH: An unique FLORIDA PIECE, on the *Obverse* of which is a bust of Charles III. of Spain, with the legend, CAROLUS III. D. G. REX; and on the *Reverse*, a full-blown Rose, with a leaf and bud on a stem, and the legend, JVAN ESTEVAN DE PENA FLORIDA 1760.

It is of silver, about the size and weight of a Half Dollar, and was found by Mr. Mickley, in circulation. It is without a history; but some have supposed that it was struck for presentation to the savages.

ELEVENTH: An unique ROSA AMERICANA HALF PENNY OF 1722, the *Obverse* of which presents a bust of George I., facing the Right, with the legend, GEORGIUS DEI GRATIA REX, the whole surrounded with a circle of dots; and the *Reverse* a full-blown Rose, with the legend. ROSA AMERICANA UTILE DULCI 1722.

It is of a compound, resembling brass, with its edge engrailed, the last rendering it unique, since all others of this Class have plain edges.

TWELFTH: The very rare ROSA AMERICANA FARTHING OF 1723, the *Obverse* and *Reverse* of which resemble the last-mentioned piece, except in its size. It is peculiar, however, in bearing the date of 1723; since the *Rosas* of that date usually present a *Crown above the Rose*, which this does not.

Only one other specimen of this type is known.

THIRTEENTH: An unique ROSA AMERICANA HALF PENNY OF 1724, bearing devices similar to that of 1722, just described, except that the Rose is Crowned, like the ordinary *Rosas* of 1723.

It is of a compound resembling Silver; and no other copy is known bearing this date.

FOURTEENTH: The unique ROSA AMERICANA PENNY, *in Steel*, which has been so often described and is so widely known to Collectors.

Its *Obverse* bears a laureated head, facing to the left, with the legend, GEORGIVS, II. D. G. REX. The *Reverse* is plain.

FIFTEENTH: The unique FUGIO, or FRANKLIN CENT, OF 1787, showing, on the *Obverse*, a Dial with meridian Sun above; to the right, 1787; to the left, FUGIO; in the exergue, MIND YOUR BUSINESS. On its *Reverse* is a Sun, with depressed center, inscribed WE ARE ONE; on a label within the rays, but outside of the center, AMERICAN CONGRESS; around the Sun, an endless chain of Thirteen links, each inscribed with the name of an original State.

SIXTEENTH: The very rare FUGIO, or FRANKLIN CENT, OF 1787, bearing on its *Obverse* the Sun and Dial, as in the last-named, but entirely without inscriptions; and on its *Reverse*, the same Sun, and Chain, and Names of States as the last-named, but *without the central inscription* of WE ARE ONE.

The *Fugios*, or Franklin Cents, so named because they generally bear One of Franklin's sententious sayings, are very frequently seen; but the types are entirely unlike the Two pieces just described, the first of which is believed to be unique, and of the second, two specimens only are known.

SEVENTEENTH: The unique U. S. A. or BAR HALF CENT, which displays on its *Obverse* only the letters U. S. A.; and on its *Reverse*, Thirteen parallel bars, occupying the entire surface of the coin.

The Bar Cent, which has no known history, is of very great rarity, but is occasionally met with in collections of early American coins; but the Half Cent differs from it in being only one-half the size and weight, and in the arrangement of the letters on the Obverse, which, in the Cent, not only extend over each other, but together cover a large portion of the field of the coin, while, in the Half Cent, the letters are of more moderate size, stand entirely separate, and occupy only a small space in the center of the field.

EIGHTEENTH: The very rare MASSACHUSETTS CENT OF 1787, on the *Obverse* of which is an Eagle, bearing a Shield, and holding in his right talon a bundle of arrows, and in his left an Olive-branch, with the inscription MASSACHUSETTS 1787; and on the *Reverse*, an Indian, standing with a Bow in his Right hand and an Arrow in his Left, and the legend COMMON * WEALTH.

The Massachusetts Cents are not uncommon; but the peculiarity of this specimen consists in the *reversed position* of the Arrow and the Olive Branch—and of this type only one other specimen is known.

NINETEENTH: The very rare NEW JERSEY CENT OF 1786, on the *Obverse* of which is a Horse's head with a band under it, under both of which is a Plow, with the date, 1786, under the beam, and the legend, NOVA CÆSAREA; and on the *Reverse*, a Shield, with the legend, E PLURIBUS UNUM.

The New Jersey Cents usually bear the date in the Exergue; and only One other copy of this variety is known.

TWENTIETH: The unique LIBER NATUS, bearing on the *Obverse* a Bust, facing to the Right, with the legend, GEORGIUS III. REX; and on the *Reverse*, an Indian, standing, with a Tomahawk in his Right hand and a Bow in his Left, with the legend, LIBER NATUS LIBERTATEM DEFENDO.

Among the rarest of our early Coins are Two varieties of the *Liber Natus*, One of which bears the arms and motto of the State of New York, the

other a design which is somewhat different. The *Obverse* of this, it will be observed, is entirely distinct from either.

TWENTY-FIRST: The unique PATTERN DOLLAR OF 1783, showing, on its *Obverse*, the inscription, U. S. 1000., surrounded with a wreath, with the legend, LIBERTAS JUSTITIA 1783; and, on its *Reverse*, a Sun between whose several rays are Stars, Thirteen in all, the whole surrounded by the legend, NOVA CONSTELLATIO.

TWENTY-SECOND: The unique PATTERN HALF DOLLAR OF 1783, bearing a design which is exactly similar to that of the Dollar, last described, with the exception, in this case, of a Mint-mark of Three leaves, a difference in the *arrangement* of the external legend, and the inscription within the wreath, which is U. S. 500.

These Two pieces, which are the earliest known Patterns and Designs for the Federal coinage, are probably the pieces referred to in the *Journal of Robert Morris*, under date of the second and twenty-second of April, 1783, published in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for January, 1867. (*New Series*, i., 32.)

TWENTY-THIRD: The unique PATTERN CENT OF 1792, having on the *Obverse*, a head of Liberty, facing the Right, with flowing hair, with the date 1792, just below the Bust, the whole surrounded with the legend, LIBERTY PARENT OF SCIENCE & INDUSTRY; on the *Reverse*, the inscription ONE CENT, encircled by a wreath, the whole surrounded by the legend, THIRTEEN STATES OF AMERICA 1-100; and on the *Edge*, the legend, TO BE ESTEEMED, BE USEFUL.

This is of Copper; bearing a beautiful design; and nearly twice as heavy and twice as large as the ordinary Copper Cent.

TWENTY-FOUR: The very rare PATTERN CENT OF 1803, on the *Obverse* of which is a singularly miserable Eagle, the word LIBERTY, and, surrounding the Eagle, Thirteen dots with the date at the bottom; and, on the *Reverse*, within a wreath, the words ONE CENT, and, surrounding the whole, the legend UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. 1-100.

We have no information concerning the origin of this piece; but it is probably unique.

TWENTY-FIVE: The extremely rare WASHINGTON CENT, on which the *Obverse* presents a Bust, facing the Left, with the inscription, GEO WASHINGTON BORN VIRGINIA FEB 11 1732; and the *Reverse*, a large Eagle, with the Shield, Olive-branch, and Arrows, and, on Two labels depending from its beak, the legend, E PLURIBUS UNUM; and with One star near the head of the Eagle and Twelve others arranged in a curve, above.

The Washington Cent bearing the naked bust has been sold at auction at prices varying from Four hundred to Four hundred and eighty dollars; and, because of its extreme rarity, has been considered the most desirable of all the Washington pieces: hereafter this Cent, which is co-eval with that, and in all probability unique, must take precedence.

TWENTY-SIX: The unique WASHINGTON CONFEDERATIO OF 1785. This very rare piece displays on its *Obverse*, a Bust, facing the Right, with the hair tied in a queu, and the legend GEN WASHINGTON surrounding them; and, on its *Reverse*, a Sun, with Thirteen Stars, with the legend CONFEDERATIO 1785, surrounding them.

The *Confederatios*, of which there are several varieties, are all of extreme rarity. This specimen, combining in One piece Two most important classes of American Coins, will be undoubtedly considered the most important of the series.

This celebrated collection contains numerous specimens, each of which is nearly if not quite as rare as the greater number of those to which we have referred; but our limits have been reached and we must forbear, until our next, any attempt to describe them. We shall endeavor, however, before the collection shall be separated, to secure a complete description of it; and our readers shall, in case of our success, have the benefit of it.

MORRISANIA, N. Y., *July*, 1867. H. B. D.

XIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

A REMINISCENCE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN—HIS LECTURE AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE IN 1860.

OLD ORCHARD (SACO), Me., August 13, 1867.

To the Editors of the New York Evening Post:

In October, 1859, Messrs. Joseph H. Richards, J. M. Pettingill, and S. W. Tubbs, called on me at the office of the Ohio State Agency, 25 William street, and requested me to write to the Hon. Thomas Corwin of Ohio, and the Hon. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and invite them to lecture, in a course of lectures these young gentlemen proposed for the winter, in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. I wrote the letters as requested, and offered as compensation for each lecture, as I was authorized, the sum of Two hundred dollars. The proposition to lecture was accepted by Messrs. Corwin and Lincoln. Mr. Corwin delivered his lecture in Plymouth Church as he was on his way to Washington to attend Congress. Mr. Lincoln could not lecture until late in the season,

and a proposition was agreed to by the gentlemen named, and accepted by Mr. Lincoln, as the following letter will show:

"DANVILLE, ILL., Nov. 13, 1859.

"JAMES A. BRIGGS, ESQ.,

"DEAR SIR: Yours of the 1st closing with my "proposition for compromise, was duly received. "I will be on hand; and in due time will notify "you of the exact day. I believe, after all, I "shall make a political speech of it. You have "no objection?

"I would like to know, in advance, whether I "am also to speak or lecture in New York.

"Very, very glad your election went right.

"Yours, truly,

"A. LINCOLN.

"P. S. I am here at court, but my address is "still at Springfield, Ill."

In due time Mr. Lincoln wrote me that he would deliver the lecture, a political one, on the evening of the twenty-seventh of February, 1860. This was rather late in the season for a lecture, and the young gentlemen who were responsible were doubtful about its success, as the expenses were large. It was stipulated that the lecture was to be in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn; I requested and urged that the lecture should be delivered at the Cooper Institute. They were fearful it would not pay expenses—Three hundred and fifty dollars;—I thought it would.

In order to relieve Messrs. Richards, Pettingill, and Tubbs, of all responsibility, I called upon some of the officers of the "Young Men's Repub- "lican Union," and proposed that they should take Mr. Lincoln, and that the lecture should be delivered under their auspices. They respectfully declined.

I next called upon Mr. Simeon Draper, then President of "The Draper Republican Union Club "of New York," and proposed to him that his "Union" take Mr. Lincoln and the lecture, and assume the responsibility of the expenses. Mr. Draper and his friends declined, and Mr. Lincoln was left in the hands of "the original Jacobs."

After considerable discussion, it was agreed on the part of the young gentlemen, that the lecture should be delivered in the Cooper Institute, if I would agree to share the expenses, if the sale of tickets (Twenty-five cents each) for the lecture did not meet the outlay. To this I assented—and the lecture was advertised to be delivered in the Cooper Institute, on the evening of the twenty seventh of February.

Mr. Lincoln read the notice of the lecture in the papers, and, without any knowledge of the arrangement, was somewhat surprised to learn that he was first to make his appearance before a New York instead of a "Plymouth Church" audience. A notice of the proposed lecture appeared in the New York papers, and the *Times* spoke of him "as a lawyer who had some local "reputation in Illinois."

At my personal solicitation, Mr. William Cullen Bryant presided as Chairman of the meeting, and introduced Mr. Lincoln for the first time to a New York audience.

The lecture was a wonderful success. It has become a part of the history of the country. Its remarkable ability was everywhere acknowledged; and after the twenty-seventh of February, the name of Mr. Lincoln was a familiar one to the people of the East. After Mr. Lincoln closed his lecture, Mr. David Dudley Field, Mr. James W. Nye, Mr. Horace Greeley, and myself, were called out by the audience, and made short speeches. I remember saying then: "One of "Three gentlemen will be our Standard Bearer "in the Presidential contest of this year; the "distinguished Senator of New York, Mr. Sew- "ard; the late able and accomplished Governor "of Ohio, Mr. Chase; or the 'unknown knight' "who entered the political lists against the Bois "Gilbert of Democracy, Stephen A. Douglas, on "the prairies of Illinois in 1858, and unhorsed "him—Abraham Lincoln."

Some friends joked me after the meeting as not being a "good prophet." The lecture was over; all the expenses were paid; I was handed by the gentlemen interested the sum of Four dollars and twenty-five cents as my share of the profits, as they would have called on me if there had been a deficiency in the receipts to meet expenses.

Immediately after the lecture Mr. Lincoln went to Exeter, N. H., to visit his son Robert, then at school there, and I sent him a check for Two hundred dollars. Mr. Tubbs informed me a few weeks ago, that after the check was paid at the Park Bank he tore it up, but that he would give Two hundred dollars for the check if it could be restored—with the indorsement on it of "A. Lin- "coln"—as it was made payable to the order of Mr. Lincoln.

After the return of Mr. Lincoln to New York from the East, where he had made several speeches, he said to me: "I have seen what all "the New York papers said about that thing of "mine in the Cooper Institute, with the exception "of the *New York Evening Post*, and I would "like to know what Mr. Bryant thought of it;" and he then added: "It is worth a visit from "Springfield, Illinois, to New York, to make the "acquaintance of such a man as William Cullen "Bryant." At Mr. Lincoln's request I sent him a copy of the *Evening Post*, with a notice of his lecture.

On returning from Mr. Beecher's church on a Sunday, in company with Mr. Lincoln, as we were passing the Post-office, I remarked to him: "Mr. Lincoln, I wish you would take particular

"notice of what a dark and dismal place we have "here for a Post-office, and I do it for this reason: "I think your chance for being the next President "is equal to that of any man in the country. "When you are President will you recommend "an appropriation of a million of dollars for a "suitable location for a Post-office in this city?" With a significant gesture, Mr. Lincoln remarked, "I will make a note of that."

On going up Broadway with him in the evening, from the Astor House, to hear the Rev. Dr. Chapin, Mr. Lincoln said to me, "When I was "East, several gentlemen made about the same "remark to me that you did to-day about the "Presidency; they thought my chances were "about equal to the best."

JAMES A. BRIGGS.

ANOTHER REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER.—In your paper of the tenth instant, I notice an account of the only remaining soldier of the Revolution, John Gray, of Hiramsburg, Ohio. I beg leave to correct the statement by furnishing you a short history of another. There is now living near Spencerville, Allen county, Ohio, William Taylor, who was born in the year 1757, and is, consequently, One hundred and ten years of age. I called upon the venerable soldier, and learned the following facts from his own lips. He was quite feeble at the time, and gave but a brief account of his life: He was born, as is above stated, in 1757, in Somerset county, Maryland, Two miles from the city of Salisbury. His father died when he was Five years old, at which age he was bound to Captain William Traverse, of the tradeship *Eugene*, with whom he sailed until the breaking out of the Revolution. He then entered the Navy and served during the War. At the close of the war he continued to follow the sea until 1797, making in all Thirty-five years at sea. Immediately on leaving the sea he married Miss Ellen Martin, and settled upon a plantation in his native State, where he was engaged in the occupation of farming until the year 1810, at which time he emigrated to the State of Kentucky, and settled upon Cabin creek, where he lived until 1812. In that year he emigrated to the State of Ohio, where he joined the Twenty-sixth regiment of Ohio Light Infantry, in which regiment he served Eighteen months; was at Fort Malden, and afterwards at Niagara Garrison, where he was captured. On being exchanged he returned to his farm in Adams county, Ohio, where he lived until the year 1844. He then moved to Auglaize county, where he lived until 1865. Since that time he has lived with his daughter in Allen county. He has buried Three wives, having been married twice after he was Seventy-five. Age has dealt lightly with him, and he enjoys very good health, and thinks he may yet need the fourth. His voice is as strong as when in early manhood he sang to his love by the ocean shore. He converses very well, and loves to relate the incidents of his early life, which he remembers distinctly.

G. W. HAMMOND.

[*Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette, July*, 1867.]

XIV.—NOTES.

FORT HALIFAX, MAINE.—As a protection against the Indians, who were often stirred up to hostilities on the frontiers of Maine by the French, even in times of peace, a wooden Fort was erected in 1754. It was situated near the place where the waters of the Sebasticook issue into the Kennebec. The strength and importance of this work were deemed enough to warrant some demonstration of joy at its completion, and a Latin inscription, which is here given. The Maine Historical Society has proposed measures for the preservation of the old, failing, and only remaining part of the defences, in the form of a Block-House.

[INSCRIPTION.]

Quod felix faustum quæsiit
PROVINCIÆ MASSACHUSETTENSI,
Hunc lapidem posuit
GULIELMUS SHIRLEY, GUBERNATOR;
Sub auspiciis
Nobilissimi GEORGII MONTAGUE DUCK,
Comitis de HALIFAX;
Provinciarum,
Quotquot sunt ditionis Brittanicæ,
Per AMERICAM utramque,
Præfecti atq: Patroni illustrissimi:
Die 3 Septembris, A.D. 1754.

BRUNSWICK. B.

GEORGE WAYMOUTH.—A long-mooted question as to the river explored by this navigator in 1605, on the coast of Maine, has involved the visibility of the White Mountains of New Hampshire from the island of Monhegan and its neighboring waters. This fact has been denied by some of the writers, who have thought the Penobscot or the Georges was the river, and has been asserted by the favorers of the Kennebec. To support the denial the aid of mathematics has been invoked to show that the rotundity of the earth must prevent the sight; while to support the

assertion the testimony of seamen and travelers has been called in, who declare that they have seen the summits at a distance even greater than Monhegan.

An intelligent gentleman of our State, interested in historical pursuits, has recently visited the island, and was gratified with an ocular demonstration of the fact asserted, though not at all claiming it in aid of the Kennebec theory. In a letter he says:

"You need not trouble yourself about the "White Mountains further. There is no ques- "tion about their visibility from this island. I "saw Mt. Washington distinctly last evening "from the light-house. Capt. D. and the light- "house keeper and several others saw it. It was "distinctly visible from sunset until dark. From "the light-house I saw that and two other peaks. "The keeper has seen them often."

In addition to this testimony it may be stated that the present writer, while recently on the island, was assured by at least a dozen persons that these mountains were so often visible as to occasion no special remark; and could be seen, not only from the elevation at the light-house, but on the shore, and by the fishermen while engaged in their work on the waters near by. This witness agrees with Christopher Levett, in 1623–4, and scores of others since his day. It does not, indeed, determine the river ascended by Waymouth; but it removes one of the difficulties in interpreting the obscure account of his voyage as to the Kennebec. B.

Brunswick, Me.

XV.—QUERIES.

Hessian Music-Book of 1776.—The Hessian band of music, of Nine pieces, captured at Trenton, on the twenty-sixth of December, 1776, was present in Philadelphia at the celebration of the ensuing Fourth of July.

The prisoners taken on that occasion were transported across the Delaware, under guard of Colonel Patterson's Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment.

From one of the band, the Fife-major of the Regiment obtained a MS. music-book, now in my possession; the pieces in the book are all English, and among them we have the *Hessian Camp*, *Grenadier's March*, *Boston March*, and *Boston Delight*. The water-mark is peculiar, consisting of a lion crowned, standing erect, facing to the left, with a long staff bearing what appears to be a bauble over its left shoulder, and the animal is placed upon a low square pedestal, inscribed "Vry hyt." A circular legend, "Pro Patria "Ejusque Libertate," surmounted by a large crown, surrounds the whole. The Anspacher flag captured at Trenton bore the motto, "Pro "Principe et Patria."

I should like to know where the paper of this book was manufactured? I. J. G.

New York City.

Aping Rank or Title.—An American citizen who was United States *Charge* at a foreign court, is now traveling in Europe with his wife. Although he has left the United States service, he has his cards printed thus: "*The Honorable* "Mr. and Mrs. ———." Pray what authority, propriety, or precedent, is there for this?

Republican.

American Flags.—A reader of The Historical Magazine would like to know where he can find a description of the early flags used in the United States, and as to when and on what waters they were first displayed? B. A.

Jamestown, Virginia.—The first permanent white settlement in the United States took place in 1607. It was on an island or peninsula in Powhattan or James River, Virginia. Although the whole went to ruin, on account of the unhealthiness of the place, there was one solitary inhabitant who still clung to the spot and was alive in 1831.

It would be interesting to know all about this man; and so as to include when and under what circumstances he died. Swamp.

Woodbridge.—What were the names and alliances of the 12 children of John and Mercy (Dudley) of Andover?

What is known of "Capt. Thomas ^{2}W." son of the above? Who was "Mary W. wid. of Thomas "m. to Jos^{h} Coker."

What descendants exist of Joseph ^{2}W. and Martha (Rogers) his wife?

Who was the "Mr. W. m., to Deborah Totten "in 1686?

Who and how many were the wives of Rev. Timothy of Hartford, with their respective children?

Answers too long for publication—please enclose to *L. W.*, 128 *E. 18th Street*, New York.

E. H. D.

Colonel Glasier.—There was a Colonel Glasier, who served under Sir William Johnson, and was stationed at Saratoga in 1756. Can any reader of The Historical Magazine furnish *any* information in regard to him?

Worcester.

XVI.—REPLIES.

Popham's Memory, (*H. M.*, New Series, ii., 42.)—A correspondent with a fanciful signature, perseveres in chasing the *small* game of a verbal criticism on the use of the word "consecrate," as connected with the memory of C. J. Popham. It is enough to reply from Webster's *Dictionary*, which gives as a propor meaning of the word, "to render venerable, to dignify;" and cites Burke as authority. This is enough to sustain its use by the Hon. Mr. Bourne.

He says that Popham had "so vile a memory," i. e. reputation. Not so thought his contemporary, John Smith, writing after his death, who pointed to him as "that honorable patron of virtue." Not so wrote Strachey of the same age, whose record is "the upright and noble gentleman;" nor Hubbard, a little later, who presents him as the "honorable patron of justice and virtue." Is this the character to leave a "*vile* memory?"

He says that Popham's Epitaph "is a notable instance" of the "proverbially false" character of this kind of composition. I have never seen it, and therefore cannot judge. Has he?

He asks for the "original" of the word "consecrate." This he will find in Webster, and its several uses.

The Kennebec was not the "initial enterprise." Oh, no! Virginia was a little earlier, under the same Charter of 1606. But I was writing about New England. Gosnold's expedition had no Charter; did not occupy its small house for a day, probably not for a moment, after its completion; and abandoned the coast in less than Three weeks after its arrival at the selected place. The "initial enterprise" of a *Chartered* Colony in New England, was at the mouth of the Kennebec, under George Popham; who died in the service there.

The historian of *Ancient Pemaquid* gives him the good character of being counted by New England, as "among the earliest if not the very first "of her 'illustrious dead.'"

Then he says that "Virginia was the other "penal Colony." When? *Not till* 1619, *long after both the Pophams were dead.* And when was the Kennebec Colony a *penal* one? NEVER.

He says, too, "the great principles connected "with it were only to solve the question, whether "or not mynes were there;" and if "they could "be profitably worked by the enforced labor of "criminals." Not so thought Hubbard and Williamson. They say nothing about "criminals" here; not did any one else, in the whole historic world, till less than Five years ago. The careful historian of Maine says: "This plantation "was undertaken by its patrons with a determination worthy of great and enterprising minds, "resolved on the accomplishment of their purposes; and sure of the greatest advantages to "be derived from its establishment and prosperity." He refers to Hubbard as a support to his positions.

It is not difficult to see why some minds, whose writings are dated "Boston," should be ready to spring to verbal criticisms on the performances at the Kennebec; to indulge in personal reflections on the writers in behalf of the Popham Colony, as in the present article; and make assertions about the Colony itself, which no contemporaneous authority sanctions, with even the shadow of probability. In the mean time the "Popham Celebration" is gaining favor year by year. The true history of the Colony and its influence in the illustration of the principles set forth in the Charter of 1606, as afterward spread over all New England, are annually becoming more and more widely studied and willingly allowed. Cumberland.

Brunswick, Me.

Doctor Rush.—At page Forty-two of your July number is a query as to "what authority "exists for the charge frequently made, that "Doctor Rush was the Author of the anonymous "letter against General Washington which was "sent to Patrick Henry."

I presume by "authority" the querist means "evidence," and this is abundant.

1. General Washington says that the letter is in Rush's well-known hand writing.

2. The anonymous letter itself shows it to be Rush's. It is extant and in the possession of Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer, of Philadelphia.

3 The family of Doctor Rush admit the letter to be his, but claim, or at least Bancroft does, that Washington forgave him for writing it.

4. In the year 1804, when Chief Justice Marshall's biography was in the press, Doctor Rush and his family conceded the letter to be his, and supplicated Judge Marshall to suppress Washington's indignant comment on it. They so far succeeded that, with asterisks to indicate the omission, the passage was omitted. The correspondence on this subject is also in Mr. Dreer's possession. The writer of this communication has a copy of it.

5. It was Doctor Rush's persistent habit to write anonymous letters and anonymous libels.

Philadelphia, Pa. A. B.

The Runic Hoax.—

New York, Sept. 5, 1867.

Mr. Dawson,

Dear Sir: In answer to your note of inquiry, I would state that the Runic Inscription said to have been found on the Arrow Rock below Potomac Falls, is now known to be a shallow hoax,

by no means comparable to the Great Moon Hoax, which exhibited some genius and wit.

This Runic Hoax is a piece of pleasantry said to have been perpetrated by the son of a Pennsylvania Senator—who thus ventilates his Scandinavian lore.

It first appeared in the Washington *Evening Union*, a little penny paper, which has made great capital out of the sensation, and published so much about the "Great Discovery" and the mythical "Professor Raffinsen," that the newsboys dubbed it the *Evening Runic*. I trust the Potomac rock may not prove to all concerned, *Lapis offensionis, et petra scandali.*

The fabricator of this Pickwickian inscription is by no means a pioneer in this species of fraud. Such deceivers have appeared at different times, always adapting their efforts to the prevailing opinion of the day, on the origin of our aborigines. The discovery of America, with its numerous inhabitants, set the savans of the old world to work, to account for the peopling of this great Continent.

The theory of a Hebrew origin found the earliest and most numerous supporters, and was followed by the Scandinavian hypothesis.

The first inscription said to have been found in this country was about the year 1740, after the New England missionaries imagined that they had discovered traces of some Jewish rites amongst the Indians, and when the theory of the Lost Tribes had found many supporters. It consisted of a Hebrew inscription executed upon some rocks in Connecticut. The next was the pretended discovery of a Jewish shekel amongst some human remains at La Porte, Indiana. Then came the April hoax, the Louisiana Hebrew inscription, which deceived some of our astute antiquaries. This was soon followed by the wonderful Wyrick stones, so skillfully covered with Hebrew inscriptions, and said to have been found in the mounds near Newark, Ohio. Attempts were made to dispose of these stones to some of our Societies as genuine relics. Articles exposing their pretensions appeared in both the *New York Times* and *Harper's Weekly*, yet it is said they found a purchaser at the West.

Since the discovery and translation of the Icelandic sagas, persons may be found who can see in the scratches on the Dighton, Tiverton, and Portsmouth rocks, evidence of an early Scandinavian visit to this continent. Hence the historic interest diverted in that direction may have suggested the Potomac hoax. E. H. D.

PORTLAND, ME., Sept. 4, 1867.

MR. DAWSON:

Your correspondent, "PHILO," (page 41, July Number, HIST. MAG.), asks for the answer to *War in Disguise* "published by Riley, N. Y., "1806."

I have that *Answer* now before me, in a bound volume of pamphlets, published and collected by Riley, of N. Y. I annex the title page in full:

"An||Answer||to||War in Disguise;||or||Remarks||
"upon||The New Doctrine of England,||concerning||NEUTRAL TRADE.

"Illud natura non patiatur, ut aliorum spoliis
"nostras facultates, ||copias, opes, augeamus; et
"unum debeat esse omnibus propositum, ut||
"eadem sit utilitas unius cujusque et universarem,
"quam si ad se quisque ||rapiat, dissolvitur omnis
"humana consortio." Cicero de Oratore, 3.

"New York: || Printed by Hopkins & Seymour,||
"For I. Riley & C°. New York, And Edmund
"Morford,||Charleston.|| ——— February, 1806."

On the next page is the Copy-right and Certificate to Isaac Riley. On the page opposite to this is the "PREFACE,"|| in Ten lines italics, in which he says: "In the hope that these sheets may be
"impartially considered, the writer will not affix
"his name. He will however, to obviate un-
"founded objection, so far gratify the curious as
"to say, that he is not a Practitioner of the Law;
"he is not a Merchant; he has no interest in
"Trade; he holds no office; and has no connec-
"tion with those who administer the Govern-
"ment." These Two leaves are not paged.

The fourth page is headed "An Answer||To||
"War In Disguise &c"||.

It commences thus: "The Pamphlet, entitled
"*War in Disguise*, on which we are about to
"make some remarks, is the production of no
"mean ability. We have been told, that it was
"written by direction of the English Cabinet.
"This however, we do not believe."

The pamphlet is an octavo of Seventy-six pages.

After "*Finis*," is this note: "The first edition
"of *War in Disguise* in 8v°, & the 2nd edition in
"12m°, for sale, wholesale and retail, by I. Riley
"& C° N° 1, City Hotel, Broadway."

I have, also, bound in the same volume, another pamphlet, entitled "*War without Disguise*;||
"or,||The Frauds||of||Neutral Commerce|| A jus-
"tification of Neutral Captures;|| With observa-
"tions||on the||Answer to *War in Disguise*,|| And||
"Mr. Madison's Examination || —o— Showing
"That The True Interests of America Require||
"The Rigid Application of the||British Rule of
"'56."

"Printed in America||1807."

Title, blank page, and Preface, Four pages; pamphlet, Eighty-seven pages. In the closing part of the Preface, the Author says: "With the
"positions of *War in Disguise*, the Answer to it,
"and Mr. Madison's pamphlet, it is presumed
"every one is acquainted. Should those of the
"little tract now published be assailed, they may,
"if deemed in danger, be defended."

Your obedient servant,

WM. WILLIS.

XVII.—BOOKS.

1.—Recent Publications.

1.—*Journal kept by Hugh Finlay, Surveyor of the Post Roads on the Continent of North America, during his Survey of the Post Offices between Falmouth and Casco Bay in the Province of Massachusetts, and Savannah in Georgia; begun the 18th September, 1773, and ended 26th June, 1774.* Brooklyn: Frank H. Norton, 1867. Quarto, pp. xxviii, 94.

The title-page describes very correctly the contents of this volume: it is simply a Journal of an official tour of inspection along the Post-routes of America, during the Colonial period, with memoranda of the Postmasters' mode of doing their business, of their settlements of accounts, and of their suggestions offered for the good of the service.

There is a very interesting sketch of the route from the Kennebec, through the Wilderness, to the River Chaudiere—probably that over which Arnold traveled, a couple of years later; and, sometimes, there are glimpses of the character of the roads and ferries, along the different Post-routes.

The *Journal* is prefaced with an elaborate Introduction, in which are several interesting documents concerning the Mail-service of that period; but the Editor has done little beyond the mere collection of the papers and the re-production of the letter of the manuscript *Journal* of the Tour.

There is very little in the volume which is of any real value to the historical student; yet it is an interesting work to every one who delights in the narrative of a tour through the Colonies, a short time prior to the War of the Revolution; and we can safely commend it to such a class of readers.

It is not, by any means, a handsome book, although what is known as "privately printed;" and we understand the edition numbers a hundred and fifty copies.

2.—*Notes concerning Peter Pelham, the earliest resident artist in New England, and his successors prior to the Revolution.* Reprinted, with additions, from the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for* 1866–67. By William H. Whitmore. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, 1867. Octavo, pp. 31.

Mr. Whitmore is known to students as a most careful and conscientious writer of History and Genealogy; and we open whatever bears his name without doubt, either concerning the thoroughness of his research, the accuracy of his statements, or the elegance of his style.

In the tract before us, he has unearthed an old painter and engraver who lived and labored in Boston before Smibert appeared there, who married for his second wife the widow Copley, became the step-father and tutor of John Singleton Copley, and died in December, 1751; and he has followed with passing notices of John Smibert, Henry Pelham, Copley, Nathaniel Smibert, Greenwood, Jennys, Blackburn, Hurd, Mrs. Morehead, Johnson, Turner, Lynde, Johnston, Dewing, Okey, and Revere, all of them resident artists in New England, in the ante-Revolutionary era.

The tract is crowded with the evidence of its own correctness; and fully sustains the well-earned reputation of its Author, as an earnest and diligent student and a faithful and graceful author.

It seems to have been privately-printed; but we have no information concerning the number of copies printed.

3.—*Letter of Horace Greeley to Messrs. George W. Blunt, John A. Kennedy, John O. Stone, Stephen Hyatt, and 30. others, Members of the Union League Club.* Privately Printed, 1867. Octavo, pp. ii., (unpaged) 13.

In a recent number, we referred to a very elegant re-print of Mr. Marble's celebrated Letter to President Lincoln: the volume before us is a companion volume containing Mr. Greeley's Letter to his brethren of the Union League Club, with which all our readers are perfectly acquainted.

It is a most sumptuous production, from the Bradstreet Press; and we have rarely seen a more beautiful specimen of printing. It was printed only for presents; and the edition numbered Ninety-nine copies.

4.—*The Publications of the Prince Society, established May 25, 1858. John Dunton's Letters from New England.* Boston: Printed for the Society, 1867. Small quarto, pp. xxiv., 340. Price $6.00.

John Dunton, a son of a minister, a native of Huntingdon-shire, and by profession a bookseller, seems to have gratified a passion for roving by visiting New England in 1685. He reached Boston in February, 1686, and London, on his return, in the beginning of the following August.

He visited Holland soon after; and on his return to London he resumed his business as a bookseller; established *The Athenian Mercury*—probably the great original of the *Notes and Queries*, as well as of The Historical Magazine—in which he was assisted, among others, by his uncle, the father of the Revs. John and Charles Wesley; and was soon at the head of an extensive business. After a series of ups and downs, he died in obscurity, in 1733, aged Seventy-four years.

The object of this visit to New England was to collect debts amounting to £500, which the book-reading public in Massachusetts was owing to him and had not been very ready to pay; and he had "a great number of Books very "proper for that place," including *Continuation of the Morning Exercises*, for which he wanted a market—it is not impossible, also, he was a voluntary exile, because of his sympathy with the discomfited Monmouth, a refugee from England for his own immediate safety, although even

then under bonds to appear and answer in the case before his Majesty's Justice.

The volume before us is composed of letters descriptive of this trip to New England. The first relates to his trip as far as the Isle of Wight; the second relates to the remainder of his voyage; the third to the seventh inclusive relate to the Town of Boston and its inhabitants, and to the surrounding country, and the eighth to his return voyage and concluding remarks.

These letters are crowded with descriptions of the manners, customs, etc., of the Indians, adapted from Roger Williams's *Key*, and often in his words; and they are exceedingly interesting to the local antiquary because of their minute descriptions of the leading inhabitants of Boston, of the surrounding villages, and of the manners, customs, and character of the Colonists.

There is little doubt in our own mind that the whole affair was a bookseller's job; but we have no doubt, also, that it is based on actual observation or, at least so far as the matter relating to the Indians was concerned, on such reputable authorities as Jocelyn and Roger Williams. There is no doubt, in our own mind, of the general correctness of the Author; and we are sustained in this opinion by Mr. Whitmore, the learned Editor of the work, who describes his letters as "unique sketches of New-England "life, honestly drawn, and defective rather than "erroneous," (p. xxiv.), and says "Dunton visited "Boston, was received by the clergy and reputa-"ble citizens with friendship, and wrote a trust-"worthy account of what he saw;" and that "his sketches of New England certainly contain "internal evidence of being the work of a resi-"dent here, and on the whole his testimony is "favorable to the inhabitants." (p. 308.)

It is important, therefore, to know what so reputable an Author, thus endorsed by one of Boston's most enthusiastic admirers and most sensitive burghers, had to say concerning the Massachusetts men, the Boston men, of the olden time; and we turned over his pages with fear and trembling lest at the mouth of so honest and trustworthy a witness we should be convicted of "partiality" and "falsity," in what we had said on that great question. Our readers will find, on pages 69 and 70, these words: "There is no "Trading for a stranger with them, which is, "not to part with your Ware without ready "money; for they are generally very backward "in their payments, great Censors of other Men's "Manners, but extreamly careless of their own, "yet they have a ready correction for every vice. "As to their Religion, I cannot perfectly distin-"guish it; but is such that nothing keeps 'em "friends but only the fear of exposing one an-"other's knavery. As for the Rabble, their Re-"ligion lies in cheating all they deal with. When "you are dealing with 'em, you must look upon "'em as at cross purposes, and read 'em like "Hebrew, backward; for they seldom speak and "mean the same thing, but like Water-men, Look "one Way and Row another. The Quakers here "have been a suffering Generation; and there's "hardly any of the Yea-and-Nay Persuasion but "will give you a severe Account of it; for the "Bostonians, tho' their Forefathers fled thither "to enjoy Liberty of Conscience, are very un-"willing any should enjoy it but themselves: "But they are now grown more moderate." Again, on page 71: "Their Laws for Reforma-"tion of Manners, are very severe, yet but little "regarded by the People, so at least as to make "'em better, or cause 'em to mend their manners." Again, on pages 73, 74: "In short, these Bos-"tonians enrich themselves by the ruine of "strangers; and like ravenous Birds of Prey, "strive who shall fasten his Tallons first upon "'em. For my own share I have already trusted "out £400, and know not where to get in 2*d.* of "it. But all these things pass under the Notion "of Self-Preservation and Christian-Policy."

We have room for no more of Mr. Dunton's description of old New England, nor have we any disposition to revive the record of its peculiar traits of character in the days of the Fathers. We have not felt at liberty, however, when, as in this case, a New England association has placed a witness on the stand and endorsed him as *honest* and *trustworthy*, to allow him to leave it without a cross-examination on some subjects in which we have an interest; and we are quite as satisfied with the result as "P." and *The Evening Transcript* can be. "The Truth is mighty and "will prevail."

The Prince Society is doing good service in the cause of genuine History, in thus producing standard editions of authoritative works; and Mr. Whitmore has conducted this volume through the Press with his usual zeal and ability.

It is handsomely printed, and the edition numbered Two hundred and ten copies, Twenty of which were on large paper.

5.—*Microcosmography;* or, a Piece of the World Discovered, in Essays and Characters. By John Earle, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury; to which are added, Notes and an Appendix. By Philip Bliss. First American Edition, edited by L. L. Williams. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867. 16mo, pp. xvi., 277. Price $2.50.

This curious work was first printed in 1628, and had Six Editions during that century, under the pseudonym of Edward Blount. Since then, several Editions have appeared; the last one in 1811, with Notes and Appendices, among which is a Bibliographical list of Books of this character. The present Edition is printed from a copy belonging to the library of the late John Taylor, and its variations from the First Edition are noted.

It describes Seventy-eight characters. "The "language," says the Preface to the Edition of 1732, "is generally easy, and proves our English "tongue not to be so very changeable as is com- "monly supposed. * * * Here and there we "meet with a broad expression, and some char- "acters are far below others; nor is it to be "expected that so great a variety of portraits "should all be drawn with equal excellence; "though there are scarce any without some mas- "terly touches. The change of fashions casts a "shade upon a few places, yet even those contain "an exact picture of the age wherein they were "written, as the rest does of mankind in general; "for reflections founded upon nature will be just "in the main, as long as men are men, though "the particular instances of vice and folly may "be diversified."

The character of the Author was delineated by Isaac Walton: and the Edition of his work which we are describing has been very carefully annotated and as carefully indexed.

6.—*Military Operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia during the Revolution, chiefly compiled from the Journals and Letters of Colonel John Allan, with Notes and a Memoir of Colonel John Allan.* By Frederick Kidder. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867. Octavo, pp. xi., 336. Price $4.00.

The importance of the military operations on the Eastern frontier, during the War of the Revolution, is very little understood, because it is very little known. Mr. Kidder, therefore, has performed a very acceptable service, because of their importance, in bringing forward, even in a mutilated form, the papers which are contained in this work.

We are at a loss to understand, however, how so practical a man as Mr. Kidder is should have so far forgotten himself as to tinker his material, and thus leave his readers uncertain when they are reading Colonel Allan and when Mr. Kidder. If there is any value in what purports to be an original historical paper, as an authority, it is because that paper is supposed to furnish the BEST evidence, the most *authentic*, if not the most complete; and we are entitled, therefore, if we are permitted to use it at all, to use it in its purity, without Editorial pruning and without impertinent additions. No one knows this better than Mr. Kidder, yet he has "amended the Text" of these papers, he says, "so far as to correct "*apparent* errors and to *render the language in* "*a few cases more explicit.*"

We like a refined taste in literature, yet we would not sacrifice, nor even jeopardize, the Truth to secure it; nor would we dare do more than add a note of explanation or illustration, when merely "*apparent* errors" *seemed* to impair the value of the text or obscurity of language *seemed* to have left in obscurity some interesting fact. In that, however, it seems, we differ from Mr. Kidder; and we are contented to abide the judgment in the case of those who shall follow us.

The volume is from the press of the Albanian Disciple of Aldus, whose trade-mark is on the title-page; and it is, of course, well printed. The Edition numbered Two hundred and fifty copies.

7.—*The Invasion of Canada in* 1775: including the Journal of Captain Simeon Thayer, describing the perils and sufferings of the army under Colonel Benedict Arnold, in his march through the wilderness to Quebec: with Notes and Appendix. By Edwin Martin Stone. Providence: Knowles, Anthony & Co., Printers, 1867. Octavo, pp. xxiv., 104, with insets. Two pages each between pp. vi. and vii., 46 and 47; slips between pp. xx. and xxi., 56 and 57; and Six pages between pp. 102 and 103.

The industrious and painstaking Secretary of the Rhode Island Historical Society, in this volume, has furnished to students of our Revolutionary military history another exceedingly valuable collection of papers, and will secure from them their gratitude for his services.

The march through the wilderness has already found an unusually large number of historians, yet there is room for as many more, and all will be alike useful and welcome. Arnold, himself, kept a Journal of his operations which has been printed, either entire or in parts; and others by Henry, Heth, Melvin, Meigs, Senter, and Ware, have been printed while MSS. by McCoy, Haskell, Topham, Dearborn, Peirce, Badeux, Foucher, and Sanguinet, all yet unpublished, are known to have been written and in most cases have been preserved.

Captain Thayer, the writer of this particular Journal, was a native of Massachusetts, but a resident of Rhode Island. He participated in the old French War; was appointed a Captain in the Rhode Island line, in 1775; served with Arnold in Canada; was promoted to a Majority; served at Red Bank, under Colonel Greene, and at Fort Mifflin; fought at Monmouth and Springfield; and died in 1800.

The Journal before us possesses no particular literary merit; and is valuable only as an historical authority concerning one of the most interesting events of the War of the Revolution.

The Editor has discharged his duty with the greatest industry and fidelity; and, although we conceive that his conclusions are sometimes erroneous, and that injustice is sometimes done to worthy officers, we cannot withhold from him the credit which is justly his.

After a brief "Preface," Doctor Stone has given a Bibliography of the Expedition, in which reference is made to the literature of the subject with references to the inedited manuscripts—a good service which will not be soon forgotten by the working-men of the profession. An elaborate "Introduction" comes next, in which the operations in Canada are briefly described; and, with singular and unfortunate oversight, Arnold's

name is entirely omitted, although HIS capture of Crown Point and of the Two British vessels is elaborately described and the importance of that service is referred to. We think, also, that his allusion to Arnold, as particularly "the victim "of a low moral sense," (p. ix.,) in the earlier days of his career, is peculiarly unhappy, when by far the greater number of his companions in arms were even greater victims of "a low moral "sense" than he.

We recognize an Ode by George William Curtis, inserted at the close of the Journal, as an old acquaintance; and we are rather surprised that the excellent Editor of this volume has not credited the volume from which it was copied. It seems to us that so slight an acknowledgment would have been nothing more than just.

The "Appendix" is very complete; and herein Doctor Stone has fairly displayed his love of hard work—a series of biographical sketches of officers who were in this expedition; numerous illustrative Notes; lists of those who were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners before Quebec; Rosters of Companies; and an elaborate Index, being among the features of this portion of the volume which will most attract the student of History.

We cannot close this Notice without entering our Protest against the injustice which Doctor Stone has done to Colonel Samuel Smith, in denying to him any portion of the honor of defending the Mud Fort. We feel very sure that our friend, the Editor of the work before us, would have been the last to do injustice to the gallant Marylander, whom he has depreciated, had he seen the materials which have come down to this generation; and we shall take an early occasion to present to our readers some papers on this subject, which were placed in our hands some years since by Colonel Smith's son, for the purpose of vindicating the Truth of History in this matter.

The volume before us was printed for private circulation by the Editor; and is one of a hundred copies of which the Edition was composed.

8.—*Proceedings of a Board of General Officers respecting Major John André.* New York: Privately Printed, 1867. Octavo, pp. vi., 21.

We have here a magnificent *fac simile* of the original Edition of the Proceeding of the Court of Enquiry to which General Washington sent the case of Major André. It has been thus printed by the Bradstreet Press, exclusively for presents, the Edition numbering only Forty-nine copies; and, although our readers are familiar with its contents, from the copies which were issued by Mr. McCoy and in *The Gazette Series*, by ourself, the beauty of this re-print and the fact that it is a *fac-simile* will render it a very choice addition to the fine books of those who may be fortunate enough to secure a copy.

It is printed with old-style type, of course; on laid, tinted paper; and has a handsomely rubricated title-page.

9.—*Letters and Journals relating to the War of the American Revolution, and the capture of the German troops at Saratoga.* By Mrs. General Riedesel. Translated from the original German, by William L. Stone. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867. Octavo, pp. 235.

Every student of American history knows the interest which clusters around the Letters of Madame Riedesel, the heroic wife of the Baron who commanded the German troops in the Northern Campaign of 1777; and how much service they afford to every one who seeks a knowledge of that eventful period.

General Wilkinson first employed some of them, in a faulty translation; and, in 1827, the entire collection, also very inaccurately translated, was published in a small volume. In the beautiful volume before us, Mr. Stone has presented a new translation of the entire work; and, in doing so, his thorough knowledge of the German language has enabled him to detect and correct innumerable errors which had crept into the former translation. He has also enriched this version with Illustrative Notes, a good Index, a Sketch of the Life of the Baroness, and, not least, with a very fine Portrait of the lady, from a photograph of the original painting, furnished for that purpose by her family in Germany.

In this publication Mr. Stone has done a substantial service to American History; and Mr. Munsell has seldom turned out a volume which is more creditable to his skill as a printer. The Edition numbered Two hundred and fifty copies.

10.—*Address to the First Graduating Class of Rutger's Female College:* delivered in the Fourth avenue Presbyterian Church, (Dr. Crosby's) on Sabbath evening, June 20, 1867. By Henry M. Pierce, LL.D., President of the College. Published by request of the Trustees. New York: Agathynian Press. 1867. Octavo, pp. 19.

"What is the true position of *woman*, and what "should be her education?" are the very important subjects of this, so called, "*Baccalaurete* "Address"—a very sensible subject, also, it would seem, for the occasion which demanded it. We fail, however, to find what we conceive to be the true answers to these questions; and consider Doctor Pierce's effort as altogether a failure.

If the Doctor is right, a young woman should learn just what her brothers learn, because she was not made to become the *slave* but the *equal* of her husband; but while we admit that the husband and the wife should be equals, we see no more reason, because of that, that she should be taught his Classics, and Engineering, and Law, than that he, for the same reason of their equality,

should be taught her Needlework, and Cookery, and Nursery songs.

The Doctor's teaching, therefore, is simply, bosh. The education of woman, like that of man, should be adapted to the future of the scholar. It should be made to render her more intelligent and skillful in her peculiar duties: to qualify her the better to discharge the sacred duties of sister and daughter, of wife and mother: to develop the graces, to strengthen the mind, and to improve what nature had left unadorned.

We should be glad, also, to know just why an *Address* to a party of young *women* is called a *Baccalaureate* Address. Was it because the Doctor was a Batchelor; or because it was delivered when divers other *Baccalaureate* addresses are apt to be made—"on Sabbath evening?"

The copy before us is a very handsome specimen of printing, on laid, tinted paper, with rubricated title-page; and is highly creditable to the young establishment which printed it. It is intended, we understand, for private circulation.

11.—*A treatise on Emotional Disorders of the Sympathetic system of Nerves.* By William Murray, M.D., M. R. C. P., Lond. New York: A. Simpson & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. viii., 95.

A great many of the diseases to which mankind is liable are due to emotional disturbance; and Doctor Murray considers the subject with intelligence and discrimination. His book is well calculated to instruct men and women in the proper management of their emotions, and is a safe guide to the treatment of those affections which arise from a failure to keep them in due subjection.

To a great extent this entire matter has heretofore been in the hands of quacks who have derived their greatest profit from fleecing ignorant and unwary persons afflicted with emotional diseases; and we rejoice that a gentleman of Doctor Murray's skill and standing has taken it from their grasp.

12.—*Ninth Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, for the year* 1866-7. In two parts. New York: J. W. Amerman, 1867. Octavo, Part I., pp. xvi., 112, 182; Part II., pp. 132.

The yearly volumes of this ancient corporation contain a vast amount of exceedingly importan-information which cannot be obtained elsewhere; yet they are seldom seen in the libraries of students, or elsewhere than among the neglected literature of the counting-room. This should not be so; and we earnestly hope that the Chamber will be more widely sustained in its useful work by those who may be most indebted to its invaluable collections.

In the neatly-printed volume before us we have the Minutes of the Chamber, for the year ending with May, 1867; a list of members of the Corporation—headed by Hickson W. Field, Esq., who was elected on the first of July, 1817; a list of its officers during the past hundred years; its By-laws, donations to its Library, reports on the introduction of Capital and Men into the Southern States; on the Banquet to Cyrus W. Field; on the Tax on Cotton; on the reception of the Brazilian and Argentine Ambassadors; on the Usury Laws; on the Wharves and Piers of the city; a series of Fourteen Trade Reports, and another of Twenty-six statistical articles of Trade and Commerce, all of which are elaborately constructed and possess great value.

With the exception of *The Manual of the Corporation*, by our venerable friend, Mr. Valentine, there is no series of volumes connected with the City of New York which we esteem as highly as the *Annual Reports of the Chamber of Commerce*, because there is no other from which we can learn so much.

13.—*Pawlet for One hundred years.* By Hiel Hollister. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867. Duodecimo, pp. iv., 284. Price $2.50.

The Author of this neat little volume is a working man; and "in the intervals of severe "and exacting manual labor, he has gathered "the material for this work, and collated and "grouped them together in their present form."

The plan which he has adopted is a good one, since by giving a series of independent articles, each embracing the history of some particular subject, there is less confusion and more methodical completeness; and the Author seems to have left little undone which he ought to have done in such an undertaking.

We have seldom examined a local history which has so completely satisfied us, as this.

14.—*The early years of his Royal Highness the Prince Consort.* Compiled, under the direction of Her Majesty, the Queen, by Lieutenant-general, the Hon. C. Grey. New York: Harper & Bros., 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 371.

Our readers have undoubtedly seen the very extended extracts from this volume, taken from the English papers, which have gone the rounds of the Press; and those who have glanced over those extracts will not require any information concerning the character of the work. To others, we have only to remark that it relates to the life of Prince Albert, from his birth until the birth of his oldest child, the Princess Royal of England; and includes his infancy and childhood, his education and amusements, his courtship and marriage with the Queen, and the incidents of the first year of his married life.

It is compiled from his Journals and Correspondence, the Journal of the Queen, and Memoranda furnished by her; and if the widowed monarch did not herself write it, it was written under her own eye, from knowledge which she

furnished, and not unfrequently in her own words —the translations were made entirely, if we do not mistake, by her daughter, the Princess Helena.

Of course, the accuracy of the narrative is beyond dispute; and it is matter of surprise that the Queen has found courage enough to lay before the world, thus authenticated, the details of her courtship and marriage, and subsequent life, even among a People which is noted for its devotion; although its importance, from a historical stand-point, cannot be too highly estimated, as original material of the greatest importance; and every student of English History, through all time, will remember her bravery with the deepest gratitude.

Nor is this the only reason that the volume is important. We have grown up to respect Victoria, as a woman, a wife, and a mother, as we respect few others; and a perusal of this narrative has confirmed our respect and led us to admire, still more than before, the unaffected simplicity and the purity of her character, even in the midst of temptations and hypocrisy, and senseless display.

We are sure our readers will find as much pleasure in reading this work as we have done; and the beauty of the typography will render it a welcome guest in any parlor.

15.—*The Life of William Woodbridge.* By Charles Lanman. Washington: Blanchard & Mohun, 1867. Octavo, pp. 236.

Governor Woodbridge of Michigan, one of the Pioneers of "the great West," was one of the race of Giants who lived and governed the Republic in the days of our boyhood; and Mr. Lanman has presented in this volume, a well-written Memoir of his life, a selection from his Correspondence, and some specimens of his learning—the latter in Three *Addresses* delivered by him at different dates.

As Mr. Woodbridge was the first Territorial Secretary and a Whig, the first Territorial Governor (Cass), who was a political opponent, has fared badly in more than one page of Mr. Woodbridge's papers; yet we are not prepared to deny nor even to doubt his correctness, in any respect, nor even to deny that his evident animosity against General Cass was entirely justifiable. We do regret, however, that in a volume which is essentially a History of Michigan, during the most eventful period of her existence, there has not been presented a detailed account of the secret history which led *to the organization of a State Government in Detroit and to its exercise of every function of a State Government, for several months before Michigan was admitted into the Union, or even recognized by Congress*—rather a severe dose for those wiseacres who talk so glibly about the Sovereignty of the Federal Government.

Mr. Lanman has certainly made a very interesting volume and its importance, as material for history, cannot be questioned.

16.—*The Carver Centenary*; an account of the celebration by the Minnesota Historical Society, of the One hundreth Anniversary of the Council and Treaty of Captain Jonathan Carver with the Naudowessies, on May 1, 1767, at the "Great "Cave," [now within the limits of the City of Saint Paul, Minnesota,] held May 1, 1867. Saint Paul: Pioneer Office, 1867. Octavo, pp. 24.

This is a very interesting account of the reunion of the members of the Society, on the occasion of a local anniversary in May last.

It opens with a minute description of the celebrated Cave in which the Treaty was made, in 1767; and this is followed with a narrative of the proceedings of the Society, including a very well-written paper, by Rev. John Mattocks, on *The Life and Travels of Jonathan Carver.*

The pamphlet is printed on tinted paper, at the expense of George W. Fahnestock, Esq., of Philadelphia; and the Edition numbered Two hundred and fifty copies.

17.—*Ninth Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of Chicago, for the year ending March* 31, 1867, *reported to the Chicago Board of Trade*, by John F. Beaty, Secretary. Chicago: Horton & Leonard, 1867. Octavo, pp. 146.

In this volume we have the wonderful record of the rise and progress of that "Trade and Com- "merce" which, within Twenty-seven years, has transformed Chicago from a mere military outpost, with Seventy inhabitants, into a mighty municipality of nearly a quarter of a million souls; with a shipment of Seventy-eight bushels of grain, in 1838, to one of Sixty-six million, seven hundred and thirty-six thousand, six hundred and sixty-nine bushels, in 1866.

Such a volume, crowded with statistics, and bristling with stern facts, is as formidable against mere theorists as "an army with banners;" and we know no more important volume to the collector of "local histories." We shall esteem it a particular favor if the preceding volumes of the series, or any of them, can be furnished to us by any of our readers.

18.—*The Railway.* Remarks at Belfast, Maine, July 4, 1867, by John A. Poor. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. 61.

We have been favored by our respected friend, the Author, with a copy of this beautiful pamphlet, and have read it with considerable interest.

It seems to have been a Fourth of July Address, and contains some political paragraphs; yet the burden of the song is the "The Railway," its general advantages as an agent of civilization, and, locally, as an instrument for the improvement of the territory through which it passes.

It is well written, well sustained by authorities, and well enforced by argument.

The pamphlet is well printed, as all bearing Little, Brown & Co's imprint are.

19.—*Alec Forbes of Howglen.* A novel. By George MacDonald. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1867. Octavo, pp. 171. 75 cents.

20.—*No man's friend.* A novel. By Frederic William Robinson. New York: Harper & Bros., 1867. Octavo, pp. 180. 75 cents.

21.—*Called to account.* A novel. By Miss Annie Thomas. New York: Harper & Bros., 1867. Octavo, pp. 152. 50 cents.

Nos. 294, 495, and 296 of *The Library of Standard Novels* are here presented to the American reading public by the enterprising Publishers in Franklin-square.

The first is a Scotch story, based on the customs, manners, and sentiments of North Britain. There is no intricacy of plot in the work; but the earnestness of the Author and the individuality of its characters give strength to the work beyond the usual measure.

The others are also by leading novelists of Europe; and their cheapness will ensure for them an extended circulation, both in town and country.

22.—*Harpers' Writing Books.* Symmetrical Penmanship with Marginal Drawing Lessons, for Schools and Families. New York: Harper & Bros. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Horace Mann said he believed a child will learn both to draw and write sooner, and with more ease than he will learn writing alone; and these books are based on that very sensible proposition.

Along the margin of each page there is a series of drawing lessons; and the theory which the Author proposes for imparting a knowledge of drawing is also peculiar, but exceedingly sensible.

It is undoubtedly the most valuable series of writing books that we have yet seen.

23.—*Thirty-five miles around Richmond, Virginia.* Compiled by Jed. Hotchkiss, Top. Engineer, Staunton, Va., 1867. Washington, D. C.: C. Bohn.

We have received from the Author a copy of this very useful Map, in pocket-book form.

It is from actual surveys made during the war, by the Engineers of the Confederate and Federal officers; and its Author, who was the Topographical Engineer of the Second Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia—"Stonewall" Jackson's—has done good service by noting the roads, streams, post-offices, churches, fortifications, etc., in this notable neighborhood.

Its accuracy is recognized by the local press of all parties; and it must be exceeding useful to the student because of the completeness of its details.

2.—Miscellany.

The Firelands Pioneer.—In our last number we referred to this excellent work, and regretted that Title-pages and Indices are not furnished with the complete volumes.

We have since been informed that Volumes III. and VII. contained these useful portions of the work, collectively, for the volumes which respectively preceded them; and that a similar *general* Title-page and Index for Volumes VIII., IX., X., and probably XI., will be printed with One of the latter Two. We earnestly hope that the publishers will so far change their plan as to make each volume perfect in itself, by giving to each its appropriate Title-page and Index.

—The public, for many months past, have been led to believe (from wide spread advertisements) that the Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, was writing a Southern History of the War, and the same would soon be issued. To convince the public that Mr. Stephens is not writing a History of the War, and the publishing of his meditated work on the causes and results of the war is in the *distant future*, we have only to quote from a letter from William Swinton, author of *Army of the Potomac*, &c., &c., and special correspondent of the New York *Times*, who has recently visited the distinguished Statesman:

[*From the New York Daily Times, July* 22, 1867.]

"Crawfordville, Ga., July 10th, 1867.

* * * * "Mr. Stephens immediately opened "the subject of the war * * * * As you may be "aware, he is engaged in writing a work on the "'War between the States.' It is, however, as I "gather, to be A MONOGRAPH RATHER THAN A "HISTORY, and will treat only of special points "in the cause, conduct, and results of the war of "secession. *He shrinks from the amount of "morbid anatomy that would be required in a "complete history.* Stephens is perhaps the only "man who could, if he would, write the secret, "internal history of the Confederacy, and as he "is not so minded, a great deal of it will die "with him. The work on which he is now en-"gaged cannot fail to possess a very high value; "it need not, however, be looked for soon, as it is "yet in no considerable degree of forwardness."

—Marshall, favorably known by his portrait of President Lincoln, is now engaged in engraving a likeness of General Grant.

—*Case and his Contemporaries* is the title of a new biographical history of early Methodism in Canada, soon to be issued at the Wesleyan Book Room in Toronto. It is written by Rev. John Carroll, and will contain a fine portrait of Rev. William Case, the pioneer itinerant of Canadian Methodism.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. Second Series.] SEPTEMBER, 1867. [No. 3

I.—A LETTER FROM NEAR FORT POPHAM.

Small Point, near Fort Popham,
August 30, 1867.

Editor of the Historical Magazine:

Looking down, this bright morning, from the summit of Mount Morse (so-called), which, though comparatively high ground, is hardly entitled to the name of "mountain," the ancient province of "Sabino" was spread before me like a map. I had with me, as guide and interpreter, one of the "oldest inhabitants," familiar with the region from childhood, intelligent and well informed respecting its history and archæology. We could see the rising structure of the new fort, and the green slope of Horsecatch Point, where the remains of the primitive Colony are found. The general name of the little peninsula, or presqueisle, which is claimed to be the seat of the earliest New England settlement, is "Hunniwell's Point." We could distinguish the country people, in their holiday clothes, wending their way thither, crossing arms of the sea in boats, and picking their steps over the marshes; but the assembled wisdom of The Maine Historical Society was nowhere visible. The twenty-ninth instant was the appointed time of their meeting, and the commemoration, which could not then take place on account of the rain, was expected to be observed on the first fair day.

Finding that our anticipations, and those of the scanty population of the neighborhood, were doomed to disappointment, I contented myself with a study of the geographical features of the scene, and the relation of these outlying, and almost insulated, patches of rock to the mainland.

Fort Popham is entirely surrounded by water in high tides; and the owner of the intervening marsh has contemplated making a permanent water communication through it for the passage of gondolas (gundalows) and floating timber. By this boggy marsh the fort is connected with another piece of rocky land which hangs by a slender neck to the township of Phipsburg. This township itself hangs by a slender neck to the township of Bath; and Bath hangs by a slender neck to the mainland. There is a tradition that the water formerly flowed between Bath and Topsham and New Brunswick; and a canal has existed across the sandy marsh, once doubtless the bed of the sea, which the quicksands have now destroyed.

One might suppose that so much "hanging by "a neck" would have suggested unpleasant associations among convict Colonists who had barely escaped a similar condition in their own persons. There was, however, a present security in occupying places easily defended, which probably influenced their choice of a site for habitation.

The region here consists of an archipelago of rocky knolls, separated from one another by arms of the ocean and salt marshes, and projecting about twenty miles from the mainland proper. The sandy basis of the marshes is thought to indicate that soil and vegetation have gradually accumulated where the sea once had full possession, rather than that the marshes have resulted from the erasion of harder soil above them.

In the July number of The Historical Magazine, the President of the Maine Society enunciates two propositions. The first is, "that one of "the material attributes of Truth is sharpness, and "that when coming in contact with Error its pun-"gency should be felt." The other, that it is among "the first principles of National and In-"ternational Law," that "any action on any "island is entirely irrelevant" to the question of possession of the mainland of New England, "as much so as if it were situated on the coast of "England or France."

I have no objection to the pungency of Truth. The second proposition, however, if a truth, appears to need elucidation, and perhaps qualification. "Suppose," he says, "that De Monts did "occupy Neutral Island, and continued to occupy "it year after year: that his Company planted "grain, built houses, erected a fort, and also a "Church for the worship of God, what had all "this to do with the shore or mainland?" "Or "suppose that George Popham, Gosnold, Wey-"mouth, or any English navigator, on the Eliza-"beth Islands, George's Island, Boon Island, or "the Isle of Shoals, had done the same things "under British authority; or suppose, as at Sa-

"bino, or either of those Islands, they had built "fifty houses, a stone house, a strong fortifica- "tion, a pinnace, and also a chapel for the wor- "ship of God, and at the beginning proclaimed "the laws of England for the government of the "people—under what law, or what theory of "right, could such action have been made to at- "tach to the mainland or shores of New Eng- "land?"

The statement of the learned President, and equally learned Judge, is a broad one. His words are "any island;" and he declares that "the possession of an island never draws with it "the shore: but by the comity of nations the "converse of the position is so far admitted that "the shore draws to it the adjacent islands."

It is to be regretted that the exact meaning of the phrase "any island," as used in this important dictum, was not more clearly defined. Judge Sullivan, whose specialty was "Land Titles," supposed the Popham settlement to have been on Parker's Island, and says: "Upon this island the "Europeans who first colonized to New England "made their landing. Virginia was planted in "the year 1606, but the Colony of Parker's "Island, which has since been called Sagadahoc, "was but one year behind her. Had the leaders "of this little Colony survived the severity of the "winter next after their landing, Plymouth might "have been deprived of the honor of being the "mother of New England." It is plain that he did not regard the fact that the colonists were on an island as affecting the validity of their claims to a prior settlement of the country if they had only remained long enough. This was the common impression during all the period when the Popham attempt at settlement was believed to have been on an island.

What kind of island would satisfy the conditions of Judge Bourne's *obiter dictum?* Is it enough to say that any land entirely surrounded by water is such an island? That definition would include Cape Ann and Boston, taking into account the creeks that once completed the circuit of the waters. At all events, it would include the original "Rhode Island," as distinguished from "The Providence Plantations." Is not something more required to fulfil the necessary insular conditions? Must there not be a considerable distance from the shore, and a decided independence of it? And are not the legal principles governing the possession of islands as incident to the possession of the shore also applicable to the converse of the proposition? I think Chancellor Kent considered that all islands necessary or convenient for purposes connected with revenue or defence were to be regarded as part of the main land; and by way of illustration referred to the islands within a line drawn from Cape Cod to Nantucket, and thence to Montauk Point, as constituting part of the continent. It is probable that he would have held that a discoverer who had followed the coast of a new country for many degrees, landing here and there, and giving permanent names to prominent points, and, finally, building, for security's sake, on a piece of land detached from the shore, did not fail to take possession of the country because the location he fortified happened to be surrounded by water. If the declaration of your correspondent is correct, then an occupation of Long Island, or Staten Island, or Manhattan, or all of them, however protracted, by discoverers and colonists, would give them no more possession or title to these western shores than if those islands were "situated on the coast of England "or France." There is evidently something wrong here, in principle or in statement, and the learned lawyer's *declaration* apparently needs to be amended.

It seems reasonable to presume that an island, so situated in regard to the shore as to form a part of its configuration, commanding it and being commanded by it, is politically identical with it, and logically and legally a part of the continent, as fully as if the island were in an interior lake. It is claimed by legal authorities that the basis of law is common sense; and certainly International Law has no other criterion or sanction, as it consists of the opinions of publicists founded upon the reasonableness of things, and commended by their good sense to the general understanding of mankind.

The little string of islands called Elizabeth Islands, in the shallow waters of Vineyard Sound, constitutes the eastern boundary of Buzzard's Bay, an important harbor for vessels of light draft. It is, as the map shows, part of a cape or promontory, projecting from the town of Falmouth, which has been cut up and divided by the action of the waves. If the isles and presqueisles of Sagadahoc have any advantage over these detached fragments of soil as parts of the continent, in a political sense, or according to the principles of International Law, then a natural or artificial creek, or the division of a stream, may carve the face of a country into numberless naturally distinct dominions. For an arm of the sea is no more a natural boundary than a river, or a range of mountains: and are not these minor features always disregarded in determining the right of possession to a newly-discovered country?

The Popham claims, to whose support The Maine Historical Society has had the misfortune to be committed by a portion of its members, seem to me to be dependent upon an undue magnifying of minor and unimportant considerations, while under-estimating others of a higher character and greater consequence. The simple statement of the historian, that "the President's com- "mission was read, with the laws to be observe

"and kept"—that is, their own Company regulations—is magnified into a Proclamation of "the "Laws of England," as if it were part of a ceremonial procedure for taking possession of the country as representatives of England's sovereignty. The acting Chaplain of the Company, who, by the calculations, intended to display his possible high connections, is proved to have been little more than a boy, is always referred to with studied respect as "the Reverend Richard Seymour," a dignitary of the Church of England, an exercise of the imagination suggested by a very small basis of fact. The cabin where they met for religious services becomes a *Church*. Every hut is of course a *house*, and the rude encampment is a *village*. I have heard it mentioned as probable that the *streets* were *paved*, because flagging stones, apparently laid together, have been found in the earth where the encampment stood. As some leaden weights were disinterred at the same place, why not presume that the *Market House* was erected on that spot, while the Cathedral and the Episcopal Palace could not have been far distant? This tendency to exaggeration, a disposition to swell beyond the limits of a legitimate idealization, somewhat characterizes the proceedings recorded in the famous "Memorial Volume."

It would, perhaps, be wiser for the Society to drop the unsound and the unsavory points involved in their original pretensions, and to fall back upon the more modest and rational views of their former President, Mr. Willis. They have preferred, under the elation of a combative impulse, to be aggressive in matter and manner, and stand ready to do battle for the merits of their cause, without abatement or qualification, against all comers, after the fashion of a dogged knight of old, asserting the superior charms of an ideal mistress.

It was not a bad joke, to begin with, that such a jubilation should have been held over the advent of a penal colony to the shores of Maine. But the jest grew serious when it was attempted to trace to that circumstance the beginning of New England civilization, and the establishment of title to the country. A sentiment bordering upon indignation was naturally excited among persons who do not fancy such a national origin. It was a little as if The Historical Society of Botany Bay, now the seat of a respectable and flourishing community, should be seized with an insane desire to commemorate the twentieth of January, 1788, the date of the landing of Captain Phillip and his company of felons in that country, before unoccupied by white men; and to perpetuate the memory of that event as the glorious beginning of civilization on their continent. Like Popham, Captain Phillip carried with him a commission as Governor or President, which, after the landing, was doubtless read to the convicts, together with the rules to which they were expected to submit. Probably religious services were had, and an organization commenced by assigning officers, previously selected, to their proper duties. Like the Popham colony, these "illustrious" men abandoned the place they had chosen for a habitation; but, instead of leaving the country, only removed to a more favorable location, and really secured to England the possession of the continent of New Holland. Unlike their prototypes in Maine, the Australian Society might not find among the Judges who promoted this original settlement one sufficiently prominent to be made the hero of the occasion; but then the historical claims of the celebration in general could be more satisfactorily maintained; if that could be called satisfactory which we should expect to find distasteful to the honester emigrants of a later period.

If the name of the fort, whose cannon are destined to repel the invader from the Kennebec, should at some future time be written Pop 'em, instead of Popham, that appellation would suggest unpleasant reflections only to a foe within range of the guns. There would still remain a historical crime to be atoned for by removing the erroneous inscription which United States officers heedlessly permitted to be attached to the walls.

H.

II.—SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF MAJOR-GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

Communicated by his Grandson, Professor George Washington Greene, of East Greenwich, R. I.*

1.—From David Humphreys.

New Haven 10th April 1780.

Dear Sir

The ill-state of health which has presented our old friend the General (with whom I had the honor of serving) from returning to Camp; has likewise subjected me, to a state of *inactivity* and *rustication* for several months past; this, I should have little reason to regret from the manner in which I have spent the time, during the inactive season of the year: but the idea of its being protracted into the active parts of the Campaign, might be rather irksome & disagreeable. However I shall not make myself, or friends anxious about my situation, for if my Country should have no farther occasion for my services, I shall be perfectly will-

* Our readers will be glad to learn that our friend, Professor Greene, has acceded to our invitation to make this work the medium of publication of some of the most important papers of his distinguished grandfather; and in those which are now presented they have the first instalment.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

ing to retire, if otherwise I make no doubt of being permitted to serve it, in such a manner as will be most conducive to the public good; which is the utmost limit of my ambition—

In the interim, whilst I am amusing myself with subjects of Literature & Belle Lettres; I have presumed, upon the knowledge of your fondness for Letters, to trouble you with a small spicimen of my attempts in Poetry—The Elegy on the burning of Fairfield, which is herewith transmitted was suggested (not inspired according to poetic custom), by a view of the ruins of that once beautiful Town; and was written to indulge, a pleasing kind of melancholly, and while away a vacant hour the other morning—Should it afford you a moments Amusement, it will be an additional gratification—And indeed, since I have proceeded so far in confessing my weaknesses; I may as well go on to acknowledge, some other of my poetical sins, & in the true style of a Penitent confess, that being instigated by the Devil & a certain Jere Wadsworth, I have some time since written & consented to publish a Peice in verse, Addressed to the Army, on the Subject of the present War, the prospects before us, And the future felicity, grandeur population & glory of the Country for which we are now contending—When the afores'd Poem makes its appearance, a Copy of it will not fail of waiting upon you with the writers sincerest respects; unless you should have a surfeit of the enclosure; which being duly notifyed, will preclude any future efforts of presumption & vanity from the same quarter.

Now what could induce me to turn Scribbler, whether my own Sins, or those of my Parents (as Pope says) must be left to farther discussion; tho I rather imagine the mischief, like a thousand others, will be found, to have originated, in a great measure, from keeping ill Company; such as the beforementioned Col^{o} Wadsworth, a certain M^{r} Trumbull, a M^{r} Dwight, a Doct^{r} Styles, & some other similar Characters, of smaller notoriety—These men are enough to corrupt half the youth of the State, and introduce them to the same evil practices—For instance, there is a hopeful Genius, of their fostering & cultivation in this Town, who is so far gone in Poetry, that there is no hope of reclaiming, & making him attentive to any thing else—to be more serious about the matter—The person intended, is a young Gentleman by the name of Barlow; who I could wish was introduced to your notice—He is certainly a very great Genius, and has undertaken a work, which I am persuaded, will do honor to himself, & his Country, if he is enabled to prosecute it, in the manner he has proposed—It is entitled the Vision of Columbus, and in the course of the Poem will bring into view, upon a large scale, all the great events that have, or will take place on the Continent: from a sight of the first Book which he has nearly finish'd, I have conceived an exceeding high idea of the performance—But the difficulty is, it will be a labour of three years at least; And his patrimony which consisted in Continental Bills, is by no means sufficient to support him—However a number of Gentlemen have undertaken to patronize him, and I hope will not relinquish the plan on account of the expence—Should they, he proposes to set out for the Southward & see what encouragement he can obtain there—

My friend Trumbull is in Town & informs me, he has had the pleasure of receiving a Letter from you; to which he wrote an answer by an Officer, who has not yet gone to Camp; And therefore he presumes it will reach you, in a very depreciated state, which depreciation, he engages to make good, provided it is not more than forty for one—I shall spend next week with him at Westbury, & will put him often in mind of his promise—I have just Rec^{d} a Line from Maj^{r} Putnam, who acquaints me, that the General is better & proposes making a visit to Camp in May—

I am with great respect & esteem your most Obed^{t} & very Hble Servant

DAVID HUMPHRYS.

[Addressed. To MAJOR GENERAL GREENE Head Quarters]

2.—FROM DAVID HUMPHRYS.

HARTFORD May 23^{d} 1780

I will not undertake to describe to you, My Dear Sir, the pleasing and even exquisite Sensations which your most obliging Letter of the 29th Ult^{o} occasioned—It would indeed be an effort of more magnanimity than I am possessed of, and a Sacrifice of more value than I can possibly afford to suppress all the agreeable feelings which are excited by the approbation (I should say) the too favourable opinion, and partial commendation, of such a character as General Greene. That this is fully sufficient to make any mortal under my circumstances insufferably vain for his whole life must also be confessed, & shall be my only apology in future—For I can never induce myself to believe, that the man who writes so exceedingly well himself, can have but an indifferent taste, and be an ill judge of the writings of others; And I confess I am very far from imagining that a person of so much candor and liberality would wish to abuse one, at such a remove from him in every point of view, by making him believe he was much better esteemed and regarded, than he is in reality—

However diffident I may formerly have been of my own productions, I assure you I find myself in danger after all that has been said, of having my vanity get the ascendency over my judgment, for I am now taking the liberty you was pleased to give me of exposing myself still farther, by

presenting you with a Copy of the Address to the Army which I mentioned in my last: All that I could presume to say in its favour, you will find recorded (as the Parsons say by way of introduction) in the Advertisement prefixed to the Poem. So far as an honest intention, and a zeal for my country can be urged an excuse for indifferent Poetry, I am determined to claim the indulgence of the Public in general, and the patronage of my friends in particular—But pray dont you think I have been guilty of an instance of impertinence, if nothing worse, by addressing a Copy of it to his Excellency the Commander in Chief without his permission or knowledge? I cannot but feel myself under very great obligations to you, for the generous Concern you are pleased to take in Mr. Barlow's affairs—There is one way in which I think he might be Serv'd effectually, and that in a manner reputable to himself & beneficial to the Public. I mean by having him appointed a Chaplain to some vacant Brigade: for tho' he is not in orders at present, he would I am well assured, from his character and some other circumstances, qualify himself for the office immediately, accept the appointment with chearfulness, perform the duty with dignity, and have leisure enough to prosecute his favourite pursuits.—The Rhode Island & 4th Massachusetts Brigades I am informed are vacant—

Wo are this moment made happy by the arrival of the News from your quarter that a french fleet will be on the Coast in a few days; this, with many other things will induce me probably, to accept of the kind offer of coming into your family, in the manner you propose; for which & every other instance of your friendship, you will ever receive my most grateful acknowledgements —I am this day setting out to pay a visit to my venerable and honest friend General Putnam—Shall stay but a short time with him, as I wish to be present at more active and important scenes, tho' I know it will be with reluctance that we shall part with each other—

I am with great respect & esteem
Your most oblig'd & Hble serv't
D Humphrys

G'n Greene

[Addressed. Major General Greene Q MG
Head Quarters]

3.—From David Humphrys.

New Haven May 30th 1780.

Dear Sir

I beg pardon for troubling you with another Letter upon the back of my last; and scarcely know of any better excuse for it, than the invincible propensity I have to write to, and about the objects of which I am thinking, continually: did not your candor & liberality of sentiment and behaviour inspire me with almost unbounded confidence in your friendship, I should not have written with the same freedom I have already done.—And indeed I can hardly tell, what it is except this, which now prompts me to unbosom myself with so little reserve. I wish however it may not rather be considered as an argument of my presumption than a proff of my attachment & sincere affection.

The present moment, which is certainly big with great events; appears to me to be the most important as well as the most critical one, that has ever happened since the commencement of the war.—On the one hand, every prospect from abroad looks exceedingly favourable.—And every thing, except what depends on ourselves, & our own exertions, wears the most flattering aspect—On the other the ill state of our finances, the total want of credit, the impracticability of calling forth the resources of the Country in the ordinary mode, the stupidity & negligence of the people at large to their own interest, the knavery of some, and the want of ability in others, who are concerned in the administration of public affairs, and especially the unbounded, uncontroulable spirit of dissipation, licentiousness, & avarice, which predominates thro every rank and order of men, so far as they have any opportunity for its gratification; afford the most gloomy presage of what the event would be, if Providence should only leave us to ourselves or (as they commonly say) to our own destruction.—In the midst of this embarras'd & destressing state of affairs, when we can neither assemble any conside- force; or support and keep together the shattered remains of the Army now in the field, for want of supplies, while the disposition of the Country is so unfavourable to every exertion: it seems to me that the certain prospect, of the immediate arrival of a formidable land and naval armament to cooperate with us, can serve only to augment and increase the perplexity and embarrasment.—

Heaven be thanked I am not a General, and never shall be, for my own sake!—for that of the Public 'tis most auspicious that they who have the management of our military affairs, have more ability, fortitude, perseverance and integrity than ever mortals had before.—You will pardon me for the boldness of the assertion, and allow this to be the case, with our glorious Commander in Chief, tho you may have more diffidence, and less justice, than posterity will inevitably have, in coupling your name with his—Good God! what must the feelings of that great & good man be, to find himself so ill seconded by his Country at such a crisis!

As to the plan of operations for the Campaign, I suppose it is determin'd upon before this time, and that it will be difficult, if not disgraceful to recede from the measures concerted in conjunction

with our allies—so that I presume all that is now necessary, is for the Country to be roused from its lethargy, to make those great efforts, of which we all believe it is capable—for my own part, to assist in effecting so important a purpose, I could wish to be invested with power, not inferior to be sure, to that which Milton bestows upon his Devils, to tear up Mountains by the roots, or wield some of these elements; at least I should want, for a little while, to be possessed of a voice of thunder, so that I might stand some chance to awaken those, who I fear nothing will except the last Trumpet.—

Apropos of the last Trumpet—You have undoubtedly heard of the dark day with us. the speculations on it were curious, and would, I dare say, be amusing to you, but time would fail me to innumerate them—Many who apprehended the last day was at hand, began to think of repenting. Others turn'd out as Volunteers to preach, and pray, and prophesy, and help their neighbours out at a dead lift—It is said the Assembly broke up not without some precipitation & indications of terror, that they might be sent for before they were quite ready, or had got their business in such forwardness, as that they could possibly leave it—Amongst the rest, there was a certain fat old Gentleman, known by the name of Col° Deavenport, who having wrapped himself up in his corpulency and integrity, behaved with very great composure & firmness: observing, "that it was best for the "Sheriff to order Candles, that they might go on "with their business, that if they should be called "for, they might be found in the way of their "duty"—But I imagine the greater part of the Multitude, begun to think, that the Prince of the Regions of darkness, who is sometimes styled, the Prince of the Power of the air, was about uniting both his kingdoms into one, in the same manner as England & Scotland were formerly incorporated—And altho they had been his most faithful adherents & humble Servants, (as it was well known, that like other Monarchs, he was rather apt to be ungrateful to his best friends & benefactors) they were not without fear that it might be a dark day with them in more senses than one, 'tho they could not be under any apprehensions of being treated as Rebels, as being conscious they never had forfeitted their allegiance & fidelity to his infernal Majesty—

I have just return'd from my visit to General Putnam, & left him in good spirits, & very cleverly in every respect, but his lameness—I have a Letter from him, to you, which I hope to have the honor of delivering with my own hand, soon after the arrival of this—

I am Dear Sir
Your most Obed^{t} Hble Serv^{t}
D Humphrys—

III.—A MEMOIR OF THE PINCKNEY FAMILY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Drawn from the Family Records, and Communicated by William Gilmore Simms LL.D., of South Carolina.

Thomas Pinckney, the grandfather of th Generals Pinckney, was the first of the name i Carolina. He came over in the year 1692. H wife was Mary, daughter of Charles Cotesworth and his three sons were Thomas (who died young Charles, commonly known as Chief-justice Pinck ney, and William.

Thomas Pinckney was a man of independe fortune and resided on the Bay, in a house whic afterward belonged to General T. Pinckney.

An anecdote is told of him that, looking o on the Bay, which was not then disfigured b wharves or long rows of storehouses, he observe a vessel, just arrived from the West Indies, landi her passengers; and as they walked up the stree he was particularly attracted by the appearance a very handsome stranger, gaily dressed, an turning to his wife, remarked: "That handson "West Indian will marry some poor fellow "widow, break her heart, and ruin her children His words were in part prophetic, for, dyin shortly after, his widow married the gay We Indian, George Evans; and though he did n break her heart, as she lived to marry a thi husband, he often gave her the heart-ache by h extravagance, and squandered the patrimony her children. A sufficiency, however, was save to enable them to have liberal educations.

Chief-justice Pinckney was educated in En land, and married there Elizabeth, daughter Captain Lamb, of Devonshire Square, Londo He returned to Carolina and practiced law, w made Chief Justice of the Province, and Kin Counsellor. Having made an ample fortune his profession, as is seen by the rent-roll, in h own handwriting, and having been many ye married without children, he took his broth William's eldest son, Charles, to live with hi intending to make him his heir.

In the year 1743, Eliza Lucas, daughter George Lucas, a Colonel in the British army, a Governor of Antigua, came shortly after her ar val from England on a tour of pleasure with so friends to Carolina. The young stranger attrac universal attention; but by none was she m admired than by the wife of Chief-justice Pin ney, who declared that, rather than Miss Lu should return to Antigua, she would herself s out of the way and let her take her place; wh kind intention she actually executed the follow year, and at no distant time Chief-justice Pin ney married the lady his wife was so solicit should succeed her.

Eliza Lucas had been sent very young to England for her education, her father having a great dislike to the manner in which the ladies of the West Indies were educated. Passing a great part of their time in needle-work, their minds were consequently vacant and uninformed. He had a great aversion to the sight of a needle, and used to say he never saw women at work but he imagined they were plotting mischief. So ungallant a supposition would not have been adverted to by one of his descendants but to show that it was partly owing to this circumstance that the fine mind of his daughter was so highly cultivated. In compliance with her father's wishes, she never engaged in any of the feminine accomplishments of the needle, but spent the greatest part of her time in reading, and as there were no Reviews in those days to save the labor of thinking, to be well informed it was necessary to read deeply and think for oneself. She had no knowledge of Latin except the Latin Grammar, which she had learnt as a foundation for Grammar in general; but she was well versed in the French language and its literature, and spoke it correctly and fluently. She had been taught music, as it was an accomplishment as indispensable at that day as it is now; but as she did not possess the organ of tune, she was not a proficient in it, and amused herself in gardening, planting out trees, and agriculture. It was from her experiments in tropical fruits and plants that Carolina was indebted for one of its staples, in 1748.

She was eminently pious, strongly attached to her own Church (that of England), but her understanding made her tolerant of others. She did not consider religion as distinct from morality, but as it was the source of her motives it influenced all her actions. Had she lived at a period when "benevolent societies," and all the other philanthropic societies were the fashion, she would not have supposed that a strict attention to these and the mere outward forms of religion would have entitled her to the name of Christian, had she not exhibited the fruits of Christianity by her self-control, forgetfulness of self, charity toward others, and humility of deportment. No spurious Christianity found favor in her sight. She was a constant attendant on church, and she at stated times gave a public testimony of her having embraced the faith of Christ by partaking of the Eucharist, but she did not commune every month. She always obliged the young people of her family to recollect the text of the sermon they had heard at church, and search for it in the Bible as soon as they came home, when she explained to them those parts they did not understand or had forgotten. She also made them learn by heart the Collect for the day, which they considered a great task; but she never imposed on them a Jewish Sabbath. Addison's beautiful hymn on Gratitude,

"When all thy mercies, oh my God,
"My rising soul surveys,"

was a great favorite of hers, and she used frequently to make them repeat it, dwelling on those lines:

"Nor is the least a cheerful heart
"That tastes those gifts with joy."

She did not believe that a moderate participation in the recreations and amusements of civilized society was contrary to the precepts or spirit of the Gospel, that the relinquishing the ball-room or the drama, was a proof of the spirituality of any one's state; or that there were more dangers to be resisted than amidst the temptations, business scenes and every-day trials of life. She always spoke with pleasure of the gaieties in which she had participated during her second visit to England; of the celebrated actors and actresses she had seen; and that she had never missed a single day when Garrick was to act.

Respected, admired, at the head of society in Carolina, all that she thought and said and did was right; but this generation is wise in its own conceit, and Eliza Lucas, with all her acquirements and virtues and unaffected piety, might now be regarded as a light not sufficiently bright for the illumination of the times.

The happiness of Chief-justice Pinckney was completed by the birth of a son, which put an end to the hopes of his nephew Charles; but though it put an end to his hopes it did not diminish his affection for his uncle, or his love for his young cousin, whom he always treated as a younger brother. Nor did his uncle remit his care and attention to him. He continued to live with him, he educated him for the law, and sent him to England for five years, for the completion of his education. The Generals Pinckney and their sister were accustomed to speak of him with great affection, always designating him by the title of "My Cousin." He was the father of Charles Pinckney, one of the framers of the Constitution.

Chief-justice Pinckney had four children, Charles Cotesworth, born on the twenty-fifth of February, 1746; George Lucas, who, his father said, died of a clean room, his nurse choosing to perform her ablutions in it when he was only a fortnight old; Harriett, afterward Mrs. Horry; and Thomas, born on the twenty-second of October, 1750.

It may be imagined that a child so ardently wished for as was General Pinckney, would not only have every care and attention bestowed on him, but unremitted pains taken with him. Accordingly, he knew all his letters before he could speak—that is, if the letter was named and he was asked to point it out, he immediately put his finger on it—but he never in after life approved of such precocious accomplishments, and used to

dissuade all those over whom he had any influence from the premature instruction of their children saying that from an over-anxiety to make him a clever fellow, he had run the risk of being a very stupid one.

Of that firmness of character which he exhibited through life he gave a specimen when only three years old, in suffering himself to be whipped rather than betray a little companion. Of his strict regard for truth, several anecdotes are told of him before he was seven years old, at which age his father carried him to England with his mother, sister and brother, then three years old, in the year 1753. Upon his going to England, Chief-justice Pinckney rented what he called his "Mansion House," on the Bay, to Mr. Glen, who was then Governor; and from that time, and during the minority of his son, it was the residence of all the Governors of the Province.

Chief-justice Pinckney resided, when he was not in London, at a house he purchased in Surrey, called Ripley. On account of the war between France and England, he returned with his wife and daughter to Carolina in 1758, leaving his two sons at Westminster school, the one twelve and the other eight years old. He was taken ill immediately on his coming home, and died in a short time, leaving directions that his sons should have the most liberal education, and if, from the uncertainty of crops, the income should be inadequate, part of his estate should be sold, always reserving Pinckney Island.

General Pinckney had a most exalted opinion of his father, not from his recollection, for he was only twelve years old when he last saw him, but from the reflections and notes in his own handwriting, that he found dispersed through his books. Those books are no longer in being. At the commencement of the war between England and the Colonies, the greatest part of the library, papers of consequence, and everything that was valuable in the family, were sent to Ashepoo, to a place belonging to General Tom Pinckney, supposing it to be sufficiently remote to be out of danger; but the house was at length burnt, with everything in it except what had been plundered and carried off. The only memorial, therefore, of Chief-justice Pinckney is his last will, which, in the language of one fully competent to judge, "will be read with delight by the patriot, the "philanthropist, the parent and the Christian."

Such was the fascination of his manner, as described by his wife, the moment his footstep was heard before he entered the drawing-room, every eye glistened with expectation and pleasure. He was idolized by her, and a nervous illness of many months followed her bereavement; but she at length remembered she was a mother, and roused herself to direct the education of her absent sons and devote herself to that of her daughter; and never was there a daughter that more fully repaid the thousand cares bestowed on her. She was everything that the fondest parent could hope or desire. Nor were her anxieties for her sons unrewarded. She was constantly informed of the progress they were making in classical attainments. The strict discipline of Westminster could not fail to bring forth every intellectual power. She had herself planted the seeds of religion and virtue in their hearts, and the friend, Mrs. Evans, under whose guardianship they were placed, did not spoil them. The penances she sometimes prescribed were rather uncommon. One that she imposed on General Pinckney he never forgot. She obliged him to sit down and unpick a quilted silk petticoat, which gave him as great an aversion to a pin as his grandfather had to a needle. There was also another friend who interested himself for them. George Keate, a literary man of fine taste, author of the *Pelew Islands*. Of this gentleman their mother thus writes to her eldest son: "Had "there been anything wanting to convince me of "his friendship and kind remembrance of your "dear father, the trouble he has taken, his so "kindly interesting himself in those most dear to "me, and his last long and friendly letter, would "be a sufficient proof."

The Generals Pinckney passed regularly through Westminster school with great honor to themselves, not only on account of their classical acquirements, but also for the strictness of their principles. The elder brother, in accordance with his seniority, preceded the younger by four years at college. General Pinckney entered Christ Church College, Oxford, and had for his private tutor, Cyril Jackson, a man of profound learning, who was afterward the Dean of Christ Church.

At Oxford he pursued his studies with great zeal, and quitted it at the age of eighteen, with the reputation of an accomplished scholar. This was an early age to leave college in England; but he had been qualified to enter it sooner than young men in general, from his assiduity while at Westminster.

From Oxford he entered the Society of the Middle Temple, and here also he was indefatigable in studying, as may be seen by the following letter from his mother:

"I am alarmed, my dear child, by an account "of your being extremely thin, it is said owing "to intense study, and I apprehend your consti- "tution may be hurt, which affects me very "much, conscious as I am how much and how "often I have urged you from your childhood, "to a close application to your studies. But how "short-sighted are poor mortals! Should I, by "over-solicitude for your passing through life "with every advantage, have been the means of "injuring your constitution, and depriving you

"of that invaluable blessing, health, how shall I "answer to myself the hurting a child so truly "dear to me, and deservedly so, and who has "lived to near twenty-three years of age without "having once offended me. Let me beg of you, "my dear Charles, for my sake as well as your "own, and that of your near connexions, to "take care of yourself, and consider how small "will be the advantage of learning, where health "is wanting."

General Pinckney spent the last year he remained in Europe at the Royal Military Academy at Caen, Normandy, and in travelling on the Continent.

His brother pursued the same course of studies. A severe illness when at Oxford obliged him to suspend them, and a letter from his mother shows not only her anxiety for his health, but also for the suspension of his collegiate course.

"It was with extreme concern, my dear child, "that I heard of your illness, though I was very "apprehensive of it from your long silence, not "having heard from you since the arrival of your "brother, until your letter by Lady Mary Ainslie, "[*afterward Lady Mary Middleton*]. Of the "expediency of your going to France you may "be sure I approve, as it was necessary for your "health, and you had the approbation of my "good friends on your side of the water, though "I cannot help regretting that necessity, particu-"larly at this time, as it must take you from your "studies, and six months loss of application now "must be of consequence. As you are in France "you may perhaps be inclined to see more of the "Continent; but I hope you will not think of "gratifying that inclination at present. I there-"fore beg of you, my dear child, to return to "Oxford as soon as your health will permit, and "apply closely to your studies."

General Pinckney, after his visit to the Continent, was admitted to the bar in 1769, and returned home the same year, his mother having previously requested him to choose a good ship and commander, but not to inform her of either, or exactly the time of his leaving England, as her ignorance would prevent her much anxiety. General Thomas Pinckney completed his collegiate education, studied at the Temple, and returned home in 1772, the elder brother having been sixteen, and the younger nineteen years absent from their mother, who always declared that her sons were a living contradiction to the opinion that the affection of children was weakened by absence, and well was she rewarded for the sacrifice she had made for their advantage, for her every wish was a command to her sons.

As General Pinckney was seven years old when he went to England, he had some recollection of his country. He remembered the pleasure with which his father had pointed out to him the first wagon that had arrived in Charleston from the interior, saying, "Charles, by the time you are a "man, I don't doubt there will be at least twenty "wagons come to town;" and when in after-life he met in travelling a long line of wagons, he would remark: "How happy my father would "have been in the growth and prosperity of "Carolina;" and notwithstanding their long absence from the soil, never had she two sons more devoted to her than were the Generals Pinckney. They had participated in all the indignation felt at home at the passing of the Stamp Act. A portrait taken soon after, for his friend Sir Mathew Ridley, represents him as arguing vehemently upon that arbitrary Act.

The brothers returned to their country with all the ardor of young men ready to promote her best interests and die in her cause. The sentiments of General Pinckney are expressed in the following extracts, written after the capitulation of Charleston, in 1780. To his wife he writes: "Our friend, Philip Neyle, one of General "Moultrie's aids, was killed by a cannon ball "coming through one of the embrasures, but I "do not pity him, for he has died nobly in de-"fence of his country; but I pity his aged father, "now unhappily bereaved of his beloved and only "child." To his brother-in-law and bosom friend, Mr. Edward Rutledge (the youngest of the signers of the Declaration of Independence), on the question whether if he were set at liberty he would rejoin the American army: "You, my "dear Ned, may be assured that I will not do "anything, however I may be oppressed, at which "my friends may blush. If I had a vein that "did not beat with love for my country, I myself "would open it. If I had a drop of blood that "could flow dishonorably, I myself would let it "out. Whenever asked the question you men-"tion, I will give it such an answer as is becoming "an American officer, a man of honor, and a de-"votee to the freedom and independence of his "country." To Major Money, a British officer, interested for him when a prisoner: "I entered into this "cause after reflection and through principle. "My heart is altogether American, and neither "severity nor favor nor poverty nor influence "can ever induce me to swerve from it." To Captain McMahon, another British officer: "The "freedom and independence of my country are "the gods of my idolatry. I mean to rejoin the "American army as soon after my exchange as I "possibly can. I will exert my abilities to the "utmost in the cause I am engaged in, and to ob-"tain success will attempt every measure that is "not cruel or dishonorable."

Such were the sentiments of General Pinckney, which were re-echoed by his brother, who was his exact counterpart in strictness of principle, firm-

ness of character, purity of motive and undaunted courage; but here the resemblance ceased. They were dissimilar in temper and manner. The disposition of the elder brother was warm, with occasional ebullitions; but generous, frank and cheerful—so perfectly alive to the ludicrous that he frequently infringed on the Chesterfield code of politeness by a hearty laugh; jocular with children and young persons, who never felt any restraint in his presence. The disposition of the younger brother was mild and placid, with so much self-control that he at times appeared to strangers cold and unimpassioned, but his heart was as warm as that of the elder, and, like him, he would have made any sacrifice for a friend. He had a keen perception of real wit, which is said never to cause anything more than a smile, nor was he insensible of humor and pleasantry. With those with whom he was intimate he was even sportive, and his epistolary style was frequently so when he addressed his friends. Two short notes, written when he was near eighty, will give some idea of the playfulness of his manner:

"We are impatiently expecting you, my dear "nieces, at Eldorado. The fatted calf is ready, "the turkies have had the run of the barn-yard, "the pigs are wallowing in rice flour and pota- "toes, and the wild ducks abound in the river. "You see, therefore, we are prepared for the im- "mensity of your appetites, but the best treat you "shall have will be the accounts you will receive "of your friends in Charleston."

"My Dear Sister:

"I find that old age has a remarkable effect on "my memory, strengthening it in some cases "and nearly obliterating it in others. For example, "if anybody owes me money (an occurrence "which, though rare, sometimes happens), I never "forget a single cent of it, but if I am the debtor "it totally escapes my recollection. I do, how- "ever, happen to remember that, when you were "last at Santee, you procured some articles for "me from Charleston, or paid money for me in "some way or other. This, therefore, comes to "request you to inform me how this last debt oc- "curred and what is its amount, and, as I have "money about me, you may chance to receive "your own before an act of oblivion has finally "passed."

General Pinckney always said that his brother's natural talents were superior to his, but that he had not indulged so much in study. General Tom Pinckney excelled his brother in Greek—he had always been at the head of his class, which was no small praise at such a seminary as Westminster. His thorough acquaintance with the Greek language gave him an advantage that many Christians do not possess. It enabled him to have a profound knowledge of the Scriptures, which cannot be obtained by the English version. General Pinckney was deeply read in theology. In arguing on disputed points he not only knew the strongest arguments on his own side, but he would point out to his antagonist where to find those on the opposite. This was often a source of surprise to clergymen of a different persuasion. It is doubtful whether there was ever a more general or constant reader. Nothing in the shape of a book ever escaped him; a child's book, a cookery book, or an old almanac. He read from the moment he arose—that is, a page or a few sentences at a time, while he walked about and made his toilet. Locomotion, it is said, is conducive to thought; but he did not read without method. Until two o'clock his reflective faculties were exercised. After that hour, works of imagination, poetry, novels, plays (unless he was engaged with company), occupied him until he retired to rest. This appropriation of his time continued to the very last. Botany and chemistry he studied as an amusement. He had attended the lectures of Charles and Fourcroy while on his mission to France. Both the brothers, after their retirement from public life, employed themselves and took great pleasure in agriculture.

General Pinckney was twice married. His first wife, and mother of his three daughters, was Sarah, third daughter of Henry Middleton, second President of Congress, and son of Arthur Middleton, second royal Governor of Carolina. His second wife was Mary, daughter of Benjamin Stead, and a descendant of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, one of the proprietary Governors of South Carolina.

General Tom Pinckney was also twice married. His first wife, and the mother of his surviving children, was Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob and Rebecca Motte, who will long be remembered as the heroine distinguished among the daughters of Carolina. His second wife was Frances, widow of John Middleton (nephew of Sir William Middleton), who at an early age crossed the Atlantic to battle for his country.

Of the Generals Pinckney it may be said that they were patriots among patriots, and they were equally distinguished as good men, for "they had "early pressed to their hearts the sweet peace of "believing, and the needful supports of a reli- "gious trust."

On an unostentatious monument in St. Michael's Church is the following Inscription:

To the Memory of

General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,

One of the founders of

The American Republic;

In War

He was the Companion in Arms

And friend of Washington.

In Peace

He enjoyed his unchanging confidence,

And maintained with enlightened zeal

The Principles of his Administration.

As a Statesman

He bequeathed to his Country the sentiment

"Millions for defence,

"Not a cent for tribute."

As a Lawyer

His learning was various and profound,

His principles pure; his practice liberal.

With all the accomplishments

of the gentleman

He combined the virtues of the Patriot

And the piety of the Christian.

His Name

Is recorded in the history of his country,

Inscribed on the charter of her liberties,

And cherished in the affections

of her citizens.

IV.—INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL SULLIVAN.

From the Original Manuscript, Communicated by Hon. John Sullivan, Exeter, N. H.

To Major General Sullivan.

Sir,

The expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the six nations of Indians, with their associates and adherents. The immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible. It will be essential to ruin their crops now in the ground and prevent their planting more.

The troops to be employed under your command are — Clinton's, Poor's, Maxwell's and Hand's Brigades and ten independent companies raised in the State of Pennsylvania—In Hand's Brigade, I comprehend all the detached corps of Continental troops now on the Susquehanna and Spencer's regiment—Cortlandt's I consider as belonging to Clinton's Brigade. Alden's may go to Poor's & Butler's & the rifle corps to Maxwell's or Hand's according to their comparative strength and circumstances.

Clinton's Brigade you are informed has been ordered to rendezvous at Canojoharie, subject to your orders either to form a junction with the main body on the Susquehanna, by way of Otsege —or to proceed up the Mohawk river and cooperate in the best manner circumstances will permit —as you judge most adviseable.

So soon as your preparations are in sufficient forwardness, you will assemble your main body at Wyoming and proceed thence to Tioga, taking from that place the most direct and practicable route into the heart of the Indian Settlements— You will establish such intermediate posts as you think necessary for the security of your communication and convoys, nor need I caution you, while you leave a sufficiency of men for their defence to take care to diminish your operating force as little as possible. A post at Tioga will be particularly necessary—either a stockade fort or an intrenched camp—if the latter a block house should be erected in the interior.

I would recommend that some post in the center of the Indian Country should be occupied with all expedition, with a sufficient quantity of provisions, whence parties should be detached to lay waste all the settlements around with instructions to do it in the most effectual manner; that the country may not be merely overrun but destroyed.

I beg leave to suggest as general rules that ought to govern your operations—to make rather than receive attacks, attended with as much impetuosity, shouting, and noise as possible, and to make the troops act in as loose and dispersed a way as is consistent with a proper degree of government, concert, and mutual support—It should be previously impressed upon the minds of the men whenever they have an opportunity, to rush on with the war hoop and fixed bayonet—nothing will disconcert and terrify the Indians more than this.

I need not urge the necessity of using every method in your power, to gain intelligence of the enemys strength motions and designs; nor need I suggest the extraordinary degree of vigilance and caution which will be necessary to guard against suprises from an adversary so secret desultory and rapid as the Indians—

If a detachment operates on the Mohawk River the commanding officer should be instructed to be very watchful that no troops come from Oswegatchie and Niagara to Oswego without his knowledge; and for this purpose he should keep trusty spies at those three places to advertise him

instantly of the movement of any party and its force—This detachment should also endeavour to keep up a constant intercourse with the main body.

More than common care will be necessary of your arms and ammunition from the nature of the service—They should be particularly inspected after a rain or the passage of any deep water.

After you have very thoroughly completed the destruction of their settlements; if the Indians should show a disposition for peace, I would have you to negotiate on condition that they will give some decisive evidence of their sincerity by delivering up some of the principle instigators of their past hostility into our hands—Butler, Brandt, & the most mischevious of the tories that have joined them or any other that may have in their power that we are interested to get into ours—

They may possibly be engaged by address, secrecy and stratagem, to surprise the Garrison of Niagara and the shipping on the lake and put them into our possession. This may be demanded as a condition of our friendship and would be a most important point gained—If they can render a service of this kind you may stipulate to assist them in their distress with supplies of provisions and other articles of which they will stand in need, having regard in the expectations you give them to our real abilities to perform. I have no power at present to authorize you to conclude a treaty of peace with them but you may agree upon the terms of one letting them know that it must be finally ratified by Congress and giving them every proper assurance that it will be. I shall write to Congress on the subject and endeavour to obtain more ample and definite authority.—

But you will not by any means listen to an overture of peace before the total ruin of their settlements is effected—It is likely enough their fears if they are unable to oppose us, will compel them to offers of peace, or policy may lead them to endeavour to amuse us in this way to gain time and succour for more effectual opposition. Our future security will be in their inability to injure us the distance to which they are driven and in the terror with which the severity of the chastisement they receive [*Two or three words are obliterated.*] Peace without this would be fallacious and temporary—New presents and an addition of force from the enemy would engage them to break it the first fair opportunity and all the expense of our extensive preparations would be lost—

When we have effectually chastised them we may then listen to peace and endeavour to draw further advantages from their fears. But even in this case great caution will be necessary to guard against the snares which their treachery may hold out. They must be explicit in their promises give substantial pledges for their performance and execute their engagements with decision and dispatch. Hostages are the only kind of security to be depended on.

Should Niagara fall into your hands in the manner I have mentioned you will do everything in your power for preserving and maintaining it, by establishing a chain of posts, in such manner as shall appear to you most safe and effectual and tending as little to reduce our general force as possible—This however we shall be better able to decide as the future events of the campaign unfold themselves—I shall be more explicit on the subject hereafter.

When you have completed the object of your expedition, unless otherwise directed in the meantime, you will return to form a junction with the main army by the most convenient expeditious and secure route according to circumstances—The Mohawk river if it can be done without too much risk, will be most eligible on several accounts. Much should depend on the relative position of the main army at the time.

As it is impossible to forsee what may be the exigences of the service in this quarter, this united with other important reasons make it essential that your operations should be rapid and that the expedition should be performed in as little time as will be consistent with its success and efficacy—

And here I cannot forbear repeating my former caution, that your troops may moove as light and as little encumbered as possible even from their first out set. The state of our Magazines demands it as well as other considerations—if much time should be lost in transporting the troops and stores up the rivers the provisions for the expedition will be consumed and the general scantiness of our supplies will not permit of their being replaced—consequently the whole enterprise may be defeated. I would recommend it to you for this purpose that the General officers should make an actual inspection of the baggage of their several Brigades and absolutely reject to be left behind, at proper places every article that can be dispensed with on the expedition—This is an extraordinary case and requires extraordinary attention—

Relying so perfectly upon your judgement prudence and activity—I have the highest expectation of success equal to our wishes; and I beg leave to assure you, that I anticipate with great pleasure, the honor which will redound to yourself and the advantage to the common cause, from a happy termination of this important enterprise.

Given at Head Quarters Middle Brook
31 May 1779 G. WASHINGTON.

EXETER, Feby 25, 1860. I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the original orders now in my possession, with the exception of the words above mentioned which are obliterated. JNO. SULLIVAN.

V.—RELATION OF WHAT BEFEL THE PERSONS WHO ESCAPED FROM THE DISASTERS THAT ATTENDED THE ARMAMENT OF CAPTAIN PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ ON THE SHORES AND IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE NORTH.

TRANSLATED FROM THE XXXVTH BOOK OF THE "HISTORIA GENERAL Y NATURAL DE INDIAS," BY GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDES.*

[For the first time is here published a translation of the account given in Oviedo's history of the march of Narvaez, the earliest of Spanish expeditions for the conquest of Florida. That Captain, failing from mere carelessness to wrench from the hands of Cortez the equipment that Velasquez, Governor of Cuba, had inconsiderately intrusted to him, he came into Spain after his defeat, and there received as a sort of compensation, or in lieu of redress, the royal permission to invade Florida. He landed upon the Peninsula in the year 1528, as appears on the western coast in Sarasota Bay. There are four other Chapters—the last ending with the close of the march made by four survivors at Sonora at the end of eight years—to be given in succeeding numbers. —ED. HIST. MAG.]

CHAPTER I.

I. * * * Cabeça de Vaca, who went as Treasurer of the King, says that from Xagua, which is a port or harbor in the Island of Cuba, he wrote to His Majesty on the fifteenth day of February of the year one-thousand five-hundred and twenty-seven, concerning the loss of two ships and sixty men with all there was on board and of everything that had occurred until then. After this loss, which included twenty horses, it was determined to winter in Xagua, where, according to him, four ships and all the people remained from the sixth day of November of that year to the twenty-second of February following, when the Governor arrived.

II. With an additional brigantine the voyage was continued, four hundred men being on board and eighty horses. On Tuesday of Holy-week, the twelfth of April, the vessels arrived on the coast and followed it along until Thursday, when they anchored by the shore in a shallow bay, at the end of which they saw some Indian houses.

III. The next day the officers went on shore, taking all the people they could to land in the boats, setting them down near the dwellings the owners had forsaken. One of the houses was large enough to contain three hundred persons; the others were small. Many fish-nets were found, and among them a little bell (*sonaja*) of gold.

On the following day the Governor ordered standards to be raised for His Majesty, and took possession of the country. He caused the King's officers to come together, the friars and people on shore, to whom he presented the Royal authorization, which was acknowledged, and he was obeyed accordingly as Governor and Captain-general. The officers presented their credentials, and they, likewise, were received as belonging to His Majesty. Presently an order was given to land all the people, and the horses, which were greatly fagged from being long on ship-board, the half nearly having died at sea. The next day, Sunday, the festival of the Resurrection, the people of the town came and spoke to the Christians; but they were not understood. They appeared to menace and order the Christians to go out of the country, making fierce gestures; they then went away.

IV. The following day, that he might see and explore the land, the Governor mounted, and taking five cavalry and forty of foot, went to the Northeast, until coming to a bay that enters up into the country, and thence he returned. The day after he sent the brigantine to coast the shore of Florida for a port. Miruclo said he knew whither the people might be taken (but about that the pilot erred; he knew not where to look for it), and, thus searching, he should continue on to the Island of Cuba and port of Havana for a ship that was expected from there, on which were forty men and twelve horses; that, finding her, the two vessels should bring from the town all the provision it were possible, to where the Governor and his people tarried.

This being done, the Christians departed. They struck the bay before noticed and followed the shore. Having gone four leagues from the point of starting, they found Indians, three of whom they took; and, showing them a little maize, asked where there was any. These guided them to a town at the end of the bay and showed them a little maize growing, which was the first that had been seen. Some large cases were found of the fashion of Castilla, in each of which was a

* The Roman numerals in the margins of the text show the matter corresponding to that in the Chapters of *The Shipwrecks of Cabeca de Vaca.* The meditations of the old chronicler, which at times break the thread of discourse, have in some instances been omitted, as well some redundances, the same liberty that is taken by him with the original, though for no want of due reflection has any particle here of the text been suffered to escape that should be retained.

In the Proem which introduces the Chapters in the present account, as well as in an explanatory Chapter which follows them, are passages necessary to reproduce in their substance for a knowledge of the authorship and state of the Narrative.

"The hidalgos Alvar Nunez Cabeca de Vaca, Andres Do-
"rantes and Alonso del Castillo, who were with Panfilo de
"Narvaez have given account of where they went and what
"befel them. After suffering shipwreck and escaping nu-
"merous perils, while on their way to give account to His
"Majesty by word of mouth concerning the things to be told
"here, they addressed the *Real Audiencia* of this City of
"Sancto Domingo in the Island of Espanola. From their
"letter, written at Havana, will be drawn the discourse,
"some repetitions and superfluous words rejected, but
"nothing wanting in the substance and essence of what that
"contains."

dead man covered with painted skins. These people appeared, to the Commissary and friars, to gave been idolators, so they caused the Governor to burn their bodies. Pieces of shoes and linen, of woollen, and some bits of iron, were likewise observed. The natives being questioned said by signs that those things had been found in a ship wrecked on the shore of the bay. When shown a little gold they said there was none in that country except a long way off, in a Province called Apalache, where it was in great amount. And so of every thing that was shown to those Indians, if they supposed the Christians coveted it at all, they would say it was to be found abundantly in Apalache.

Simply on this information the Christians took their departure, having those Indians with them. Ten or twelve leagues on the way they found a dozen or fifteen houses, where was maize, and remained there two days. Seeing no one, they agreed to return to the place at which they had left the Comptroller with the rest of the people and the ships; and, having come there, they related what they had found inland, the amount of which has been told.

Next day, the first of May, the Governor, having caused the officers of the King, with the Commissary, to come together, by official announcement, before a Notary, he said that he desired to enter the land, while the ships should sail along the coast; and on this he asked their opinions. The Treasurer, Cabeça de Vaca, said it appeared to him that they ought not to abandon the ships before leaving them in a harbor peopled; and, this done, the Governor, with his command, should march inland, whence they might return to seek that settled point and people at convenience; that for many reasons he thought they should not advance; the land where they had entered, as well from what the natives informed them as from what they had themselves seen, was poor and unpopulated; that they awaited the return of the brigantine and ship with subsistence from Havana, and the pilots were ignorant of where they were, nor could they learn anything; for these, and for other reasons which appeared to the Treasurer good, he said that ought not to be done which the Governor proposed.

The Commissary declared his opinion to be that they should go inland, keeping near the coast until arriving at the port the pilots said was fifteen leagues distant on the way to Panuco, and which they could not over-pass without seeing, as it ran up a dozen leagues, and that there they would tarry for the ships, or the ships await them; and that by no means ought they again to embark, which would be to brave God after the many adversities and trials experienced on the way to that place.

The Comptroller and the Inspector agreed with the Commissary, and the Governor resolved to act in accordance with their opinion. The Treasurer, seeing what was the intention, repeatedly required Narvaez not to march, because of those reasons, with others which he stated; and he asked the evidence that he did so under the hand of the Notary. The Governor responded that, as there was no port, nor source for subsisting a population, because of the sterility of the soil, he took away the people he had brought, and was going in quest of a port and country in which he might establish a town: of this he likewise required the evidence.

V. Thereupon all the men were ordered to be in readiness, and the ships to provide themselves with whatever was necessary for departure. The next day the Governor left, taking with him two hundred and sixty infantry and forty cavalry. There went the officers mentioned, the Commissary and the other friars. They journeyed inland fifteen days, subsisting on a ration of half a pound of salted pork with one pound of bread, until coming to a river, over which they swam. On the other side two hundred Indians beset them, with whom they engaged, and captured five or six persons. These took them to their houses near by, where in the field was found much maize, then fit to be beaten.

The next day, the officers and friars, having besought the Governor to examine the entrance for a port, he sent the Treasurer with Castillo and forty men, who went on foot, as horses could not be taken. They traveled among some shoals of the sea-coast, through oyster beds, a matter of two leagues, and came to where ran the river they passed over inland the day before; but as they could not cross it for its depth, they went back to the camp.

The following day the Governor ordered a Captain with six cavalry and forty infantry to go over the river by the way they had come, to search that bay for a port, and was accordingly done. He found the bay low, and the ships could not enter there. This report being made, the force left in quest of Apalache, taking the captives for guides, and marched until the day after Saint John, in June, when they arrived at the place they most desired to see in the world, as much because of the length of the way as the urgency for food; but, above all, for the great quantity of gold that was said to be in that Province. Although in some parts they had found maize, they oftentimes traveled four or five days without finding any.

VI. When the Spaniards arrived they pushed boldly up to enter the town; but finding no one to make resistance, the men being absent, they seized the women and boys. The place consisted of forty small houses, well covered against the severe cold and tempests of that region. Many

deer-skins were found, and some shawls of coarse linen; great many corn-fields were in the woods and much dry grain in the town.

VII. The territory through which the Spaniards went is level and covered with fine groves, the trees standing well apart. There are many lakes, and very many deer over all that country, extensive forests having fallen trees, caused by the great storms and hurricanes which often occur in that region. Many trees were seen split from top to bottom by lightning. Nowhere on the way, after crossing the river, did they find any natives who would venture to await their arrival.

At the close of the second day of arrival, the Indians came peaceably with their Cacique, asking for their women and children. They were all returned, and the Cacique kept. But the next day some two hundred Indians made an attack, and succeeded in setting fire to the houses which were occupied. The Christians, who were on the alert, sallied immediately, driving them into the woods and mountains, without, however, taking any of them, though successful in killing two or three. The day after came two hundred more Indians on another quarter, from other towns and people, against whom the Christians likewise went out, and they, like the first, drew off and fled.

The people remained in this town twenty-six days, in which time three excursions were made. The country was found to be very poor and thin of inhabitants, with very bad passage-ways and ponds, having dense thickets. The Cacique being asked, as well other Indians brought from a little way back, as to where were their towns and territories, said that altogether they contained less population and subsistence than the place they were in, which was the principal one of the country; that further on were many solitudes, swamps, lakes, and very dense scrub. Being asked if there were people and towns towards the sea, they answered that eight days journey from there was a town called Aute, the inhabitants were their friends, had much maize and beans, and the place was near the sea. From this information, and all they had seen, discovering that the land was not what they had been told it was, nor did it anywhere hold out a hope of anything better, the Indians where they were having begun to make war upon them, having killed a Cacique the friars brought with them from New Spain, wounding also some of their companions while going to drink, shooting from out those ponds and deep fastnesses of scrub at all passers, the Spaniards determined, at the end of twenty-six days, to depart for Aute.

Think you, Reader, that this was pleasant pastime these Christian sinners were engaged upon? Would that I could be told what those friars and Pamphilo de Narvaez preached to those men, who so blindly went on, leaving their countries under false promises; for no matter how many die, none are ever warned. Who told them of having seen that gold they sought? What pilots must they have had, so expert in navigation, that they knew not the coast, and could not tell where they were; and what guides and what interpreters they took with them! Presumptuous madness! What greater crime can a leader commit than in conducting men to a land that neither he nor any one of his host has ever set eyes upon. I well believe that Pamphilo remembered, and more than once, of the counsel that I gave him in Toledo. Indeed, I often marvel and am often angry with these Captains, seeing, on the one hand, that they are astute, skilful and valiant men, while on the other, although they have seen foreign heads broken, by which they might learn some caution, they neither fear nor take heed of any peril whatsoever. I would that it might please God that those who thus suffer should pay for it only with their lives, without the soul receiving injury. But I doubt the salvation of the greater number; for I have lived a long time in these Indias, and have seen that in general the desires of these men are founded on this accursed appetite, postponing, until another season, all the scruples that to their consciences should be profitable and worthy of acceptance.

Since in the Proem I have lauded Narvaez as a dexterous soldier and afterward Captain, it is but reasonable to expect that I should here give account for him. I say, then, that I have known men very brave with lance and sword, who, apart from them, are unable to govern, yet others could direct with the finger. Fighting is the quality best to be looked after; for rare it is to find a man with shame who will not fight when it is for his honor; and more Captains there are who can fight and command a few than govern an army, more captains to be commanded than know how to command. Narvaez, so long as he was ordered by Diego Velazquez, within the limits of Cuba, knew how to serve and to do as he was ordered: after he went out from that Island to New Spain, in the XXXIII. Book may be learned the prudence that he exercised, and in the XXXV. you shall read in what his governing terminated. * * *

VI.—FIRST CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN NEW ENGLAND.

Reply of The Congregational Quarterly to the Hon. E. E. Bourne.

Editor of the Historical Magazine:

The introductory note to Judge Bourne's article on the "First Christian Worship in New England," in your July number, hardly does justice to the

Congregational Quarterly. The Judge's article was returned, with some hesitation, from a feeling that he was a little "too sharp" (for our pages) in its *personal allusions* to the writer of the article he criticised. When Judge Bourne thinks that "one of the material attributes of truth was its "sharpness," we agree with him; but we do not consider the "sharpness" of an argument to be identical with "sharp" reflections upon the *individual* against whose views the argument is directed. Therefore the Judge's statement that the "editor takes a different view of the matter," *i. e.* as to the "pungency" of truth, is uncalled for and incorrect. Doubtless, also, when he said, "if "he thinks that error had better go unanswered "than to be corrected by the sharpness of truth," not only he misunderstood our objections, but he could not have known that his article was not returned until a clergyman of Maine, whom we supposed to be a friend of the Judge's, and who certainly warmly espoused his views, had forwarded to the *Quarterly* an article in reply to Mr. Cushman's, covering the precise points at issue, which was gladly inserted in the July *Quarterly.*

The editors of the *Quarterly* have never expressed any opinion whatever on the merits of the Popham controversy; I do not know that they have any. The particular point in Judge Bourne's address which Mr. Cushman criticised, appears to be the statement that "Here was offered the first "Christian prayer, in our own language, that ever "broke from human lips on the shores of New Eng-"land." Mr. Cushman says, and I believe Judge Bourne freely admits, that that prayer had been offered earlier on the near islands. Judge Bourne replied that he used "shores," in a marine sense, in contra-distinction from the island; and as synonymous with Main or the Continent; and every lawyer would so understand it, from the necessity of the case. To that definition of his meaning, no one can *now* object. But in a public oration not addressed to lawyers, would not people, even educated men, having so broad a statement as that I have quoted,—using, not "shore" but "shores," — naturally get the idea which Mr. Cushman, and others got? If he had said "main-land;" or had he alluded to the earlier worship on the islands appertaining to the main-land, all ambiguity would have been arrested. There seems no question as to the historical facts; but simply a question arising out of the use of a particular term in a restricted and technical sense, when many readers understood it in a general and ordinary sense. As Judge Bourne now explains it, of course the controversy is at an end. A. H. Q.

VII.—LETTER TO REV. THOMAS PARKER, OF NEWBURY.

COMMUNICATED BY JOHN WARD DEAN, ESQ., OF BOSTON.

A few years ago, J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., loaned me a copy of a small quarto book of 222 pages, entitled: *Lectiones Novem de totidem Religionis Captibus præcipue hoc tempore controversis prout publice habebantur Oxoniæ in Vesperys. Per* IOHANNEM PRIDEAUX *Exoniensis Collegu Rectorum, and S. Th. Professorem Regium. Oxoniæ, Excudebant Iohannes Lichfield & Gvlielmvs Tvrner pro Henrico Crypps, An. Dom.* 1625.

The book had the following names and dates in various places, viz.: "NICHº GILMAN, 1735, "Ex Dono Dni W. Clark;" "TRISTRAM GIL-"MAN, 1761;" "T. GILMAN, Oct. 1813; "1837, "SAMˡ GILMAN." On one of the fly-leaves at the beginning was this note:—

"To M. PARKER at M. FOSTERS
"IN NEW-BERY.

"GOOD SIR, be pleased to accept this small "gift and the *** son of the giver, who respects "you not a little for your fathers sake, whose "graces, as zeale, learning, conscientious dis-"charge of his calling, vndaunted resolution to "speak for Christ, yea to dye for him, the world "cannot so much calumniate and abhorre as I "admire and reverence. For his virtues and "your owne gifts sake, I much desire your ac-"quaintance and familiaritie, and that our "mutuall loue may be increased and expressed "by intercourse of letters, if you stay at Newbery, "where you may advantage god's church, and "qualifie tender witteswithyᵉ knowledge of Christ. "These lectures I need not commend. You can "quickly censure them. I cease; but ever will "professe my selfe,

"Your affectionate friend,
"EDWARD COOKES.

"QUEENES COLLEGE IN OXON:
"March 14, 1624."

Of Mr. Cookes, the writer of the above, I have been able to learn nothing. The person whom he addresses, was evidently Rev. Thomas Parker, the only son of Rev. Robert Parker, a Puritan writer of great repute in his day. Thomas Parker was born on Whitsunday, the eighth of June, 1595. He was admitted into Magdalen College, Oxford; but, after his father's exile, removed to Dublin, where he was a pupil of the celebrated Dr. James Usher, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. From Dublin he joined his father in Holland. Here he was assisted in his studies by Dr. William Ames. His father died in 1614, at Doesburg, where he was preacher to the garrison.

Thomas afterwards returned to England and resided at Newbury, in Berkshire, where he taught the free school. He was evidently residing there in March, 1624–5, when the above letter was written. He continued there till he left for New England, where he arrived, in the *Mary and John*, in May, 1634. He soon after became minister at the new settlement of Agawam, now Ipswich. The next year he commenced, with his cousin, Rev. James Noyes (who had been an assistant in his school at Newbury), and others, a settlement at the mouth of the Merrimac, which settlement was called, in honor of their former home, Newbury. Here he was chosen Pastor, and his cousin Teacher of the Church; and here he continued to reside till his death, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1677, aged eighty-one years.

The book above mentioned, either before or after his death, probably came into the possession of his nephew, Rev. John Woodbridge, whose mother was a daughter of Rev. Robert Parker, or of his grand-nephew, Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, the second son of Rev. John W. The mother of Rev. Ward Clark, whose name is written in the book as a former owner, was Elizabeth, the only daughter of the above Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge. J. W. D.

VIII.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.

2. Herman E. Ludewig, LL.D.*

Herman E. Ludewig, LL. D., Lawyer, Historian, Bibliographer, was born in Dresden, Saxony, on the fourteenth of October, 1810. His father was a subaltern officer in the Revenue Service in Dresden, and subsequently in Pirna. He had no great acquirements himself, but sufficiently appreciated the value of a sound education to devote all his scanty means to the culture of his children, who were two daughters, besides the subject of this sketch.

Herman E. Ludewig was sent to the best school of Dresden, where he soon evinced an extraordinary thirst for knowledge and an unusual fondness for reading, carrying home all the books he could lay hands on: often reproved for this exaggerated application, he found protection as well as guidance in the matter of the absorption of promiscuous literature from his mother, who was entirely devoted to his physical and mental education.

The end of the Napoleonic wars, the Restoration, the Philhellenic uprising, the fermentation among the youth of Germany, subsequent to the treaty of Vienna, by which Royal promises so lavishly made in the day of gloom were so largely broken, and many other influences of that eventful period, impressed the lively mind of Ludewig in the years of his development. His love of study, his taste for the beautiful, and his fondness for the picturesque in nature, were greatly assisted in their growth by the admirable collections in literature and art stored in the capital of Saxony, and by the proximity of some of the loveliest scenery in Germany, in Saxonian Switzerland, and in the Bohemian mountains. Favored by a healthy frame, large and handsome figure, a frank and open countenance, and exceedingly winning manners, he made warm friends wherever he went, and knew how to enlist the services of his friends to facilitate his own literary pursuits and general progress. He was fond of music, and not only became a very good pianist and singer, but thoroughly studied the compositions of the masters of all nations, the history of music and musical instruments, and took particular delight in the best of church music, well represented in the Royal (Catholic) Church of Dresden, which he on that account visited with great regularity, though he attended service in the Lutheran Church, to which his parents belonged.

At eighteen years of age he went to the University of Leipzic, and in 1831 to that of Goettingen, studying law with the zeal which characterized him in all his pursuits. Goettingen at that time was one of the great centres of culture and full of the most distinguished men of letters; whilst its University Library was one of the very best in the world. A young man of Ludewig's literary turn of mind and social talents would naturally experience a wonderful development under such circumstances, and Ludewig never neglected to profit by intercourse with men of worth, or by the largest use of literary means within his reach. His main studies were of law in all its branches, including the local laws of various nations, international law, diplomatic history, history and philosophy of law, etc; but much of his time was nevertheless devoted to the curiosities of literature of various nations, to belles-lettres, modern languages, music and the fine arts. These pursuits and the influences of the refined society in which he moved, made him one of the most accomplished of gentlemen.

As the son of a free mason, he had been accepted by the fraternity of masons at the early age of eighteen, and entered into the spirit of masonry with his usual zeal, making its history an especial study, and bringing his large intellectual faculties to bear upon the work of the brotherhood. Very distinguished men, such as Baron Frankenstein, the renowned librarian of Dresden, and others of

* For this sketch of the life and writings of Mr. Ludewig, we are indebted to the pen of his most intimate friend, Rudolph Garrigue, Esq.; and we are sure that our readers will welcome it as a graceful tribute to the memory of one of the most diligent and unselfish of "our Historical Writers."—Ed. Hist. Mag.

equal rank and merit in other walks of life, belonged to the circle into which Ludewig was thus admitted, and greatly assisted him by wise counsel in his literary and professional career.

After finishing his studies at Goettingen and making a journey to France, whose collections of books and pictures he explored with the perseverance of an inveterate amateur in letters and the fine arts, he returned to Dresden, and began to practice law; and in 1836 was married to Miss Maria Rocksch, a young lady of considerable fortune, an amiable, cheerful disposition, and such accomplishments as good society in Dresden generally affords its members. They were married at the house of his parents in Pirna, and immediately started on a very extensive wedding tour, embracing all the South German States, Austria, Switzerland, Italy and France. Intellectually prepared for such a journey as few men are, Ludewig's mind expanded under the historical, ethnological and climatological influences thus working upon him. All his youthful prejudices vanished. He recognized the good and the noble in man independently of nationality, language or religious creed, and returned to Dresden enriched in knowledge and in sentiment after an absence of nearly a year, during which time he had become personally acquainted with nearly all the prominent men of the countries he had visited; whilst the popular life of the masses had furnished him with rare material of comparative observation of nationalities, and the grand beauties of nature which had impressed him on his travels, particularly in Switzerland, had still more elevated his mind, already so appreciative of the true and the beautiful. An uncommon facility for acquiring foreign languages assisted him greatly. He spoke five or six languages with great fluency, although he never could master the native accent of any of them.

The extensive acquaintance formed in his travels among the highest classes of society, together with this command of foreign languages, proved of great benefit to Ludewig's business as a lawyer after his return to Dresden, which is a great centre of attraction to numberless travelers and the residence of hundreds of foreign families at all times. Ludewig's reputation for rare abilities soon penetrated this circle, and he derived from it a great number of his clients.

Although moving for the most part in the higher classes of society, and although outranking most men in acquirements and experience, he was entirely free both from a false pride and a cringing deference to power. His noble heart was open and accessible to the poorest and most lowly of men; whilst to Princes and their instruments he always exhibited a manly independence and a perfectly frank and easy deportment. He could not learn even to take off his hat in casually passing the King in the street; and as his sparkling wit and keen criticism was as apt to include the court life of Saxony as other dark phases of society, such independence of speech and action gradually made him a number of enemies, and life in Dresden became disagreeable to him.

His attention had been early riveted by the wonderful development of the great Republic of the Western Hemisphere. His geographical, historical and ethnological studies had embraced even the remotest parts of the world; and he devoted as much energy to the study of the American Indians as to that of people much nearer home. But most of all was he attracted to the United States by the free institutions under which such a marvelous prosperity of an entire people had been called into life.

After several years of preparation for the step contemplated, he gave up his practice of law, resigned from all honorary posts which he filled, realized his property as far as practicable; and emigrated with his wife (children they had none) to the land of promise. Landing in New York early in 1844, he remained there just long enough to organize his plans for an extensive tour of observation; and then started out for what eventually turned out to be a two years' trip through the United States. Beginning with the New England States, he visited all the principal seats of commerce, industry and learning, making the acquaintance of great numbers of prominent men and devoting particular attention to the institutions and laws of the various States, and to the literary collections, public and private. With untiring industry he travelled from place to place, always well recommended by prominent men who had been struck by his refined manners and by his rare profundity of knowledge, gathering as he went, with an amount of labor never yet truly appreciated, the material for his subsequent gift to the scholars of the United States, the *Bibliography of American Local History*. Everything appertaining to American History was an object of deep study to him, not only the History of the United States and its component States, but also the history of Indian Tribes, Indian Antiquities from Mexico, and particularly Yucatan, up to the Canadas, exploring expeditions, surveys for interoceanic canals or trans-continental railroads. All great questions of statesmanship, commerce, navigation, mining, agriculture, free-trade and protective tariff, interested and occupied his comprehensive mind. Probably no other foreign traveller has ever returned from a journey of observation so thoroughly posted on American matters as did Ludewig when he took up his permanent residence in New York, at the end of 1845. He immediately systematized the vast literary material gathered during his journey, and published at his own expense, the bibliography alluded to, sendi

it to his literary acquaintance throughout the land *as a free gift* in token of gratitude for hospitality and assistance enjoyed by him during his trip. The book fell flat. Be it that Bibliography, then hardly known here, was considered a puerile waste of time; be it that those who were well fitted to appreciate the immense and well-directed labor embodied in Ludewig's book, were reluctant to accord to *the foreigner* the full measure of praise to which he was clearly entitled, the fact remains that for about two hundred and fifty copies of his book sent as presents to as many literary men or to libraries, the author received just twenty-seven letters of acknowledgment. He was seriously hurt by this slight; and, in course of time, took a characteristic revenge. Continuing his labors in collecting bibliographical material, he printed a supplement to his book, but struck off only thirty copies, of which he retained three, and sent twenty-seven to the gentlemen who had acknowledged his first gift. Meanwhile, the value of the book had become very generally acknowledged; copies occasionally appearing in book sales being always bid in at very high prices, and the supplement was in great demand. But nothing was elicited from the author by applicants but the politest regrets that it was entirely out of print.

Having settled in New York, Ludewig began the regular course of study for the American bar in a lawyer's office; and with his general knowledge of law he very soon mastered the questions of local practice, and opened an office of his own which he continued till he died.

All his leisure time was devoted to literary labor, but his leisure time commenced when ordinary people go to bed, for he considered it as much a matter of business to devote his talents to the good of his fellow men in associations, clubs, lodges, singing unions and public enterprises of every description as to attend to his law business during the day; and his general presence as well as his incomparable intellectual superiority made him the very soul of all social gatherings which he attended. Returning home late at night he would then steal the midnight hours for correspondence with literary societies or celebrities in all parts of the world, or in preparing communications to the periodical press of Europe and America. He was an honorary member of a number of learned societies, and never failed to pay in ample contributions for all the honors he received. Among these contributions was a very valuable "History of Political Parties in the "United States," from the adoption of the Constitution until the party of Native Americans, which was so active at the time of his arrival in this country. Numerous papers on Indian subjects were also prepared by him; and he kept up a running correspondence with the editors of the *Augsburg Gazette* and of the *Ausland*, furnishing them political and geographical information.

During all these labors he kept open house for all literary celebrities visiting New York, and had always the warmest welcome and practical aid for poor men of merit. Thus his expenses were much greater than his income from his law business, and his property gradually decreased. It is presumed that much of it was actually destroyed by a fire which occurred in his office in Wall street, a safe which he had trusted proving unsafe. At all events, from that day he was obliged to work much harder for money than he had ever done before. But none of his friends ever heard a complaint from his lips. He continued to be the same cheerful companion he had ever been, but he would leave the social circle sooner and work deeper into the night. Thus he undermined his health and died after a painful illness, in the forty-eighth year of his life, in December, 1857. Even during his last illness he continued his literary labors, reading as carefully as his sufferings would permit the proofs of his *Bibliotheca Glottica*, being a bibliography of American Indian Languages, published by Trubner, in London, and expressing great joy that he lived to finish it. He died like the wise man he had always been in life, quietly assuring his friends that he was perfectly ready to go, having been early taught to be ready at any moment.

It is to be regretted for the sake of literature that he did not live to collect his works, which were as multiform as they were numerous. He was beloved by all who knew him; and if vast acquirements devoted with utter self-abnegation to the service of his fellow men entitle a man to the love of his neighbors, he was deservedly beloved.

R. G.

IX. — EARLY METHODISTS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Reply of *The Methodist* to The Historical Magazine.

[By an agreement with *The Methodist*, we published in our May number, *in extenso*, all that its editors had to say, in answer to our former articles on this subject, on condition that an equal space in *The Methodist* should be devoted to our reply, which was printed in our June number.

After attempting, unsuccessfully, to mutilate our article, without previously obtaining our consent, *The Methodist* published *a portion* of that article, without intimating to its readers, *as we requested it to do*, that there were other portions which it did not thus re-produce; and, soon after, without alluding to the omitted portions of that reply, or seeming to recognize the existence of those portions, it rejoined, in defence of the founder of its sect, and of his followers in America, in an article which speaks for itself concerning the peculiar integrity to the Truth, *per se*, of those who control the columns of that peculiarly *religious* sheet.

The following is that rejoinder—our readers will not fail to compare it with our reply, to which it is responsive, in the June number. We shall pay our respects to it at an early day.—Ed. Hist. Mag.]

I.

[*From The Methodist of August* 17.]

Some time ago we answered, in these columns, the attack of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE on the loyalty of the early Methodists to the American Revolution. Its editor has published our reply, on condition that we allow him an equal space to respond to it in our pages, and we have now given in instalments his rejoinder. In commenting upon it, we shall be as brief as possible; if our readers will recall our former arguments, they will save us the necessity of much repetition. While we shall repeat them far enough to meet the new forms of statement made by THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we must refer to our first papers for fuller facts. The editor of the *Magazine* gives us great advantage in his evident loss of temper and attempts at severe language, but as historical truth alone is concerned in the question, we shall not waste our space in retaliating his small sarcasms.

He first accuses us of "concealing the fact that "the article in question (the one in his periodical, "which we reviewed), was one of a series of articles "on the early history of Methodism, which had "appeared in the *Magazine*, month after month, "and insinuated that it was merely a special "article, written for a special occasion." Now, we affirm that this is the first time we have heard of any preceding articles. We knew nothing of the editor's former discussions, and after what we have read from him, we do not now care to expend time in reading them. The one which we answered was specific; it presented a particular topic, and argued it at great length, without an allusion to any that had gone before. The latter are obnoxious to the charge we brought against this, for they were written during the Centenary year.

"So, also, when *The Methodist* spoke of the "'decisive evidence of Wesley's early change of "opinion in favor of the Colonists,' and told the "world that we 'must have read' it in Dr. Ste- "vens' *History of Methodism*, although it knew "THERE WAS NO SUCH EVIDENCE THERE, it sup- "posed, we have no doubt, that it was acting as "became a Methodist journal."

Now, here is a point-blank denial that there is "any such evidence of Wesley's early change of "opinion in favor of the Colonists." Now, a curious fact about this denial is, that in the very article that the editor is thus answering, we presented, in Wesley's own words, the proof of that "change of opinion in favor of the Colonists." And yet, the editor persistently repeats his denial, and defies the *The Methodist* to show any such proof. What can be done with such a controversialist? We said, too, that the editor, in his charge against Wesley, accused Methodist historians of unveracious accounts of Wesley's opinions on the subject, "referring particularly to Stevens' "*History of Methodism*, vol. ii., pp. 129, 130," and that he must have been aware of Wesley's change of opinion, because Stevens gives Wesley's own words on the subject in the very place referred to, while acknowledging that at an earlier period he had imprudently published his "address" to the colonies against the Revolution. Wesley's own words are so important on this point, that we repeat them here again, and again affirm that they are there, where the editor says they are not. Here is the passage in the *History of Methodism*, as above:

"It is due to the memory of Wesley to say that "he, meantime, wrote a letter to the Premier, "Lord North, and to the Secretary of the Colo- "nies, Lord Dartmouth, remonstrating against "the war, and pleading for the Americans. He "declares in it that, in spite of all his long-rooted "prejudices as a Churchman and a loyalist, he "cannot avoid thinking, if he think at all, that "'these, an oppressed people, asked for nothing "more than their legal rights, and that in the "most modest and inoffensive manner that the "nature of the thing would allow. But waiving "this, waiving all considerations of right and "wrong, I ask,' he adds, with prophetic foresight, "'Is it common-sense to use force toward the "Americans? My lord, whatever has been "affirmed, these men will not be frightened "and it seems they will not be conquered so "easily as was at first imagined. They will proba- "bly dispute every inch of the ground, and, if "they die, die sword in hand. Indeed, some of "our valiant officers say, 'Two thousand men "will clear America of these rebels.' No, no; "twenty thousand, be they rebels or not, no; "perhaps treble that number. They are as strong "men as you; they are as valiant as you, if not "abundantly more valiant, for they are, one and "all, enthusiasts—enthusiasts for liberty. They "are calm, deliberate enthusiasts; and we know "how this principle breathes into softer souls "stern love of war, and thirst of vengeance, and "contempt of death. We know men, animated "with this spirit, will leap into a fire, or rush "into a cannon's mouth.' The letter is long, and "full of sagacious views and statesmanlike coun- "sels."

This important letter has, within a few years been given to the public, from the manuscripts of Lord Dartmouth's family. The American historian, Mr. Bancroft, deemed it of so much importance that, when it appeared, he cancelled several stereotype plates of his seventh volume, that he might insert quotations from it, correcting some of his earlier intimations of Wesley's opinions. It settles the question between us and THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, so far as a change in Wesley

opinion of the colonial controversy is concerned.

In his former article, the editor accused Wesley of "coldly absolving the American Methodists "(after the Revolution) from their obligations to "the English Church, authorizing them to organ- "ize an independent church, without a single "supplication of Divine favor in their behalf; "he had not even a natural wish for their suc- "cess, nor a kind word of brotherly regard at the "parting, so repugnant were the prevailing ideas "in America, so distasteful the position of affairs "in this country, to him and his friends!" All this we disproved, showing that Wesley was thoroughly cordial, and heartily energetic in the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, declaring in his letter on the occasion: "We "judge it best that they should stand fast in that "liberty wherewith God has made them free!" Now, while this *Historical Magazine* professes to be scrupulously devoted to the record and conservation of pure historical facts, its editor entirely ignores (in his reply) this important point; he makes no correction of his former statement about it, and does not even mention our refutation of his misrepresentation!

This is all we see it necessary to say on our first instalment from the *Magazine*. On its remaining ones we shall hereafter comment.

II.

[*From the Methodist of August* 31.]

The second instalment of the attack of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, on the loyalty of the early Methodists, is given in our number for July 27th. We must refer the reader to it, to save waste of space in quoting its allegations. This instalment however, requires but little comment. All it avers, particularly all it cites, from the old Methodist Disciplines, or Minutes, is sufficiently correct, and no Methodist will demur to anything in the article except its inference from its citations, which is altogether false, historically and logically. The substance of the article amounts to this: that anterior to the organization of the Church at the Christmas conference of 1784,* the preachers did not administer the sacraments, but then people generally received them at the English Church, and the preachers, in annual conferences, opposed any innovation on this arrangement, until Wesley could provide, "decently and in order," for these means of grace by the hands of Methodist pastors. All this is very true, and it is an honorable evidence of the good sense and orderly disposition of the primitive societies. "Toryism," to which the *Magazine* ascribes it, had nothing to do with it, and never entered into the policy of the societies on the subject. There is not an allusion of the kind in any of the contemporary documents, official or unofficial. It was an accidental state of things which had grown up from long antecedent circumstances; and having no motive whatever connected with the Colonial Revolution, was corrected as soon as the Revolution allowed of such communication with Wesley as could admit of the correction.

Before the Revolution, American Methodism was essentially a part of the British Methodistic movement, and, like the latter, was under the control of Wesley. He had not ordained preachers in England, but his people there received the sacraments in the National Church, at least such of them as had been connected with the National Church did so, and such as had been Dissenters went to their former chapels for these ordinances. Of course the same policy extended to the British Colonies. Wesley did not wish to complicate himself with the existing ecclesiastical authorities by any obtrusive or unnecessary measures. But every Methodist who knows the history of his Church knows, what the *Magazine* editor seems not to be aware of, that these very citations he makes from the old Minutes had reference to a disposition prevalent in certain quarters, to provide themselves with the sacraments without ordination; a policy that was deemed by the preachers, and is still deemed by most religious bodies, disorderly. The Conference proposed to postpone the question, and receive the sacraments elsewhere, till the return of peace, when Wesley could be appealed to, and ordination provided; and this was effectively done by Wesley himself ordaining men for America. As the colonies were British, and of the early Methodists had been in the British Church, of course they usually resorted to that Church in the colonies for the sacraments, but such of them as had been Dissenters were not required to do so; they went for these ordinances where they pleased, and suffered no penaltics for so doing.

These are the historical facts. But from these very simple, natural, and harmless, not to say very commendable facts, the *Magazine* draws the following sweeping inference:

"We have a right, in view of its silence on the "subject, to consider *The Methodist* as conceding "the truth of the averment, thus sustained, that "'every Methodist of that period was neccssarily "an Episcopalian,' and as necessarially a daily sup- "pliant for a bestowal of the Divine favor on "George III., his Parliaments, his Armies, and "his Fleets, as were Drs. Seabury and Inglis, "Chandler and Wilkins, and all other Episcopa- "lians of the period; and we have a right also, "in view of the same silence, to treat our oppo-

* The *Magazine* says 1785; it has been led into this error, however, by an error in the title of the old Minutes, which places the Conference in that year; it surely overstepped the year; the organization was in 1784.

"nent as conceding the claim, thus sustained, "that it was not until the Conference of January, "1785, that George III., ceased, in law, to be the "supreme head, in ecclesiastical affairs, of every "Methodist 'Society' in America; and that, "until that time, the Cannons, and Liturgy, and "Common Prayer promulgated by HIS authority "were their supreme law."

All this is sheer sophistry. The Methodists did not so pray for the King and his armies and fleets. Very few, if any of them, knew anything or cared anything about the "Canons," etc., of "the Church." They had not the sacraments in their own humble meetings, most of which were in private houses or barns. They went for them occasionally to other churches, but had no other relations whatever to the latter; these had no jurisdiction over them, and had nothing to do with them, save to persecute them. Moreover, during most of the time to which the *Magazine's* citations refer, there was no such praying for the King, and his army and fleet, in the English churches of the colonies. That would not have been tolerated by the colonial authorities during the Revolution.

This is a fair showing of the facts of the case, as every student of Methodist history knows. Quite a schism was threatened in the Virginia Methodist Societies, in favor of providing the sacraments for their families; but they were induced to accept them from the Established Church of the colony, till Wesley could be consulted. The citations of the *Magazine* all have reference to these local facts. The forbearance of the Methodists had nothing to do with the Toryism of the Established Church; they had no thought of the kind; their forbearance was simply owing to their deference to the usage of all Christian denominations, a regard for established Church order. It was conditioned expressly on a pledge of the preachers, that Wesley should be appealed to when the war might admit of it, to provide for them. At the end of the war, the appeal was made to Wesley, and he forthwith ordained a Bishop (Dr. Coke) to ordain their preachers, and had them organized as a Church. They were thus constitutionally established even before the colonies had adopted their own Constitution.

N. B.—We shall refer to the other portions of the *Magazine's* article hereafter. We should remind our readers, however, that we have published, not the whole of the article, but only a certain stipulated portion of it. For the rest, we must refer to the *Magazine* itself.

III.

[*From the Methodist of September* 14.]

In our reply to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we have already reminded our readers that it but repeats, though with increased emphasis, the statements and arguments which we reviewed and disproved in some former papers. We must again refer to the latter for any fuller refutation of its charges. It would be an imposition on the reader to recite the statements there answered, and repeat their refutation in detail. Yet, this is all that would need to be done in order to meet completely the rehash of the argument now given by the *Magazine*. The last three instalments from its pages, which we have inserted, and which remain for our notice, fill several columns, but, for the above reasons, we must review them rapidly, and here conclude the review. As a mere repetition, it is becoming tedious; we must treat it, therefore, with dispatch, though not with disrespect.

The third instalment from the *Magazine* (given in our number for August 3d) consists mostly of extracts from Wesley's famous *Calm Address to the Colonies*. They show that he was then decidedly opposed to the Revolutionary project. Of course they do. What else could be expected from a loyal Englishman, as he was at the time? But we have shown, from his letter to two of the cabinet ministers of George III., that after the events of Concord and Lexington, he changed his view of the contest, and declared that he was "convinced that then an oppressed people asked "nothing more than their legal rights, and that "in the most modest and inoffensive manner that "the nature of the thing would allow." These are his own words, authentically given from the papers of the Earl of Dartmouth—words which the historian, Bancroft, has taken special pains to give. Wesley proceeds to argue against the expediency of war on the part of Great Britain, and predicts the success of the Colonies.

Now, this important documentary evidence was under the eye of the editor of the *Magazine*, in the very book from which he quotes other things, and yet he continues to affirm:

"We say, plainly, that we never knew and do "not now know that Mr. Wesley ever ceased to "be loyal to the King of Great Britain, in the "broadest sense of the term; and that we never "knew and do not know now that he ever entertained the least sympathy for the American "Revolutionists or their cause, or ever, even by "implication, 'vindicated the Colonial cause.' "We say, also, just as plainly, that neither Dr. "Stevens nor *The Methodist*, nor both combined, "ever knew or now know any such thing of Mr. "Wesley; and that neither the historian of "Methodism nor its exponents in newspaper form "can produce any *authentic* testimony to establish "such an averment as *The Methodist* has thus put "forth."

Now, we ask again, what can be done with a

contestant like this ?—a man who is professionally devoted to the collection and conservation of historical materials, and who, after a document like Wesley's letter to the British Ministers, is placed directly under his nose, utterly ignores the evidence, and furiously drives on with his wreckless asseverations ? He does not dare to deny the authenticity of the document—that would be preposterous ; he does not even mention it, though it is again and again thrust into his face ; he simply ignores it, as if it had not been adduced, and vociferously writes on in the above strain.

The fourth and last instalment (given in our number for August 10th), like all that precedes it, is a repetition of charges which we have already answered. It relates to a vindication of Wesley by a preacher of John-street Society, New York, against the charge of disloyalty to his King. Of course, Wesley lived and died a loyal man, and the fact is honorable to his memory. The Society in New York was entirely isolated from the General Church during the war ; the Conference sent no preachers to it, received no returns from it, had in fact held no communication with it. Its pulpit was supplied by an unordained local preacher, an Englishman. When Wesley was accused, in a New York paper, of inciting the famous "Lord Gordon" riot in London (an anti-Catholic riot), and of thereby showing disloyalty to his King, the New York preacher published letters from him, proving his hearty loyalty. These facts the *Magazine* cites as proof of his hostility to the Colonial cause !—a very funny syllogism certainly. One of the letters given does, however, bear on the war, but it is without date, and is evidently an old one, which had been in possession of the New York preacher, or some other person at hand, and was hunted up for the occasion, as proof that this recent New York slander was incompatible with the antecedents of Wesley. Wesley's letter to the Government in favor of the Colonies qualifies it entirely. He was always loyal to his King, like a good Christian, but disapproved the royal policy toward the Colonies.

So much, then, for this extravagant attack on American Methodism. After the full review we have heretofore given the *Magazine*, we need add no more. No Christian body of this nation has more demonstratively proved its loyalty than the Methodist Episcopal Church ; none less needs vindication.

X.— SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—Continued.

61. Governor J. Belcher, of Massachusetts, to Mr. Sec'y Waldron, of New Hampshire.*

Sir,

I am glad to find by your's of 27: psent, That the Govr: can do even accidental Good to the Province ; I wish they wou'd mend their Wayes as well as the Roads ; I long to See my Friends—have no Expectation from the Assembly, nor do I much concern myself about 'Em.

The Warrant is in this Day's *Gazette*—The P-st-m-st-r & his Lady lodge at Madm's Sister's, and I give him up for a gone Man.

I shall free the Young Man from his *prodigious* Uneasiness, and from Something else, if he does not learn more Sense.

I hope to see you at Haverhill on Fryday next, and am alwayes,

Your Friend & Servant

Boston, J. Belcher

Sept: 30 ; 1734

Mr. Secry Waldron

62.—Rev. J. H. Livingston to —— ——.†

New York 18 March 1784.

Reverend & dear Brother

The affectionate and confidential Letter which you favored me with of the 1st Instant would have been answered immediately if I had not, when I received it, been very unwell & had the next day to administer the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, since which I have had no conveyance to drop you a line. I was disappointed in not having the pleasure of seeing again & called at your Lodgings a little while after you left them upon your return home. That Evening—when I parted with you, the Govrs of the College met and a Bill for erecting a University in the State of New York was read to us. many observations upon the Bill in the form it then bore were then made, and some alterations were strongly urged since which the Bill has remained and so many Acts of various kinds are constantly before the Legislature that this Bill has not yet been called for. the alterations insisted upon were not essential with respect to the Basis of the University but only the form in which the matter was managed. there is no opposition from any Quarter which Occasions the least doubt but the Busi-

* From the collection of C. C. Helmick, Esq., Washington, D. C.

† From the collection of C. C. Helmick, Washington, D. C.

ness will be conducted with that spirit of catholicism & harmony which will insure a Litterary foundation of importance to the Church & State. as soon as the bill has obtained its proper alteration & gone through its different Stages, I will endeavor to obtain a Copy for you and send it over to you unless you should find Leisure to pay us a visit, which I wish may be in the end of some Week, so that you might spend a Sabbath here and assist me with a Sermon, which to me not only but to the whole Congregation would be very acceptable.

I congratulate you my dear friend upon the calls which you have received, which, whatever my be your determination with respect to acceptance, are doubtless very high testimonials of the public voice in your favor. your referring an answer to the Synod is very prudent & reflects honor to your judgment and piety,

You have my thanks for the extracts of Brother Hardenbergh's Letter and I fully agree with you that he is rather too positive & attached to his own private Judgment to make the result of his own opinion the test of Orthodoxy for others. for my part I wish only for information, & if I know my own heart I am perfectly impartial & without the least prejudice in favor of one place or Seat of Learning above another. my only enquiry is which place can be rendered most secure for maintaining our blessed truths unadulterated and which, provided there are several methods which in that respect are equally secure, is most easy, practicable and advantageous? I am too much a friend to the College at Brunswick to take up any argument against it, but if another door should be opened which will answer every purpose sooner and better I would desire to be such a friend to truth and providence as not to refuse an acceptance. you know my sentiments upon this head & I would wish not to conceal a thought on the subject from a Brother in whom I place the fullest confidence.

the repeated mention you have made about the necessity of forming a Classical meeting of the Southern district notwithstanding the Smallness of the Body has induced me to try if I can bring such a measure about; I have not yet seen Mr Schoonmaker of Gravesend, and whether Father Van Sinderen can attend, I do not know, but I shall endeavor to form the poor suffering congregations again into a body and get our Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions once more established. be assured of my most sincere regards & affection, and prayers for your welfare & future happiness. the Lord be with you and bless you. remember me at the throne of grace

Revd & very dear Sir
Your affectionate Brother
J. H. Livingston.

have you received any Answer from Mr Van Voorhees? by a Letter from Dr Westerlo I find that poor Dr Vroman is very weak again & will not probably labor much longer in the Vineyard O that the Lord of the harvest would please to send out many new & useful Laborers! where is your nephew? I shod be glad as soon as he has fulfilled his previous engagements, that he would come to this City and preach for me.

63.—Chas. Carroll of Carrollton, to Richard Caton, Esq.*

1821 July 20—

Dear Sir—

By my Books there were due two quarters divd on U S 3 per ct Stock on 1st April last amounting to $65⁷⁵ I am not certain if I gave you a minute of that sum—If those owing me interest & rents, & if the Bank of the U S should not make a larger divd in Janry than during the present month, it will be impossible for me to pay my debt to the Messrs Olivers, to continue the same annuities to my children, and to meet my own expenses.

I think it high time Ths Calwell should receive an answer from James Calwell, & that Mr Colt should get an answer from the persons, who applied to purchase the property mortgaged by Robt Collet—When may I expect the money Graffin was to pay to discharge Herring's mortgage? When will the years interest $120 due 15th May last from the Falls Turnpike be paid. Get Mr Foster to collect the monies of which I gave you a minute

We have had a fine rain this morning between 4 & 5 o'clocke I hope we shall have more; the corn, Tobacco, & young clover wanted rain, and more than has yet fallen here.

I hope your health is better than when you left me, and that my daughter and Mrs Patterson are well. My love to them—Mrs Patterson no doubt gave you my letter covering my letter to Mr Neth, ye letter to Mr Harper on the same subject, the printed advertisement, the certificate of Lot No 87, & check for $110 to pay city taxes. Mr Harper left the business as you left it unfinished, tho' in his letter to me he promised to endeavour to get it settled; but after that letter I have reason to believe he thought no more of the matter.

When will the bricks, & plank, & scantling for the Catholic Chapel at Annapolis be forwarded to that city? On the 23d instant Taylor's to give possession of the Lot—

I am with sincere attachment
Dear Sir
Yr most hum, Servt
Ch. Carroll of Carrollton.

* From the collection of C. C. Helmick, Esq., Washington, D. C.

64.—Samuel Huntington, President of the Continental Congress, to Gov. Jefferson.*

Philadelphia April 29, 1781.

Sir,

Your Excellency will receive inclosed a Resolve of Congress of the 20th Instant, recommending to the several States therein named to make good the Depreciation of the monthly Pay of the Officers & Soldiers belonging to Colonel Moses Hazens Regiment, that are considered as Part of those State Quotas, in the same Manner they have made good the depreciation to the Officers & Soldiers in the Battalions belonging to the Line of those States respectively—I have the Honor to be with great Respect

Your Excellency's most obedient
humble Servant,
Sam. Huntington, President.

His Excellency
Governor Jefferson

65.—Maj. Gen. Wm. Heath, to Maj. Gen. W. Phillips, of the British Army.†

Head Quarters Boston June 18, 1778.

Sir

Your Two favors of yesterday are before me. I gave Seasonable and Explicit orders for the reform of such Things as you represented to me as grievances in a former letter, and I dare say it will Done as soon as Circumstances will admit.

As Early as the 9th Instant I wrote to Capt Gooch that none of the Officers belonging to the 9th Regt were to be Quartered at Hardwick That Letter some how unluckily miscarried. The Day before yesterday I received a Letter from him by Express representing that he was takeing up Quarter in the Town of Hardwick but met with Opposition from some of the Inhabitants I wrote him back the same Evening to Desist from takeing up Quarters in Hardwick and to Quarter the officers in Rutland.

You may be assured that I shall Endeavour to have the officers as well accommodated and as near to the men as circumstances will admit and Every attention will be paid to it. But where the Houses are scattering not withstand our wishes it will be impossible that some of them should not be at a distance from the men, and it never can under such Circumstances be Contrued any Infraction of the Convention which does not require Impossibilities—you are undoubtedly right when you Protest against the removal of the Troops if you are instructed so to do, and I flatter myself that you will think me so when I remove them in Consequence of Express orders received for that purpose from those whom it is my duty to obey.

I have received no directions relative to the Departure of the Troops of the Convention Neither am I authorized or can I make any proposition towards admiting the Troops going for Europe neither can I receive any on that Head, unless it be in order to their being forwarded to the Hon Congress You are sensible Sir upon what condition only that Hon Body have resolved that the Troops of tne Convention shall Depart Agreeable to your desire I have delivered my self without the least reserve, upon those principals of Honor which it is my Determination shall Ever Mark my Conduct

I am Sir
Your Obt Servt
W Heath

M Genl Phillips

* From the original, belong to C. C. Helmick, Esq., Washington, D. C.

† From the collection of Nath. Paine, Esq., of Worcester, Mass.

66.—General M. Gist, to Chevalier D'Anmours, Consul of France.*

Camp, Butter Milk Falls
24 July 1779.

Dear Sir

Before this reaches you I Suppose you will be informed of the Surrender of the British Garrison at Stony point, which consisted of two Companies of Grenadiers the 17 Regt of Foot and Robinsons Corps—amounting in the whole (officers Included) to 606 men, 63 of which were Killed on the spot & 543 made prisoners, Including the wounded & 28 officers. On our side 15 were Killed—and between 70 & 80 wounded, which is more than we first Immagined.

The following Ordinance fell into our hands at the Fort (viz)

3 Brass 12 pounders on Travelling Carriages Compt.
1 Do 3 pounder Do
1 Do 10 Inch Mortar
1 Do 8 Inch Howitz
2 Do 5⅝ Inch Royals
2 Do 4⅕ Inch Cohorns
2 Iron 24 pouuders
2 Do 18 Do
1 Do 12 Do with a large quantity of fixed amunition, Shot, Shell, Stores. &c. &c.

On the 18th an attack was Intended on their works at Verplancks point, under Command of Major General Howe, who was on the point of Investing it, when Sir Harry, with his main army of Plunderers, advanced so near as to be able to throw his succours to that Fortress which occasioned General Howe to retire to West Point without coming to action.

One of our Galleys on her return from Stony Point, was so effectually damag'd by the Enemy's fire from Verplanks, that the crew were oblig'd to desert her—after setting her on fire; since this we have Levelled the works on Stony Point and

evacuated the post, which the Enemy have again taken possession of, with about 1500 men (among which are the 33d & 42 Regiments) under command of Genl Sterling (lately promoted)—they have also reinforced their Garrison at Verplanks, and retired below Dobs's Ferry, with their Main Army.

We have received advice at this place that our Privateers from the Eastward have lately fallen in with a fleet from Cork, with Provisions for the British Army, of which they captured nine sail, several of which had arrived safe at Boston.

You will please to make me respectfully remembered to the French Gentlemen of my acquaintance in Balto & believe me, with due Regard

Dr Sir

yr. mo. obdt. servt.

M. Gist

Chevalier D'Anmours
Consul of France.

67.—Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge to Colonel Wadsworth.*

Pines Bridge July 3d 1780.

Dear Sir

As Genl Glover intends riding thro Hartford, I have only time to write you a line.

Two days ago a party of *Delancys* Horse, together with *Frink's* Corps, came up as high as round hill & in their Circuit took a number of Cattle, but on their return Capt Sacket of this state, & a few of Col Barber's Levies, fell in with them, killed a few, & retook the Cattle. It is said that *Frink* was shot in the hip. Unfortunately for us a Detachment of near 60 of our Regt left the Plains but a little before the Rascals passed thro. We are as a Regt, tied down by special order on the north side of Croton. I am preparing for a small Expedition with about 80 or 100 down on the lines & I hope the next letter I send you may afford you some account of our attchievments—

Pray give me some good news from our Allies & with Compliments to your lady & friends, believe me

Yours Sincerely

Benja Tallmidge.

Col Wadsworth,

P. S.—Col Sheldon Presents his Compliments.

68.—Doctor Rush to Mr. Owen Biddle.†

Dear Sir—

Agreeable to your request, I have drawn out our Acct but have left the sum to be allowed for our Services to the generosity of the Committee of Safety. I beg leave only that the Surgeons in our provincial battallion are allowed 28 dollars and their Mates 18 dollars *Each* p. month. The Continental Surgeons are allowed nearly & their Mates Exactly the same each

Yours etc

B Rush

[Addressed Mr Owen Biddle]

XI.—SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF CITIZEN GENET.

1. — *Correspondence concerning his Recall to France.*

1.—Extract of a Letter from Madame Campan to her Brother, M. Genet, dated "Paris, May 16, 1796."

I have seen in the journals many Motions made to grant some exceptions to the Emigration law, in favor of individuals who from horror of tyranny have not returned to France, or who left it after the reign of Robespierre. These Motions have been referred to a Committee. There will be a report, and then a decree, which will fix a time for the reclamation of individuals or families; although I have not in a single instance acted for you or mentioned your name, my reason tells me that this will be an opportunity to take some action with the Legislative Committee. Mr. Monroe knows some of the members, Auguie others; it must not be that a Decree should hang over so good a citizen as you—in this event I will go to Paris, and will act with prudence, that is to say in speaking to your true friends and you have many—They have preserved a great friendship for you at Versailles; even at the moment when you were torn to pieces in the journals, two administrators of the District very zealous patriots stopped me in the street to say to me, "Citizen do not fear "any of the horrors that they charge upon your "brother, they are jealous and wicked people, we "love him we esteem him, and we shall always feel "honored to have him for a fellow citizen." These sentiments are very general in that City.

2.—Madame Campan to her Brother, August 20, 1796.

Our uncle is a little better—but this Winter may be his last. At the moment of inheriting, if this brave man arrives at the End of his peaceable career, some steps must be taken, or the nation may interfere in our affairs, on your account—During my sojourn at Paris, at the house of Mr. Monroe, I wrote to Freron praying him to receive me, that We might consult together upon

* From the collection of Nath. Paine, Esq., Worcester, Mass.
† From the original, belonging to F. S. Hoffman, Esq., New York.

the means of preventing a citizen such as you are, from being considered an *Emigre*, for it seems to me, that the decree always Weighs on you. Freron did not answer—the Deputies do not receive anyone; they fear to compromise themselves, Mr Monroe advised me to wait.

3.—Madame Campan to her Brother, February 8, 1797.

I have taken an active part relative to your affairs, before long I hope there will be a suitable decision on the part of the government on your account, Mr Monroe will give you the details, for in a few months he Will be in America his Embassy being finished.

4.—Madame Campan to her Brother, March 8, 1797.

Mr & Mrs Monroe, are about to leave for New York. There they will see that brother so dear, so tenderly loved, the pleasure of living near whom I have been deprived of for ten cruel years. Life is too thickly strewed with pains and privations—it is a cruel secret that one learns in making a Voyage, in which will can neither advance, nor carry you back a single step. Pardon this little outbreak of sentimentality and morality, but I cannot see persons leaving who will see you, and hear you speak, without being moved to a point which draws me out of my usual mode of expression. I regret Mrs Monroe very much, she is a rare woman in every way who has acquired a general respect and friendship in France. You will see my Eliza, who is full of wit and agreeable talents, and who I love as my own Daughter. Embrace her tenderly for me.

5.—Madame Campan to her Brother, June 20, 1797.

The Minister La Croix and the Minister Cochon, charged with the Police have both told me that they would report on what concerned you as absent.

6.—M. Genet to his Sister, Madame Campan, October 28, 1797.

The steps you have taken, and which I never should have lowered myself to take towards men who are indebted to me morally and materially, and to whom I owe nothing, merits all my gratitude—I will only say that the word "recall," which is used in your Petition, is not well founded. I was assassinated, meanly displaced, and never recalled. They even ordered me to render my accounts to my successor, which I did in an honorable manner, which he and all those who came with him and after him, have said, and will say, have written and will write; and which my present Poverty confirms too well—I detest speculation, commerce even, which requires what I have not, money, and love of money; and I only find charms in liberty, peace, and the purity of rural life.

7.— Madame Campan to her Brother, July 26.

I see that you are ignorant of the steps I have thought it my duty to take in order that Justice may be done to your situation—These steps were simple, as they ought to be for a cause which has no need of a pleader—The Minister La Croix had answered me that it was just, and that he would give it his attention—The Minister Cochon the same. Since eight days they are no longer in place; and it is necessary to begin again. They speak of a family petition. If it is necessary, they will do so.

8.—M. Genet to his Sister, Madame Campan, May 20, 1798.

You have wished it and I have obeyed the counsels of your friendship—After five years of silence I have written to the Directory; and I charge my friend colaborer and partner in persecution, Citizen Capua with the letter. I leave it open so that you can read it and inform those other generous people Who take an interest in my fate of what it contains.

You can agree with Capua and my friends upon the means of bringing the Directors to repair the injustice of the Reign of Terror—My demand is indefinite. I have made it so designedly. I have wished neither to extend or restrain the act of Equity which I claim—but I shall be content if I receive with some consoling expression, the official assurance that I am not considered as an *Emigre*.

9.—Madame Campan to her Brother, April 1, 1799.

In a very few days, and without any delay, dear friend, we will send you the Decree that concerns you. I commence by saying to you that it is given by the opinion and the esteem of all the members of the Government—Directory, Ministers, Member of the Council: if there are any who oppose you they are very much in the shade, for your relations cannot find them—This *pronounce* of the Directory was made and ready to sign when your Petition was presented—but at the last labor of Charles Deuval, Minister of Police, on the subject, a difficulty arose which adjourned the travail.

Citizen Rion, a Deputy from the Department of Fieresterre, was kind enough to conduct me to Citizen Deuval—It was his day to receive the Deputies and we were three hours waiting our turn—

I was sorry to cause him the loss of so much time because he works a great deal; but he has exhibited a zeal and activity in the matter which is perfect and he loves you much although he does not know you. Charles Deuval said to me, "Citizen "you present yourself with a very fine Cause. Some "indispensible formalities have alone retarded, "what we all desire—I have known Citizen Genet "and I have endured in France, the misfortunes "of persecution, such as they attempt in America. "We have conversed about you"—He then desired me to go to find the Chief of Division, who was to make the report, and to ask for it for the twenty-second of March.

10.—Madame Campan to her Brother, September 12, 1799.

I do not know if the resolution of the late Directory, which recalled you, has reached you. I have not received a letter from you since an answer written to one from me in July, 1798.

11.—M. Genet to his Sister, Madame Campan, March 20, 1800.

The official communication of my recall has not yet been made; and some events which with another people would have embraced many Centuries, here precipitated themselves so rapidly since that act of strict justice has been done, that my mind, weakened by a mode of life, simple only, having for its support uncertain gifts of Providence and incomplete relations, cannot yet seize the whole of them to fathom their objects: My heart nevertheless, which has always burned with patriotism notwithstanding all the wrongs of my country towards me, would break through these clouds, would smooth down these doubts, would traverse the seas and dissipate the rest of the *debris* of a little fortune expended in the service of the State, to go to see once more and embrace all those who are dear to me in France, if my reason did not counsel me to trace some more furrows in the peaceable fields of America, while waiting for further news from you, while awaiting more facts; and to enjoy upon my farm, the domestic happiness with which Providence has recompensed the purity of my intentions.

The health of Cornelia* would be all that I could wish, if a fatal loss did not weigh upon her. Madame Clinton†—her Mother, her friend, and mine,—has just been taken from us. She died in my arms three days since, giving to her children the most touching example of virtue, and piety, and true courage—After paying to her our last duty, all our cares have been directed to the good General.‡ He charges me to excuse him to you, if he does not respond to your charming letter; to say to you that he has received with the most lively gratitude the bust of the extraordinary man who has fixed the eyes of the world upon him and who holds in his hands the happiness or the misery of humanity—

12.—M. Genet to M. Monroe, dated July, 12th 1800.

I reading over, lately, some old letters of my sister, Made Campan, I saw that she had taken the liberty of charging you with a cabarat of Sevre porcelain for me, this little *euroi* should be with your baggage; and my wife believes that she remembers that Mde. Monroe told her, when she passed though New York, that it would arrive momentarily—Since then we have nothing from it, and we unite in asking you to inform us of its fate—I have learned with great pleasure your election to the government of Virginia—Perhaps you will also feel some interest in learning that the Directory of the French Republic has recalled me, as I should have been in 1794, in the most honorable and the most consoling manner.

Receive, Sir, the assurance of my most respectful attachment, and also be kind enough to present our homages to Mde Monroe and our friendship to the charming Eliza.

13.—Madame Campan to her Brother, M. Genet, July 17, 1800.

It is now eighteen months, dear Friend, since we have received any news from you except indirectly—It is now fifteen months since your Government recalled you to the bosom of your Country—The Minister and your family sent you that dispatch in quadruple copies—Has anyone reached you?—Your silence as well as your determination leaves us in ignorance of it. Judge of our pain in remembering our attachment, which time and distance have not weakened. We shall pass then a part of the voyage on this life without seeing you—What a privation.

14.—Mr. Monroe to M. Genet.

Richmond, July 30th 1800

Dear Sir

I lately received your favor of the 12th inst, and was much gratified, to hear of yours and the health of your lady—Mrs Monroe is now in the Country whither she was carried by the attention which was due to the health of our youngest child, which as it was cutting teeth and had the whooping cough it was necessary to move to a purer air.

The box of porcelain which was intrusted to us by our amiable friend Mde Campan for you, was carried with our baggage to Albemarle, where it has since remained unpacked—I would have for-

* Mrs. Genet.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

† Mrs. Clinton, wife of Governor George Clinton, and mother of Mrs. Genet.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

‡ Governor George Clinton, who had been, also, a General in the army of the Revolution.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

warded it to you long since, but declined it lest in the then state of the public mind it might be considered as the proof of Conspiracy against the Government and of a Treasonable Correspondence with France, &c. I shall however hasten to have it brought here and forwarded to the care of some friend in New York of which you shall be advised.

I am happy to hear your Govt has recalled you to its own and the bosom of your friends—As a friend to free government, your name will be recorded in the history of the present day ; and your patient submission to the censures you incurred in the station of a frugal and industrious farmer will be a proof of the uprightness of your heart and integrity of your conduct, while a victim to pure principles—I considered it my duty not to injure your fame or detract from your merit while I was in France, but to anticipate and prevent as far as I could any ill effect which your collision with our Govt might produce in the French Councils—It was natural, had you returned, that you should have gone into a detail with your Govt of the incidents attending your mission, and more than probable that the communications you would have made to it would have increased the jealousy which it then entertained of the views of ours. It was my desire and endeavor to dissipate completely all those jealousies, and to bring the French Govt into a system of conduct towards us through the whole of the war, great and magnanimous, which would have done it honor to the latest posterity—I have no particular reason to conclude you would not have united in such a plan, other than the strength of human passion and the knowledge I had you thought you were injured.

Hence I was persuaded your return at the time might be injurious and was in fact adverse to it —But I did not oppose it by any direct or indirect agency. But such was the state of things growing out of my standing with the principal members of the Govt that they would take no steps in it without speaking to me on it—When the subject was opened I was always silent, testifying in favor of your integrity only ; and thence it was inferred, and truly, I was opposed to your return at the time. The whole of this has passed and is only interesting to ourselves. I too have had my day of suffering. I served with zeal the cause of Liberty and my Country, and was requited by every act of injustice which could be rendered me short of imprisonment and death—This too has passed, tho' it can never be remembered by me but with disgust. Be so good as to make my best regards to your lady, to which I add with pleasure those of Mrs M., who will be happy to hear of her, and believe me

Sincerely your friend and servt

Jas] Monroe.

15.—M. Genet to his Sister, Madame Campan, dated Jamaica, L. I., July 4, 1801.

Many occasions present themselves at once of writing to you, my faithful Friend, and I take advantage of them to speak to you a little more freely than I have dared to do for a long time—Pichon has sent me your letter of the 29th November last and has since come tosee me—We have conversed much about France, where he presses me to return, where he pretends that I will be well received by the Minister: that I would promptly receive the recompense of my former service. Deceived by friendship, blinded by his illusions, he has not considered that at the very moment he was speaking the Revolutionary globe was making perhaps a movement of rotation which would reverse all his calculations. The letter that the Monseigneur Talleyrand wrote to me, by order of the Directory, already belongs to another Century. My services have a still greater antiquity ; they were rendered at the end of the Monarchy to the Republic. Would they give me any right to favors and these favors, what price would they put upon them ? What doubts, what dangers, what hazards, for the father of a family to incur when the slightest prudence might plunge me into an abyss of misfortune. Yet if I was assured without compromising my principals, without lowering myself, without degrading myself by vile solicitations, of being again useful to my country and of being able to ameliorate the lot of my wife and children, I would resign myself to resume the chains which eight years of independence and happiness have taught me to despise ; but as that hypothesis is not very probable, as my feeble talents do not merit to be distinguished in the crowd, as my opinions have been too pronounced perhaps in favor of liberty, it seems to me that I ought to continue to consider myself as politically dead, and ought not to entertain, except under the sole relation [*rapport*] of fraternal love and friendship the probability of my return to a people whom I have idolized, but whose continual ingratitude to its most faithful public servants must inevitably deliver over to the enemies of its rights—*Malleur aux peuple recomapante*—Misfortune to a grateful people, said Mirabeau to them—They believed him and would have assassinated him if he had lived a little longer--

16.—M. Genet to Mr. Monroe.

Jamaica, Augt 10, 1800.

Sir

I have received by post the letter you have had the kindness to write to me the 30th July—It contains some things which have enlightened me, flattered me, filled me with admiration for your talents, with respect for your candor, with esteem for your patriotism, and with contempt for those

who for silly reasons of State have had the sterile cruelty to abandon a faithful agent to the inquietude, to the rancor, of a foreign government. But there is found in that letter a suspicion that you have nourished, that others of your fellow citizens have without doubt conceived, and which wounds me too deeply not to hasten to destroy it—You feared if I returned to France, the force of human passion and sensitiveness to injuries with which I was loaded would prevent me from joining myself to those who were seeking to bring France to adopt towards this country, magnanimous and generous measure. Imbued with this idea you adroitly allowed to grow blunted and die the desire that they testified to you to make reparation for the atrocious injustice which had made me flee a country, then ferocious, to seek here repose in the obscurity of isolation and emptiness. You were in error, Sir. Permit me to convince you of it by a simple exposition of the following facts. More attached than to my own glory, to the success of the grand liberal magnanimous Treaty, which I had suggested, reduced, proposed the basis, and the negotiation of which had not yet been seriously placed in any hands but mine, at the same time when my passions, irritated in every sense by the contradictions, the disgusts, were most exalted, I buried in secret the most justificatory portions of my instructions, so that the appearance of wrong, if it existed, should fall on me alone, in my official relations—I was the first to offer myself to France as a victim to calm your Washington; supposing there was but one virtue wanting to him, that of knowing how to forgive. When the the Members of the Committee of Public Safety, allured by the bait contained in the official letter of Mr Jefferson, would have deposed me without examination or inquiry of the recompenses that I had acquired by eighteen years of service in the career of Foreign Affairs, by loyal conduct from the commencement of the Revolution; and as a climax of atrocity, would have demanded me from your Government for fear that my blood might not be mingled with that of their proscribed, I held to the satelite of those monsters who disclosed that infamy to me, the language which an impurturable attachment to the Union of our two peoples would have dictated, and I excited him to fulfill his sanguinary orders if he believed them to be useful. When satiated with the troubles and fatigues of political tempests, I disrobed myself to the world. I did not cease to form, with all my soul, vows for the maintainance of concord—Finally, when the savage discourses pronounced in your Congress, when the inhospitable laws which have been the result, offered no other alternative to the French Republicans spread over this Continent than flight, chains, or death, I addressed to the Directory a letter which was carried to it by one of my former co-laborers, to engage them to throw a fraternal regard on our position and as unfortunately, I could not speak of myself without speaking also of politics, I profited by that occasion to say to those chiefs of the Empire not to listen to their resentments, and to seek only in the bosom of moderation means to ameliorate the future. My letter, coming from a pen, of which time had taken care to make known the veracity, was read attentively: it did no injury to those who have since held the language of peace; and if I deceive myself with that illusion my heart refuses to destroy it.

May these details preserve me your friendship; give you some regret for having been obliged by your place to contribute to having lost to the cause of liberty seven years of the life of a man who cherished it; and efface the last doubt on your mind of my attachment to the good American People, who distinguishing with equity the public man from the private man, covered me with the ægis of its laws, whilst mine, which I had served with all my faculties, wished them to be violated to punish me with assassination for having obeyed its supreme will.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my devotion the most sincere and the most respectful,

GENET.

NOTE.—If you see Mr. Giles, dear Sir, please tell him I shall never forget all his kindness to me and his precious confession in the Winter of '93-'94; but that I wonder how it came to pass that the 25th of May '97, he thought proper to lift up the tomahawk and the hatchet against my political ghost in Congress. Had I not torments enough? Another Citizen, in a late passion, has not spared me much more; but the revolutionary tribunal of his heart involved all my successors in the sentence; and we were jointly accused of being totally deficient in latent and diplomatic skill—a judgment which if swallowed down by the French Government as mine was by Robespierre, might have deprived them of their living—I could mention also a number of Republican scribblers electioneering stuff, and pamphlets proudly decorated with the majestic title of History, which would have deeply corroded my wounds, had I possessed less philosophy; but as is said in the song of the dying Indian: "The son of Alhomah has scorned com-
" plaint."

17.—M. GENET TO MR. MONROE.

JAMAICA, Jan. 1, 1803.

DEAR SIR:

The very prudent motives which prevented you, under the administration of Mr. Adams, to forward the set of China you had the kindness to bring from France existing in all probability no more, I take the liberty to put you in mind of that small object before your departure for the Continent;

and to request you to send it to New York, to the care of John Broome, Merchant, Hanover Square. Though sensible of the injustice I had suffered here, but distrusting my generosity, you have, dear Sir, employed your influence to prevent my undeceived and repenting fellow citizens from recalling me honorably after your Government had obtained from their ignorance the punishment of my fidelity to their own full orders. I wish you well. I have heard your appointment with great pleasure, and hope your new embassy will be crowned with every desirable success for the good of this country, the last refuge of true liberty.

GENET.

18.—MR. MOMROE TO M. GENET.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 5th 1803.

DEAR SIR:

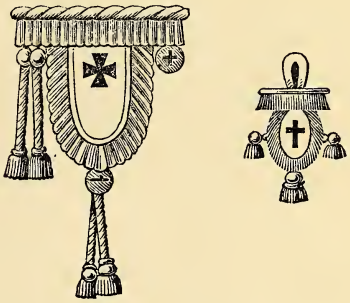
I have yours of the 29th ult, and have the pleasure to inform you that when lately in Richmond I sent round the box of China belonging to you, with some boxes of my own, to New York, to the care of Mr Gelston the Collector. On my arrival at New York which I expect will be about the 13th, it shall be separated from my baggage and placed as you direct. You have, I think, very much mistaken the import of a former letter from me to you, relative to my conduct towards you while in France. You certainly entertain an impression very different from the fact; be the letter what it may—Nothing ever escaped me, or was to be inferred from my deportment, unfriendly to you — Your nearest connections can satisfy you on that point. I meant to state to you that my situation laid a restraint on me, so as to prevent my promoting the object of your recall and to impose a reserve, in certain cases, where, had I been free to act, the good opinion I entertained of your moral and political principles might have suggested a greater freedom of action—I never mentioned you in my life, but in terms of respect, as a friend of your country and of liberty I found, by your former letter, that you had mistaken my idea on the subject, and should have put you right had I not wished not to multiply communications in the then state of the p. office (according to report) upon a subject which it would be easy in a short communication to place on its true ground—I hope to see you in New York, and will be happy to have your commands to your friends in France. Mrs Monroe is now in New York. With respectful compliments to Mrs Genet,

I am sincerely
Yours
JAS. MONROE.

XII.—THE CROSS AS AN ANCIENT AMERICAN SYMBOL.

BY HON. THOMAS EWBANK.

In the Mexican Tribute tables (*Talegas*), small pouches or bags frequently occur. Appendages to dress, they are tastefully formed and ornamented with fringe and tassels. A Cross of the Maltese or more ordinary form is conspicuously woven or painted on each. They appear to have been in great demand; a thousand bundles (*mil atados*) being the usual Pueblo tax. Some were made of the Maguey plant (*de papel*), others, probably for the higher classes, were set off with precious stones (*piedras finas*). The figures of a couple are subjoined:



See *Cordillera de los pueblos que antes de la Conquista Pagaban Tributo a' el Emperador Muctezuma y en que especie y cantidad.* Plates 5, 6, 16, 22, 29; *History of New Spain*, by Don T. A. Lorenzand. Mexico, 1770.

The practice of marking the cross on their persons and wearing it on their garments was once common with some, if not with all, the occupants of the Southern Continent. I am indebted to Dr. Davis for the following interesting extract from Martin Dobrizhoffer, a missionary in South America, from 1749 to 1767, and author of *The History of the Abipones of Paraguay*; London, 1822. He says: "They tattoo themselves by pricking "the skin with a thorn. They all wear the form "of a cross impressed on their foreheads, and "two small lines at the corner of each eye, ex- "tending toward the ears, besides four transverse "lines at root of the nose, between the eyebrows, "as National marks. What these "figures signify, and what they portend, I can- "not tell, and the Abipones themselves are no "better informed on the subject. They only "know that this custom was handed down to "them by their ancestors, and that is sufficient.

"I saw not only a cross marked on the fore- "heads of all the Abipones, but likewise black "crosses woven in the red woollen garments of

"many. It is a very surprising circumstance "that they did this before they were acquainted "with the religion of Christ, when the significa- "tion and merits of the cross were unknown to "them." E.

XIII.—HOOKER'S CAMPAIGN REVIEWED.

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, VA., Wednesday, May 13, and WASHINGTON, D. C., May 14, 1863.

President Lincoln, accompanied by General Halleck, last week, made a visit to the Commanding General of the Army of the Potomac; and since his return a semi-official utterance has been communicated to the public press, amounting as the result of his investigation into the late campaign that the President is "*satisfied*."

General Hooker a few days ago issued a congratulatory order on the seven days' operations, in which he says that the recrossing of the Rappahannock was "for reasons well known to the "*army*."

Mr. Lincoln "satisfied," and the army "know- "ing well the reason why" it retreated before a foe whose "certain destruction" had been promised three days previously—is not that enough? So at least have the political and military principalities and powers judged. Why should twenty million longing, anxious hearts, who have no other interest in knowing what has happened and how it stands with that army save that *their* sons and brothers make part of that bloody hecatomb of twelve thousand souls,—why should *they* be enlightened? Is it not enough that Mr. Lincoln is satisfied, and that the army knows why?

And now, lest this army, which knows so much, should communicate what it knows to the country, it is judged advisable to hermetically seal it, and isolate the army from the country, the country from the army. The public mind, plunged in darkness—*not* "satisfied," and *not* knowing "the "reason why"—is a prey to doubts and to fears worse than any reality of disaster, inasmuch as present fears are less than horrible anticipations. This season of darkness and uncertainty is the opportunity of bad men; and now, as Milton said of a similar period in his own time: "The whole "flock of noisome and timorous birds with those "that fear the morning, hover about, and in their "senseless gabble, prognosticate a day of sects and "schisms."

Whether Mr. Lincoln was really "satisfied" at the time, (and back of that, whether he had the opportunity in the course of a gossipy lunch with General Hooker and the corps commanders—*he had no other opportunity of seeing the latter*—to arrive at any conclusion, satisfactory or otherwise), and whether he has, since then, had occasion to be *dis-*satisfied, are questions which, for the nonce, may as well be waived. But as to the other statement—that the army knows why it recrossed the Rappahannock—I beg leave to say that there never was a more unfortunate assertion, for if there ever was a thick, hopeless, impenetrable *mystery* common to a hundred thousand men, and to every individual man in the hundred thousand—a universal mystery, extending from corps commander to the meanest private, it is *why that army recrossed the Rappahannock*.

I have for many months been a careful student of the interior moods of the Army of the Potomac, and think to have acquired the faculty of catching its spirit. I never saw it as it is now. It is not what is called "demoralized." It is puzzled, bewildered—in a state of mental chaos. The men say they were not "whipped;" that they could have gone on any day—Friday, Saturday, Sunday—and smashed the rebel army; that less than one-half of our whole force was engaged; that any of the three positions we held—the position of Friday and Saturday, the position of Sunday, or the position of Monday—was impregnable; that there was no lack of supplies, and no sign of rain till twelve hours after the order for the retreat was given;—and they ask *why they were ordered to retreat!* No man can give the shadow of a reason, and General Hooker tells the army that *they* know well why.

II.

Before proceeding with the recital of what a week's assiduous study of the late campaign on the spot, and contact with the leading commanders in the army, have taught me, I wish to make a word of reference to my last letter published in the *Times*, of the fifth instant, as it has been copied by nearly all the leading journals of the country.

I left headquarters at Chancellorsville between five and six o'clock of Sunday morning, May 3, and took the cars at Falmouth for Washington *via* Acquia Creek at eleven A. M., bringing intelligence of events up to date. I had, therefore, a personal experience of affairs only up to that time. I had seen all the preliminary movements attending the throwing of the main body of the army to Chancellorsville. I had seen the events of Friday, when we were feeling the enemy, and of Saturday, when the enemy were feeling us. I witnessed Jackson's bold attack on our right flank at seven o'clock of Saturday evening, when he turned our position and routed the Eleventh Corps. Remaining on the ground with the commander during the night watches, I saw the new dispositions of his troops which General Hooker was obliged in consequence to make—contracting his right and drawing it from Hunting Creek, where it rested, a mile nearer the river. I left on Sunday morning, just as

Lee again opened the day by a renewed attack on our extreme right. Riding over the interval of seventeen miles that separates Chancellorsville from Falmouth, I saw, as I neared Fredericksburgh, from the commanding heights on the Falmouth side, Sedgwick's Sixth corps (which had the day before worked its way up from the crossing, two miles below, and taken possession of Fredericksburgh) developed on the plain in the rear of the town, on the same ground where Sumner's men last December suffered such slaughter. I saw the heroic line charge up those heights—a sight never to be forgotten by me—and gallantly take those formidable works.

Such is what I personally knew at the date of my writing. I shared, in common with every man in the army, the joy and hope inspired by the brilliant manner in which the preliminary operations were conducted by General Hooker. I expressed this sentiment with ardor. I have nothing of all this to retract. *Quid scribitur scribetur.* Unhappily, what was true up to a certain point, ceases at that point to be true. Superb in his combinations up to the time of meeting the enemy, the moment he confronted that enemy he failed utterly--wilted and withered as it were. The immediate staff and advisers of General Hooker all marked, with special wonder, the interior change which overcame him like a Summer cloud. I leave aside all attempt to explain this psychical phenomenon, or explore whether it arose from defects inherent in his mind, or whether it was an abnormal and exceptional action. The melancholy fact remains that, after the first stages, his course was ill-advised and unfortunate throughout. It was not only bad—it was the worst possible; and in all the cardinal operations, where there were a half-dozen different modes of action, he not only chose a bad course—he chose the *only bad course.*

I make these statements, and proceed to substantiate them, with the greatest pain and reluctance. Since the day when, on receipt of the tidings of the retreat, I left New York and came to the army, confident that I should find material for a full and clear defence of General Hooker's conduct, I have desired nothing so much as to be able to make that defence. With opportunities of information accorded, perhaps, to no one else, official or unofficial, and with a diligent use of these opportunities, during the past six days, it only remains to acknowledge that I am unable to make out a shadow of a case. I have been able to see no one, in any station, who thinks General Hooker's conduct capable either of explanation or of justification. I am bound, further, to say that it is the clear and assured sentiment of the army that we owe it to him alone that, with victory positive in his hands, he should have allowed that victory to drop from his grasp; and to him alone we owe that all the lavish expenditure of the rich blood-wine of the nation's life, and all the precious, priceless value of this army should have been in vain—alas! in vain!

This is not a case for epithets or rhetoric. It is too deep for that. I hope to write calmly, and I shall leave out much—much more than I shall set down. I give the facts. Let the country draw its own inference: the army has drawn *its.*

III.

In my letter of last week I gave, with great fullness of detail, the history of the concentration of the army at Chancellorsville, and the movements of the other column in the vicinity of Fredericksburgh. There is, therefore, here, no occasion for anything more than the briefest reference to times and places.

On Thursday evening, when General Hooker, having left his old Headquarters to take the field, rode up to Chancellorsville, he found concentrated at that point four army corps, the Second, (Couch,) the Fifth, (Meade,) the Eleventh, (Howard,) and the Twelfth, (Slocum.) The Fifth, Eleventh and Twelfth corps had crossed the Rappahannock by one of the upper fords, (Kelly's,) and the Rapidan at Germanna and Ely's fords, and having thus uncovered United States Ford, enabled the Second and other corps which might be thrown up from below, to make the passage at that point. These four corps had reached Chancellorsville on Thursday night, and the Third corps (Sickles') was ordered to have the head of its column at the United States Ford by seven o'clock the next morning.

The other two corps of the seven corps that compose the army of the Potomac, namely, the First, (Reynolds) and Sixth, (Sedgwick,) remained meanwhile below Fredericksburgh, to perform the *role* assigned them.

By this rapid, secret and brilliant movement Lee was thoroughly surprised. There can be no doubt whatever of this. The proof of it is furnished by such material evidence as that the rebels were picketing the Rappahannock after we had crossed the Rapidan, but still more clearly by the documentary evidence found in the note from General Lee, discovered in the Chancellor House, (and which I gave in my former letter,) announcing to the rebel Commandant of the Post, that (eighteen hours after we had crossed) he (Lee) had just heard of our having made the passage.

At the time of this concentration of our force on Chancellorsville, what was the distribution of the rebel army?

And let me remark, in passing, that General Hooker had very thorough information on this point—knowing the precise location of every regiment, brigade, division and corps in the rebel army, and even down to the exact kind, quantity and quality

of rations issued that morning from every rebel brigade-commissary.

The Confederate centre rested on Fredericksburgh, thus throwing their right down the Rappahannock, their left up. Jackson's corps was distributed along a line of fifteen miles, down to Port Royal, where their extreme right, formed by Early's division, rested. The left wing rested on United States and the upper fords, where two brigades, under command of General Anderson, were stationed.

We return to our own position. It is Friday morning. Five of our corps are concentrated at Chancellorsville.

From Chancellorsville to Fredericksburgh is ten miles. From the former place two excellent plank-roads run out, coming together four miles on, at Tabernacle Church, and thence continuing in a united line in Fredericksburgh.

It was General Hooker's original intention to push on and establish his headquarters that very night at Tabernacle Church, making that the point of concentration of the army. Well it had been for us if he had done so! You will see that this would have uncovered Banks' ford, thus shortening the line of communication between the main body and Sedgwick by eight miles, (four on each side of the river.) You will also see that it would have given us possession of one of the two rebel lines of retreat—namely, the Gordonsville line, thus depriving them of all means of retreat, if Stoneman should do his work.

General Hooker, however, did not see fit to push on, but remained during all Friday and Saturday at Chancellorsville. Here he issued his order announcing that "the enemy must ingloriously fly, "or come out from behind his defences and give "us battle on our own ground, where certain de- "struction awaits him."

This boast, so much in the style of Hooker, who is characterized by more than the *gloriosa Francisca*, was dwelt upon and amplified by the whole tenor of his conversation. "The rebel army," said he, "is now the legitimate property of the "Army of the Potomac: they may as well pack "up their haversacks and make for Richmond, "and I shall be after them," etc., etc.

Friday was spent by General Hooker in intrenching the line he had established at Chancellorsville, and in throwing out a few reconnoitering parties. Meade, with two divisions, at noon pushed out on the plank-road as far as the Decker House, within one mile of Banks' ford, *saw no enemy, and was ordered to retire.* Sykes, with his division of regulars, (Meade's corps,) pushed out on the old plank-road, met a force of the enemy, drove him elegantly for a mile and a half, doing one of the finest bits of fighting during the whole course of the war, was left entirely without support, and was finally ordered to retire —Hancock's division of Couch's corps being sent out to cover the withdrawal.

Every intelligent officer begged the Commanding General to allow the army to push on and hold the front gained by these reconnoitering parties. It was urged, in the warmest terms, that the occupation of this fine position would, as I have before said, uncover Banks' Ford, otherwise held by the enemy, thus reducing our line of communication with Sedgwick by eight miles—that it would give us command of dominating heights which, if we did not hold, the enemy would to our disadvantage; that it would take us out of this densely wooded region, in which it is very difficult to manœuvre troops, and bring us in connection with and commanding the open country on the posterior slope of the Fredericksburgh heights, which it was hoped Sedgwick would soon hold, and which he did really soon hold.

It was in vain that these considerations, whose supreme importance must be apparent from even a momentary glance at the strategic topography of the region, were urged by the ablest heads. General Hooker had assumed a perilous defensive, and was waiting for the enemy to attack him "on ground of his own se- "lection."

You know what Saturday's work was. He lay by, doing nothing; and the enemy was engaged during the day in threatening our lines at various points for the purpose of gaining time for concentration. By Saturday evening this was completed; and at seven o'clock Jackson made his brilliant assault on our right—coming on in columns of attack by battalion with two company front. You know the result. Deven's division held the extreme right, with Von Gilsa's brigade as a knob. These men, without receiving a shot from the enemy, leaped out of their breastworks, fell back on their own division, which was thrown on Schurz's division, which, in turn, rolled back on Stienwehr's division, and the whole corps, in an incredibly short space of time, was in rout and confusion.

From this rapid glance we see that, while our forces reached Chancellorsville on Thursday, it was Saturday evening before any serious attack was made on either side. *Forty-eight hours were thus allowed Lee during which to concentrate his forces and prepare either to attack or to repel attack.* Hours to us, but ages to him. And what excellent use he made of this season soon became evident. Troops were hurried up from down the river as far as Port Royal, from Bowling Green, from Richmond; and by Saturday night, Lee had his army entire in his hands, massed opposite ours, leaving only Early's division to guard the heights of Fredericksburgh.

What was the strength of the rebel army? Their entire force opposite both the main body of the

army and opposite Sedgwick's column, is set down by General Hooker at *seventy thousand men*. If we are to credit official figures, already made public, our own number would be carried to almost *double* that.

Sunday's operations can be briefly summed up. After the repulse of the Eleventh corps, our right wing had been contracted and brought down a mile. Early on Sunday morning, the First corps (Reynolds') arrived at Chancellorsville, having the day previously come up from below Fredericksburgh. We now occupied a long front, five miles in length, approximating to an obtuse triangle, the right resting on Hunting Creek, at a point opposite Ely's Ford; the left (as before) on the Rappahannock, between Banks' and the United States Ford. The rebels made their first attack at five o'clock in the morning, and they made two subsequent attacks, the contest at Chancellorsville ending at twelve o'clock. Their mode of attack was in each case the same. We formed a long weak line. They massed in solid column; and throwing themselves on our front with all the momentum acquired by the mass multiplied by the velocity, broke the line with ease.

There was noble fighting on the part of our soldiers during that day. But nothing could make up for the radically vicious tactical disposition of our forces. *Less than one-half of our troops were thrown into action—the First and Fifth Corps not having been engaged at all!*

The feebleness and indecision which had marked the conduct of General Hooker during the two previous days, now became still more painfully apparent. At the very moment when vigor, dash, and fire were indispensable, he became timid and halting. It was all along thought that if there was one quality which General Hooker might with perfect safety be relied upon to display, it was the quality of *fight*. It was always assumed that he would throw all his men into the contest, and not allow a battle to fail by holding back. And yet here was precisely where he failed, and corps commanders begged in vain to be thrown in and a vigorous attack made!

It must go on the record against General Hooker, that not a military head here but believes that, with a proper disposition of our forces that would have called all our strength into play in a very vigorous offensive, we might, any time that day, have severed the enemy, turned, enveloped and destroyed him. General Hooker was, as you have doubtless heard, during the early part of that day, struck by a portion of a pillar of the Chancellor House, (against which he was leaning,) and which was carried away, throwing him violently down. General Couch, the senior Major-General, thus came temporarily into command for an hour; and it is a current saying that *if Hooker had remained insensible for another hour, Couch would have whipped the enemy*. And, in fact, any one who would simply have allowed the Corps Commander to go on *would* have whipped the enemy.

The day ended with fresh contraction of our lines, the right wing being drawn down a mile.

Before pushing matters on the right any further, however, it is necessary to look in the direction of Fredericksburgh, and see what is transpiring there, during this same time.

IV.

The original plan of a division of the army into two portions—the enemy occupying the interior line—was one that never inspired much confidence in a successful issue. Much, however, would depend on special conditions—on prudence, vigor, and co-operation. We shall presently see that, dangerous though such a step generally is, there was nothing in the division of the force which a sound head might not have turned to account; that it proved disastrous only from a violation of all military principles; and that the Fredericksburgh column was saved from utter destruction only by the admirable skill and stout heart of its commander, General Sedgwick, and the dauntless pluck of that Sixth corps.

On Saturday, at eleven o'clock, General Sedgwick, who still held his position with the Sixth Corps, two miles below Fredericksburgh, at Franklin's old crossing, was ordered to move in the direction of Chancellorsville and effect a junction with the main body of the army, attacking and destroying any force of the enemy which he might encounter, and making a junction with General Hooker by daybreak of Sunday.

General Sedgwick had been assured over and over again from Headquarters, that the force in front of him was inconsiderable—*a regiment or brigade at most!*

It did not take him long to discover the incorrectness of this statement; and Sunday morning found him no further than Fredericksburgh or the plain in its rear.

The column had moved some distance across this open field, made historical by the attack of last December, when a sudden and severe flank fire was opened upon it. It was evident that the works on the heights were strongly manned, and if carried at all must be carried by storm.

You know already something of the splendid gallantry with which this work was done—the men, without firing a shot rushing up with their glittering steel and falling down dead by hundreds on the very edge of the rifle-pits.

At eleven o'clock, the first range of heights is carried. Great resistance is made at the second, but it also is carried; and between four and five

o'clock, P.M., the advance reached Salem Heights, on the Fredericksburgh and Chancellorsville plank road, four and a half miles from the former place.

After a sharp and obstinate struggle the Salem Heights are gained; but the force is met by fresh rebel troops pouring in upon the flank of the advance portion of the line. For a short time the crest at Salem chapel is held by our men with obstinate resistance; but, at length, they are pushed slowly back through the woods —the falling back being covered and the advance of the enemy checked by the excellent firing of our batteries. So much for Sedgwick's work of Sunday.

During the night the enemy was reinforced heavily—a powerful column having come up from Richmond. Sedgwick, in obedience to his orders to join the main body of our army at Chancellorsville, had moved beyond the Fredericksburgh Heights, thus exposing them to be repossessed without a struggle by the enemy. This they at once did. Sedgwick is now cut off from Fredericksburgh.

We have seen what Sunday's operations at Chancellorsville were. Hooker was on the defensive the whole time. Lee engaged him from five o'clock in the morning till noon—we giving ground.

We can now take in the relation of the operations, both on the right at Chancellorsville, and on the left at Fredericksburgh, and see the masterly manner in which Lee availed himself of the opportunity afforded him.

It was eleven o'clock on Sunday when Sedgwick's corps carried the Fredericksburgh Heights. At one o'clock, General Lee became aware of the fact; and on the instant he ceased his attack.

It was a bold step he now took, and one that must have ended in his destruction, had even moderate vigor been displayed by General Hooker. But Lee seems to have felt he knew his man, and *he immediately countermarched his force back on the plank-road to meet Sedgwick!* You see clearly what his object was. A rebel force was in Sedgwick's rear at Fredericksburgh. If now Lee should come down on the front and flank of that small force of twenty thousand men, they must be utterly destroyed—either captured or driven into the river.

Sedgwick, having taken possession of the Fredericksburgh Heights, at eleven o'clock of Sunday, immediately moved out in obedience to orders, with the view of effecting a junction with General Hooker by the plank-road. It was five o'clock of Sunday afternoon when he reached Salem Heights. Here he was met by the advance of Lee's column, which had countermarched from in front of Hooker at Chancellorsville to Salem Heights—five miles. It was this force which checked Sedgwick's advance, as mentioned in a previous paragraph.

The situation on Sunday night is as follows: Sedgwick, checked in his advance on Salem Heights, formed his line for the night with his left resting on the river, about midway between Fredericksburg and Banks' Ford, thence extending a little across the Fredericksburgh and Chancellorsville plank-road, where it turned at right angles, following the direction of the road, out toward Chancellorsville for a mile and then again turning at right angles to the right, recrossing the plan road in front of Salem Heights; and then extend ing down towards Banks' Ford with a slight curvature to the left, the interval between the termination of the line and the river being admirably covered with artillery. His position thus formed three sides of a square, with the river for the fourth.

The main body of the rebels had abandoned Hooker's front at one o'clock, and during all the afternoon and evening were pouring down and enveloping Sedgwick.

While these things are going on, Hooker is again "contracting his line."

We now come to Monday's work. General Hooker, with his six corps, *still remains on the defensive.* Feeble demonstrations are made by the rebels in his front to keep him in check. These are quite effectual.

In the meantime, during all Monday, Lee is massing against Sedgwick's force, preparatory to a grand destructive blow.

It is now six o'clock of Monday evening, and from twelve o'clock of Sunday—thirty hours—General Hooker has not been seriously engaged with the enemy, *yet not a single attempt has been made to reinforce Sedgwick!*

Poor Sedgwick, meanwhile surrounded by a force four times his number, enveloped and on the brink of destruction, receives a message from General Hooker, saying that *he (Hooker) had driven the enemy, and all it wanted was for him (Sedgwick) to come up and complete their destruction!* Frightful delusion, which I cannot record without a shudder!

At six o'clock the enemy made a most determined attack, in echelons of battalions and in column, on Sedgwick's right, held by General Howe's division—their object being to *cut off our communication with the river.* At the same time another was made on his other wing, held by General Brooks' division. I need not repeat the details of this action, marked by the most obstinate gallantry on the part of the Sixth corps. Both wings were forced back by the terrible impetus of the overwhelming rebel masses. All the force and all the fire of the enemy, however, did not serve to accomplish their object—the driving of that gallant band into the river. Retiring to a less ex-

posed position, General Sedgwick stoutly held on, and, under cover of the darkness on Monday night, safely crossed his force to the north side of the Rappahannock—his force, or what remained of it; for over five thousand brave men, one-third of the entire number of effective men, fell during this terrible engagement. Their heroism passes all words of praise.

During the whole of that fight of Monday evening—that *triste noche*, when the enemy's whole force surrounded that one poor corps—no attempt was made by General Hooker to reinforce or relieve them. "Come on, all it wants is for you "to complete their destruction," was the piece of horrible irony that came to them. Hour after hour, their guns boomed on the night air and reached the ear of all at Chancellorsville—signals of distress which all were eager to respond to. Guns of distress—requiem guns!

This recital is complete as far as Sedgwick's force is concerned. We turn, now, to the main force near Chancellorsville.

Hooker has again contracted his line. It was but half the length of the former line, and very strong as you will perceive—both wings resting on the river.

That we would ever do aught less than *hold* this position, no one ever dared to dream.

Conceive the amazement, then, when on Tuesday, the order for withdrawal across the river was given! I have been told that in the Council of corps commanders, which General Hooker had summoned, *one* favored recrossing. He was certainly the only man in the army who did favor it. The others and, indeed, all in high places, not only opposed it by every obstacle of argument and persuasion, but even when this failed, many *tried to place material obstacles in the way*, if by so doing they might only delay or stop the retreat!

It was in vain, however, that all was done, and the army found itself retreating before—*nobody*. The enemy was retreating at the same time that we were; and no attempt at pursuit whatever was made. If they had pursued, they must have destroyed our army.

And thus ends a campaign characterized by better fighting and worse generalship than any in the history of the war.

V.

The recital of events conducts to a brief summing up of the whole campaign.

1. General Hooker, remaining on the defensive at Chancellorsville, allowed the enemy forty-eight hours to concentrate. By this means he lost all the advantage of the surprise, and turned a series of operations, whose whole success depended on his assuming the *offensive*, into an uncertain and, as it proved, a disastrous *defensive*.

2. It is said that the region around Chancellorsville is thickly wooded and ill-adapted for military operations. General Hooker is estopped from availing himself of this excuse by his own order, in which he declared it was *ground of his own selection*. Besides, this objection disappears before the fact, that Friday's reconnoisances show that he might have pushed out on the plank-road, beyond the woods, thus uncovering Banks' Ford, bringing his army within communicating distance with Sedgwick, and reducing the line of communication by eight miles.

3. After dividing his army—always a dangerous operation—he insured disaster by establishing no system of co-operation. Sedgwick could easily have held the heights in the rear of Fredericksburgh, which would have been a sure gain, and then the main body of the army could have worked its way up and made a junction. Indeed, the Richmond papers acknowledge that had General Hooker been content to have held the Fredericksburgh Heights and his position on the left, Lee must have fallen back defeated. But Sedgwick was ordered to abandon this stronghold, and come on and join the army at Chancellorsville, with the whole rebel force between him and it!

4. The operations, ending in the giving ground of the army at Chancellorsville, on Sunday, were over five hours before Sedgwick attacked Salem Heights. It is, therefore, evident that unless the Sixth corps could, single-handed, fight the enemy, the sole object of his taking the Heights of Fredericksburgh, or uncovering Banks' Ford could be to hold a position from which the army could *debouche*. Therefore, the attack on Salem Heights was mere waste of men; and if those heights had been taken, the Sixth corps never could have extricated itself.

5. Sedgwick's force was not attacked till six o'clock Monday. From twelve o'clock Sunday until six o'clock Monday evening—*thirty hours*—was available to reinforce Sedgwick, whose cannon were heard all Monday evening, and no attempt made to relieve him.

6. The troops that attacked Sedgwick were exhausted by two battles and a countermarch, yet General Hooker made no attack at daylight on Monday.

7. In the fight of Sunday but a half of our force was engaged—neither the First nor the Fifth corps being thrown in, and only a portion of the Second.

8. It is said that the rain, causing a rise of the Rappahannock and endangering our supplies, was a motive for retreat. *The order to retire was given twelve hours before any rain, and during a cloudless sky.*

VI.

With this marshaling of events, the task which duty imposes on me ends. I make no criticisms, draw no conclusions. In fact the conduct of General Hooker escapes criticism by the introduction—I might almost venture to say—of a *Providential* hand, that seemed to paralyze him and deliver him over to judicial blindness. "The General "was not himself," say his staff and familiars. And indeed the mood of the army toward their commander responds to this sentiment, and is one more of sorrow than of anger.

Nevertheless, with all this, the fact remains, as the President remarked at the close of his conference with General Hooker and the corps Commanders, that "both at home and abroad the late cam-"paign will be regarded as the greatest disaster "of the war."

If it be really so, what good can it do to attempt to conceal it, or cover it with palliations that sicken one to read? This nation is not of the temper I take it to be, if it cannot afford to look calmly at the worst facts—to look calmly *at* them, and *into* them, and resolutely to *right* them.

This noble Army of the Potomac, reduced though it be by losses in battle, remains to us yet —its strength still greater than the rebel force, which it feels more and more able to beat, if it can only be properly led. We need but this —*central wisdom at the head of military affairs in Washington, and good generalship for this army.*

"When lamentable weakness and endless ver-"satility," writes Napoleon in a passage of his Memoirs, that with strange fidelity reproduces our own condition, "are manifested in the councils of "a Government; when an administration, yield-"ing by turns to the influence of every opposing "party, and going on from day to day, without "any fixed plan or determined system, has shown "its utter insufficiency; and when the most mod-"erate citizens in the State are obliged to confess "that it is destitute of a Government; when rul-"ers, insignificant at home, have shamefully "brought on their country the contempt of for-"eigners—the greatest of injuries in the eyes of a "proud people—vague apprehensions spread "throughout society; agitated by the instinct of "self-preservation, it looks into its own resources "and seeks for some one able to save it from de-"struction. A populous nation must always pos-"sess this tutelary genius in its own bosom, "though he may sometimes be tardy in appearing. "It is not, indeed, sufficient for him to exist. He "must be known to others, and he must be con-"scious of his own powers. Until then, all en-"deavors are vain, all schemes ineffectual. The "inertness of the multitude is the protection of "the Government, and in spite of its inexperience "and weakness, the efforts of its enemies cannot "prevail against it. But let this deliverer, so "impatiently expected, suddenly give a proof of "his existence, and the nation instinctively ac-"knowledges and calls on him, all obstacles van-"ish at his approach, and a great people throng-"ing round his steps, seems exultingly to pro-"claim: This is the Man!"

Does not this whole nation, now in pain and travail, breathe the prayer, that Heaven may send us such a MAN?

WILLIAM SWINTON.

[The above communication, by the distinguished author of "The Army of the Potomac," was written by him for the New York Daily Times, of which he was the widely-known Correspondent in the field; but it was suppressed after it was "in type," by order of the Federal Government, and its author arrested.

We are glad to give it a place in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, both on account of the circumstances to which we have referred, and for its peculiar merit, as a piece of military criticism by a civilian; and we assure ourselves that our readers, especially those careful students of the military history of the recent war, who shall come after us, will not only appreciate the importance of Mr. Swinton's scathing criticism, but thank us for preserving and publishing it.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

XIV.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

AN OLD FIRE COMPANY.—Union Engine Company Number One, of Trenton, which was organized in 1747, passed through Jersey City a few days since, on a visit to their brother firemen at Poughkeepsie. The company numbered fifty-five men, and had with them their steam fire engine, and were also accompanied by the Jefferson brass band of Newark.

OLD LANDMARKS.—There are some very old buildings in Manchester, Virginia, older than any in big Richmond save, probably, the old stone house. Among the most ancient are the Clark Mansion, at the corner of Eleventh and Bainbridge streets; the Archer House, on Seventh and Bainbridge; the Murchie House, on Hull and Fifth, and the houses opposite, owned by Messrs. Whitehead and Weisiger. These buildings are all over a century and a quarter old, and were built by the ancestors of the present owners, when the old country road ran through the (then) village of Rocky Ridge to Coutt's Ferry. Work and improvement have somewhat modernized them, and prevented their entire decay; but still they stand, and long may they stand, as connecting links between this and past generations we shall never blush to own. The Murchie House (Rocky

Ridge Castle), lately deserted by the hospitable family who for twenty years made it the scene of elegant refinement, is now a picture of bleakness, repelling us by its grim and gloomy appearance as much as in former days its taste and cheerfulness attracted. We are promised, by some of our oldest citizens, some most interesting reminiscences of Manchester from its earliest days, and from time to time we shall spread them before our readers with the hope of being in some means instrumental in interesting them.

Daniel Webster in His Youth—A Familiar Letter to a Friend.—A correspondent of the Lewiston (Me.) *Journal*, in a letter from Fryeburgh, in that State, says: Fryeburgh was settled in 1762. It was a noted place seventy years ago, and probably the village was at that time nearly as large as now. It has had a flourishing academy, over which Daniel Webster, then a youth of twenty-one just out of Dartmouth College, presided for nearly a year, in 1802. While there he boarded at a hotel at which we stopped; and is remembered as a black-eyed, black-haired, medium-sized youth, of sedate manners and correct morals, whose success in teaching was not marked, and who gave no indications of his subsequent mental greatness. At the Register of Deeds office in the village, there is shown one book of records in Webster's handwriting, he having occupied some of his spare hours in increasing his receipts by writing for the Register. At that time there were several leading lawyers living in Fryeburgh, and several law students, two of whom, Judah Dana, afterward a well-known Judge, and McGraw, afterward a prominent lawyer at Bangor, were Webster's intimate friends. The following letter, written by Webster while here, to his friend, Samuel Bradley, has been shown us by a relative of Mr. B.:

Fryeburgh, March 3, 1802.

My Friend: This is one of those happy mornings when Spring "looks from the lurid chambers of the South." Though we have snow in abundance, yet the air is charmingly serene, and Pigwocket (another name for Pequawket, as the region was formerly called), puts on more pleasantness than I have ever before seen it clad in. If I had an engagement of Love, I should certainly arrange my thoughts of this morning for a romantic epistle. How fine it would be to point out a resemblance between the clear lustre of the sun, and a pair of bright eyes! The snow, too, instead of embarrassing, would much assist me. What fitter emblem of virgin purity? A pair of pigeons that enjoy the morning on the ridge of the barn, might be easily transformed into turtle doves, breathing reciprocal vows. How shall I resist this temptation to be a little romantic and poetical? "Loves" and "doves" this moment chime in my fancy in spite of me. "Sparkling "eyes" and "mournful sighs," "Constancy of "soul," "like needle to the pole," and a whole retinue of poetic and languishing expressions are now ready to pour from my pen! What a pity that all this inspiration should be lost for want of an object. But so it is—nobody will hear my pretty ditties, unless, forsooth, I should turn gravely about and declaim them to the maid who is setting the table for breakfast. But what an indelicate idea—a *maid* to be the subject of a ballad? 'twere blasphemy. Apollo would never forgive me. Well, then, I will turn about and drink down all my poetry with my coffee. "Yes, ma'am, I will come to breakfast."

I wish, my good friend, I could think of some pretty thing to tell you, but Pigwocket does not abound in extraordinary occurrences. The topic of this day's conversation is an intended ride this afternoon to Conway. I think the Misses enjoy it finely in prospect, and no doubt the retrospect will be equally pleasant. To me, however (*ut ad me revertor*), such things are most charming while future; it is my object, therefore, to keep them future as much as possible.

Mr. Fessenden's mother is dead—she departed to the "bourne whence no traveler returns" about a week ago, with bright prospects of future felicity; she attended the summons without a murmur, and, full of years, sunk to rest on the bosom of her Maker. Mr. Fessenden's family have been extremely ill, and his lady continues so yet. He has not yet returned from his attendance of the Legislature.

Our friends Dana and McGraw are gone to Haverhill Court. I have quite a lonely week—'twould be a pleasure to call at Harvey's house and take a cup of coffee with my friend Samuel, but he is not there. Yet this letter shall tell him that he is remembered with much tenderness and esteem by his Daniel Webster.

Samuel A. Bradley, Esq.

"A Reminiscence.—Mr. John H. Eastburn, the "well-known printer, long established in State "street, has reprinted, for the perusal of a few of "his friends, a letter from the late Hon. Harrison "Gray Otis, in April, 1846, to William Hayden, "Esq., then a member of the Massachusetts Legis-"lature, upon the subject of temperance and pro-"hibitory laws. This was the last public docu-"ment ever issued by its distinguished author, and "is full of the sound precepts which always adorned "and illustrated the productions of his pen and "the eloquence of his tongue."

The above is part of an editorial paragraph in the *Transcript* of last evening. My purpose in

copying it is to correct an error which it contains. The letter referred to above, written by Mr. Otis in April, 1848, was not "the last public document ever issued by its distinguished author." If you will turn to the files of the Boston *Atlas* you will find in the issue of that paper of the second of October, 1848, *An Address to the People of Massachusetts*, written and signed by Harrison Gray Otis. The address makes three closely-printed columns of the *Atlas*, and contains an eloquent appeal to the people in favor of the election of General Taylor to the Presidency.

This address was unquestionably "the last public document ever issued by its distinguished author," for Mr. Otis died on the twenty-eighth of the same month, at his residence in Boston, in the eighty-second year of his age. Allow me to add, that the manuscript of the address was brought to me by a messenger from Mr. Otis. It was clearly and neatly written on small letter sheets, gilt edge. Instead of giving the original to the compositors, I copied it, and it was set up from my manuscript. It was my intention to have the original bound and preserved in my library; but I gave it to the late Hon. William D. Swan, of Dorchester, who wished to present it to an old literary society in that town, the name of which I have forgotten. My impression is, that Hon. E. P. Tileston was at that time President of the Society. I presume that the manuscript of this, "the last public document" of Harrison Gray Otis, is still there.—W. S., *Transcript*.

The Natural History of Canada.—At the fourth monthly meeting of the Natural History Society of Montreal, Mr. H. G. Vennor presented a catalogue of the birds noted on the Great Manitoulin Island, and accompanied it with a few observations on its physical features. Having given a brief topographical description of the Island, and a sketch of its geology, some of the silicified fossils of the Clinton group from the neighborhood of Lake Manitou were exhibited; also photographs of glacial groovings and scratchings on rocks on the south shore of the island. The following are extracts from the notes then read:

"From the village of Manitouaning, a fair "portage road or trail leads off to the first and "largest lake on the Island, Lake Manitou, or "the Lake of the Great Spirit. The portage is "about three miles in length, and runs through "fine open woods, comparatively free from "under-brush. For the information of any who "may hereafter visit the Great Manitoulin, I may "state that no canoes are to be had on any of the "interior lakes of the island; and that it is not "unusual to paddle for days on these, without "even meeting with an Indian family. Consequently all canoes and Indians required have to "be procured either at Little Current or Manitou-"aning.....Manitouaning Bay is ten miles long, "and reaches to within two and one-half miles "of South Bay, on the South side of the Island, "thus nearly cutting off the unceded portion of "the Island.

"The waters of Lake Manitou are beautifully "clear, and abound in fine fish—such as Black-"bass, Salmon and Brook-trout, White-fish, and "Perch.

"At the extreme Western end of this lake the "Indians cross by a portage to another large lake "called 'Mindemooya' or 'Old Woman's Lake;' "here canoes have also to be portaged.

"The whole of this portage is strewn over with "very fine Clinton fossils. The cliffs around this "lake lie at some distance from the shores, so "that we were not much surprised at finding a "belt of good and well timbered land, between "these cliffs and the shores. On such land we "noticed large crops of corn and potatoes. From "the middle of the lake rises Mindemooya "Island, which is said to be much infested by "snakes. Farther westward we have another "large lake called Kagaweng, and numerous "smaller ones generally distributed over the "island.

"Oil wells were being successfully worked at "Wequemakong by the Great Manitoulin Oil "Company. The oil from this locality is of the "finest description. An office has been opened "in Montreal in connection with this Company.

"On the interior lakes the bald eagle and fish-"hawk were very numerous; the former bird "apparently living by the toiling of the latter "species. Ruffed-grouse, Spruce-partridge and "Wild-pigeons were very numerous all through "the interior of the island. The islands in the "lakes swarmed with the Silvery and Black-"backed gulls, while the waters resounded with "the cries of the Loon. The Whip-poor-will "might always be heard along the rocky shores "and particularly near the mouth of rivers."

On the whole, the reader remarked that the Great Manitoulin presented many advantages to the settler; for although perhaps one-third of the island was of a rocky and consequently barren character, the remaining two-thirds contained land of the finest description, covered at present either by Indian crops, or splendid hard-wood forests, which last yielded large quantities of maple sugar—generally at the rate of one thousand lbs. per acre. Mr. Vennor concluded by expressing a hope that ere long we might be able to hear of this great Manitoulin Island as being the home of the white settler, where he might be seen surrounded by waving fields of grain, and possessing not only the comforts, but also the luxuries of life.—*Canadian Naturalist*.

The First Printed Ballot.—George Sheldon, of Deerfield, has an original *bona fide* electoral ticket for George Washington for President. It is headed "The Washington Ticket of "Electors." Maine then belonged to Massachusetts, and four of the electors were from the former. The candidate from this district was Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr., of Amherst. At that time, and for a number of years after, all the ballots were written. David Henshaw was the first man in Massachusetts who offered a printed ballot at the polls, he claiming that it was, in a legal point of view, a written one. The ballot was rejected; Henshaw prosecuted the Selectmen; and the matter was carried to the Supreme Court, where it was decided that Henshaw's view of the matter was correct. Since that time we have been allowed to use printed ballots.—*Greenfield Gazette.*

Grain Shipments from Chicago for Twenty-nine Years.—The following table shows the total shipments of all kinds of grain from Chicago for the past twenty-nine years, the flour being reduced to wheat:

Year.	Bushels.	Year.	Bushels.
1838,.....	78	1853,.....	6,412,181
1839,.....	2,673	1854,.....	13,932,320
1840,.....	10,000	1855,.....	16,633,700
1841,.....	40,000	1856,.....	21,533,221
1842,.....	586,907	1857,.....	18,032,678
1843,.....	688,907	1858,.....	20,035,166
1844,.....	923,496	1859,.....	16,771,812
1845,.....	1,024,620	1860,.....	31,108,759
1846,.....	1,599,619	1861,.....	50,481,862
1847,.....	2,243,201	1862,.....	56,484,110
1848,.....	3,001,740	1863,.....	54,741,839
1849,.....	2,769,111	1864–5,.....	47,124,494
1850,.....	1,830,938	1865–6,.....	53,212,224
1851,.....	4,646,291	1866–7,.....	66,736,660
1852,.....	5,873,141		

Monument to the Memory of the Late Doctor Worcester.—The lot of Doctor Worcester is near the base of the perpendicular side of Mount Auburn, as that eminence rises from Consecration Dell. It is situated between Aster and Sumac paths, under the shadow of a group of stately and majestic beech trees, constituting a portion of the original forest that formerly covered the grounds. There has recently been erected on this lot, to the memory of Doctor Worcester, a substantial and durable granite monument, consisting of a base, plinth, die and cap, with the following inscription:

"To the memory of Joseph Emerson Wor-"cester, Geographer, Historian, Lexicogra-"pher. A man of Christian uprightness "and beneficence.

"Born twenty-fourth of August, 1784; "died twenty-seventh of October, 1865.

"In simplicity and godly sincerity he "had his conversation in the World."

The cost of this monument was not far from one thousand dollars.—*Transcript.*

Old Age.*—The *Boston Advertiser*, under its "general" column, states the following as a remarkable fact:

"There are now living in the town of Essex, a "brother and two sisters whose united ages are "264 years."

This gives an average of eighty-eight years to each. We have a still more remarkable case than that in Portland. We have a brother and two sisters now living whose united ages are two hundred and eighty-five years and a quarter, the oldest being ninety-seven and one-quarter, the youngest ninety-two and one-half, showing an average of a little rising ninety-five years. This probably transcends any similar case on record. These are the eldest and only surviving of eleven children of Peter Thomas, who died in Portland, on the nineteenth of August, 1797, at the age of fifty-two years and three months.—*Portland Press.*

A Governor in Petticoats.—A correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, describing a celebrated Portrait-gallery at Kensington, England, says there is a portrait there of Edward Hyde, afterward third Earl of Clarendon, who was Governor of New York in the reign of Queen Anne. He is represented (it was painted in 1723) in female low-necked evening dress, it being his idea of loyalty to his Queen to dress like her! "Among "other apish tricks," says Miss Strickland, "Lord Cornbury, the half-witted son of Henry, "Earl of Clarendon, is said to have held his state "levees at New York and received the principal "Colonists, dressed up in complete female court "costume, because truly he represented the per-"son of a female sovereign, his cousin, Queen "Anne."

The Oldest Wooden House in the United States.—The *Boston Traveller* has a communication, relative to the oldest wooden house in the United States, which is worth making permanent in our magazine:

"W———r, Sept. 16, 1867.

"I noticed in last Saturday's *Traveller* an item "giving information in reference to the oldest "house in the United States. But Medford is "mistaken. There are houses but not of *wood*, in "St. Augustine, built in the sixteenth century. "And so far as I know, the oldest *wooden* house "in the United States is in (Neponset) Dorchester,

* By Hon. Wm. Willis, of Portland.

"soon to be a part of Boston. It was built in "1633, and is called the 'Minot House,' from "the name of the first owner. It is situated on "Minot-street, near Chicatawbut-street, and near "the Baptist Church, and is occupied by a re- "spectable English family, who pay eighty dollars "annual rentage. The house was occupied by "General Washington and his body-guard for a "season during the Revolution. The house is "two stories high, and the outside has by no "means a bad look. Its frame is of oak, either "Irish or white, I am not sure which, and the "beams are as sound as ever, and likewise the "whole frame, with the exception of the sills, is "in a good state of preservation. The rooms are "oddly shaped and awkwardly arranged. The "beams are in sight and are finished off and "beaded, and the ceiling is very low. Indeed, "it is quite worth while to visit this ancient "house. There is a little romance connected "with it. During the early years of Dorchester "the Indians were very troublesome. The Ne- "ponset tribe made their headquarters in the vil- "lage now of that name, and the chief's name was "Chicatawbut, hence the name to the street "above mentioned. Mr. Minot being absent one "day, an Indian came to the house and tried to "get admittance, but the heroic wife refused to "admit him, knowing that it could be for no "good intent, and taking down her husband's "loaded gun, she fired at him, wounding him se- "verely, and then, in a moment, threw a pailful "of boiling water into his bosom. He fled into "the woods, and, as tradition says, was found "dead the next morning, near by, having died of "his wounds. The woman was honored for her "bravery by the inhabitants of the place by the "presentation of a gold wristlet, with her name "upon it, and the words, 'who slew the Narra- "gansett Indian.'" A. G. R.

Merrimac and Monitor.

Richmond, Va., September 14, 1867.

To the Editor of the World.

Sir: I find in yesterday's *World*, just received, a report of a speech of Mr. Greeley, at the open- ing of the American Institute Fair, in which oc- curs the following sentence:

"After referring to the triumph of the *Monitor* "over the *Merrimac*, in Hampton Roads, Mr. "Greeley continued, &c., &c."

Now, there is no fact in the late war better as- certained than that all the "triumph" ever won by an iron-clad in Hampton Roads was by the *Merri- mac*. I was one of a concourse of thousands of peo- ple who saw the *Merrimac* challenge the whole Fed- eral fleet, through a long summer day, to come out from the guns of Fortress Monroe and the Rip Raps and fight her; and among those who declined the challenge was the *Monitor*. But I choose to set this fiction at rest on the evidence of a North- ern man, and one whose standing as a witness in a case of this sort is unimpeachable. I refer to Norman Wiard, the celebrated ordnance founder and inventor. In a memorial addressed by him to Congress, and to be seen in the Report on the Conduct of the War, Supplement, Part Two, I find the following sentence:

"It should be recollected that the Army of the "Potomac was once prevented from passing up "James River, by the presence of the terrible "*Merrimac*, which iron-clad was encountered "by another iron-clad, the little *Monitor*, armed "with Dahlgreen eleven-inch shell guns, the pro- "jectiles from which crumbled against her sides, "and she returned, uninjured, to her picket "duty, and long continued to hold possession of "Norfolk Harbor and the mouth of the James "River, or so long as until our army had passed "too far to return toward a disastrous campaign "to get to her rear at Harrison's Landing."

The simple truth is, that all that was ever done in the Roads by any iron-clad was done by the *Merrimac*. The attack on and destruction of the *Congress* and *Cumberland* would as certainly have been followed by the destruction of the *Minnesota* had there been sufficient draft of water for the *Merrimac* to approach her; and it was a leak, occasioned by injury to her beak received in her attack on the *Congress*, and no battering of the *Monitor*, "whose shells crumbled against her "sides," that sent the *Merrimac* back to her dock. The only serious damage inflicted on either iron-clad was suffered by the turret of the *Monitor*. And no sooner had the *Merrimac* been repaired than she sailed down the harbor, and vainly strove to get the entire fleet, *Monitor* included, to leave their safe moorings under the hundreds of guns ashore! Thenceforward the *Merrimac* lorded it on the waters of the great roadstead, until that melancholy morning in May when she sank on the field of her fame by the hands of her friends—*morte sur le champ de bat- taile*. We have little left. If not glory—nothing. Surely the United States can afford to leave us that untaxable possession. K.

Elizabeth Day.—Ninety-two years ago, in October, Elizabeth Pearson, a bright girl of seven summers, might have been seen playing on the beach fronting her father's house, at the eastern end of Fore street. Over this little bay and beach, the Grand Trunk Railway has spread its net work of tracks. On that day, the seventeenth of October, 1775, the wondering eyes of this little child beheld the fleet of Mowatt slowly coming

up the harbor. The next day, her father's and her grandfather's houses, with most of their contents, and the whole village clustered around King and the lower part of Fore streets, were utterly and wantonly destroyed by the relentless Mowatt, and their houseless inhabitants were driven into exile.

This little girl grew to womanhood; was married in her nineteenth year to George Day; and died on the twentieth instant, in the one hundredth year of her age, the oldest person in town, and the oldest, so far as we have any authentic record, who ever died upon this peninsula. She never forgot those exciting incidents of her childhood.

Mrs. Day was the daughter of Wm. and Maria (Bradbury) Pearson, and was born in December, 1767, on a lot an acre in extent, which was granted to her great-grandfather, John Oliver, of Boston, in 1721. Portions of this tract have ever continued in Oliver's family, his daughters, Mary, having married Henry Wheeler, and Elizabeth, Rowland Bradbury, both early inhabitants of our town, and their descendants are still living in it. Bradbury built a house upon the lot, in which his grand-daughter, Mrs. Day, was born. Her father, Wm. Pearson, married Maria, a daughter of Rowland Bradbury, on the second of July, 1764; another daughter married Watson Crosby, who lived on the same Oliver acre, whose daughter Emma married our late estimable citizen, Captain Lemuel Moody, whose children fill useful and honorable places in our community.

Mrs. Day was, in 1786, married to George Day, by our venerable pastor, Thomas Smith, then eighty-four years old, who also married her father twenty-two years before. They had six children, of whom four, two sons and two widowed daughters, still live; our fellow citizen, Charles Day, born in 1798, was the youngest. She was married eighty-one years ago, and has been a widow more than sixty years. She has, during her long life, enjoyed remarkably good health; she has hardly felt the infirmities of age; and, until within a week of her death, has enjoyed her faculties, and has engaged in the ordinary duties of domestic life. After she was ninety-five years old, she was in the habit of taking long walks in passing from one part of the town to another to visit her children. Her home has been principally with her son Charles since her husband's death, on the spot on which she was born. I do not know of another instance where an original town grant has continued in one family, from its date to the present time, one hundred and forty-six years, as this has, and is likely to continue for years to come. Mrs. Day was blessed with a cheerful temper, and bright and buoyant spirits—even in her advanced years she had no depression—the vigor of her body was well sustained by a radiant, hopeful mind. She was a welcome companion in her large circle of relatives and friends; her children and grandchildren, and great-grandchildren rose up to do her reverence, and will long continue to cherish and honor her memory.

In contemplating this lengthened life, the mind naturally recurs to the immense changes which have taken place during its continuance. She was born a British subject on American soil; she was born a British Colonist; she dies the citizen of a great and independent Republic; she has lived through the whole life of our nation; in her day two millions and a half of people have become thirty-four millions; the thirteen feeble Colonies have expanded to thirty-four States, filled with wealth, adorned by arts, and strengthened by all the resources that give power, and pride, and dignity to a great empire. She has also witnessed and been a partaker in the progress of our city from an humble village of fifteen hundred inhabitants to its present metropolitan character, with its large commercial, literary, and social advantages.

If we add to the age of this venerable woman, that of our first minister, the Rev. Thomas Smith, their joint lives extend over a period of one hundred and sixty-five years, comprehending five generations of the human race, who have lived and struggled, had their busy day, and died, and are forgotten in that space of time. They reach back, too, thirteen years beyond the settlement of the town, to the beginning of the last century, in the second year of which Mr. Smith commenced his pilgrimage of ninety-four years. How were those years and those generations freighted with joys and woes, with trials, cares and vicissitudes—what changes in individual fortunes, and overwhelming distresses and exalted prosperity in our social condition. Among the crushing sorrows were the destructive fires of 1775 and 1866, which each prostrated our town, and the distressing period of the Embargo and War, from 1807 to 1815, which humbled our poor town in the dust of humiliation and poverty. But of the joys and sorrows, and individual experience, which have flowed over the hearts of those past generations, no human tongue can tell, no mind conceive. From the elevated ground of the present social condition of our individual, and municipal, and national life, we may take profitable lessons, and not forgetting the trials, the hardships and sufferings through which our predecessors, the pioneers of our civilization and our accumulated blessings, trod their gloomy way, may learn wisdom and moderation from the great facts which history and experience spread out before us. W.

An Historical Piano—We are indebted to a correspondent for the following account of an or-

ganized piano, being the first piano-forte which the late Mr. Jonas Chickering ever saw, which is now in the possession of Mrs. Samuel Batchelder, of Old Cambridge.

This instrument is remarkable, apart from the circumstance above stated, as having belonged to the Princess Amelia, daughter of George the Third. She presented it to her Chaplain. George Odiorne of Boston, married, in London, the Chaplain's daughter. He gave the piano to his daughter, when she left her native land for her home in America. The late General J. Montgomery purchased the piano of Mrs. Odiorne for his daughter, then a young girl, at Mrs. Rawson's school, in Boston; and afterwards gave it to her when she went to reside in New Ipswich, New Hampshire.

There, accidentally, the cover was broken; a cabinet maker was sent for to make a new lid; and Jonas Chickering, then an apprentice, was sent to examine the piano for a removal to the shop. His look of astonishment and wonder at this revelation of a hitherto unknown (to him) musical instrument, can be better imagined than described. He seemed utterly unconscious of observation, while he peered about it, removing and displacing to examine the construction; and in it he first saw an organ, with its various pipes and bellows. The piano-forte and organ could be used together, and were tuned in unison, or they could be played separately. Mr. Chickering, a few years since, advised the owner to have a new and larger bellows put in, and play the organ by itself, as its tones were very sweet and suited to a chamber. His advice was followed. Mr. Chickering expressed much pleasure from time to time in selecting his best instruments for the lady to whom he was indebted for his first study of a piano-forte.

This true account will correct the statements of the writer in the July number of the *Atlantic Monthly* on "The Piano in the United States," in which he states that the first piano Chickering ever saw was in a battered condition, and that he put it in good repair; whereas, the one he first saw was in constant use, and is a handsome instrument at the present moment, inlaid with satin wood and wreaths of colored wood surrounding the name of

CHRISTOPHER CANER,

Londoni Fecit,

1782.

BROAD STREET.

SOHO.

FORMER SOCIAL LIFE IN NEW ENGLAND.—The current ideas of New England life and habits in former years are in many respects erroneous. There was far less of sternness and stiffness than is commonly supposed, and far more of true domestic happiness and warm friendship among neighbors. Professor Silliman, in his autobiography, gives a pleasant sketch of New England life, three-quarters of a century ago. He says:

Those who were born and educated under the primitive influences of New England sentiments and manners, when population was yet sparse and personal friendships still partook of the simplicity and sincerity of colonial manners, appear to have felt and cherished the social sentiments as a part of their nature and the hospitality which characterized that state of society offered a welcome asylum to the traveling friend. My mother was born and educated under such influences, and a refined standard of deportment in the parental home, added graceful attractions to her manners.

Among the first people of New England there was a graceful dignity blended with a winning kindness; and, in the case of acknowledged friends, crowned by a cheerful greeting when they met, which produced reciprocal feelings and a cordial response. These traits were conspicuous not only among persons in elevated positions, but in a good degree also in those gradations in society in which refinement was not dependent on wealth, and limited resources demanded even a frugal hospitality, Such was the case with the clergymen, who, being usually men of education, and often—as well as their families—possessing very interesting manners, caused their homes, with the aid of manly sons and lovely daughters, to present delightful family circles.

My mother was very attentive to our manners. We were taught to be respectful, especially to older persons and to ladies,

If we received a book or anything else from her hand, a look of acknowledgement was expected, with a slight inclination of the head, which she returned. We must not interrupt any one who was speaking, and never speak in a rude, unmannerly way. We were always taught to give place at a door or a gate to another person, especially if older.

The family manners in those early times were superior in some respects to those which are often observed at the present day. The blunt reply to a parent, without the addition of "Sir" or "Ma'am," to "Yes" or "No," was then unknown, except among rude and unpolished people.

As to my mother, in the course of long experience, I do not remember to have seen a finer example of dignity and self-respect, combining a kind and winning manner, and a graceful courtesy, with the charms of a cheerful temper and a cultivated mind, which made her society acceptable in the most refined and polished circles. Her delightful piety, adding the charm of sincerity and benevolence both to her action and conversation, attracted the wise and good, and won

the thoughtless to consideration. It is a great blessing to have had such a mother.

An Ancient Coin.—In a jeweler's establishment, in Washington, there is on exhibition a gold coin, most remarkable in appearance, and of the purest metal. It is about the size of a half eagle, remarkably fresh-looking, the inner side of which is concave, with a raised chariot, having seated in it a skeleton image pointing ahead with a rapier, and drawn by two spirited horses. The outer side bears an elaborate profile of a female, with her head decorated in the manner worn by the crowned heads at the time the coin was issued (twenty-two hundred years ago). Its weight is five and a half pennyweights, or, as near as may be in value, worth about five dollars. The coin was at one time in the possession of Rev. W. W. Eddy, missionary in Assyria, who thus describes how he came in possesion of it :

A coin of Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, who reigned about three hundred and forty years before Christ, and consequently twenty-two hundred years old, was found in a garden adjoining Sidon, Syria, among the ruins of the ancient city. Two jars, containing coins of Philip and Alexander, were found in the ground by workmen digging, and the contents divided among them. The Turkish Government claim all such treasures, and hearing of the discovery, imprisoned all the workmen until they gave up nearly all the coins. These they immediately melted up for new coinage. A Mohammedan woman, who was with the workmen, obtained some of the coins, and wearied out the Government by her endurance of imprisonment, while denying the possession of any of the treasures. After her release, I obtained this coin, with much difficulty, from her, through her fear of another arrest.

Some time since this coin was deposited with Mr. C. R. Brown, a jeweller, at Saratoga, who was offered by a well known antiquarian, the sum of twelve hundred dollars, but being instructed not to part with it at any price, the offer was rejected.

Dorchester and General Grant.—An antiquarian (no doubt one of the well-known and indefatigable record searchers of the handsome suburb) writes to the *Dedham Gazette* that "we "have good and sufficient evidence that General "Grant is a descendant from Mathew Grant, of "Dorchester, who came to that town in 1630."

Headley, it seems, is mistaken in fixing upon Noah (who was really born in Connecticut, in 1748), as the first immigrant of the family to America. The fact is, Noah first saw the light One hundred and forty-eight years after the advent of the aforesaid Mathew. How Dorchester will go in the next Presidential election, after this hunting up of the Genealogies, hardly admits of a doubt!—*Transcript.*

English Sparrows.—The following interesting history of the English Sparrow in the Park at Union Square, New York, was prepared by Mr. J. T. Shaw, the attentive policeman of that Park. Mr. Shaw writes as follows :

"In April, 1866, two pairs of sparrows came "to Union Park and claimed possession of the "only bird-house there (indeed, it was the only "one in five parks), which was occupied by two "pair of wrens. After a desperate fight of sev-"eral hours, the wrens had to yield to the heavier "bird, and left the Park. The sparrows took "possession, and within five weeks had nine "added to their numbers, and out in the Park. "In June, the same year, one hundred bird-houses "were erected there. The sparrows at once took "to them and produced several broods before "the leaves fell from the trees, and seventy-five "to eighty of these birds wintered there, to the "delight and amusement of many lovers of birds.

"About three hundred bird-houses were also "erected in four other Parks near, and many "sparrows came in from Central Park and occu-"pied them all winter, and have continued to "occupy and breed in them, as has also the blue-"bird and wren, until now there are believed to "be twelve or fifteen hundred sparrows in these "five Parks. They are very happy and tame, "and are seldom molested by the children, and "have made a clean sweep of the worms and "millers, and saved the foliage of all the trees, "so that, for the first time in seven years, at this "season, we have a perfect foliage in said parks.

"There is nothing like the sparrow for the de-"struction of the worms and insects generally. "Planks have been anchored in the fountains, "from which the birds drink and bathe. Last "Thursday morning, I counted seventy-five of "them on the plank at Union Park, bathing, in "thirteen minutes.

"If the people will put up bird-houses on the "trees in our streets and yards, the city will be "well supplied with the sparrows in a few years, "and the vile tree-worm will disappear."

Archæology in New York—Another Collection Lost to Us.—Another valuable collection of antiquities is now lost to New York, but fortunately it does not leave the country, as have heretofore too many of our American collections.

The Trustees of the Peabody Ethnological Museum have very wisely secured Charles C. Claus' cabinet of flint and bronze implements and orna-

ments. Most of the specimens were obtained from the Island of Rugen, in the Baltic, a locality famed for the excellent quality of its flint. To this island many of the ancient inhabitants of Northern Europe must have resorted, anterior to the metal age, for this indispensable material. The remaining portion of Mr. Claus' collection is from Norway, Sweden and the Danish Islands. The whole has been offered to the savants of New York for nearly a year—first brought to the notice of the American Ethnological Society, and afterward put up in the rooms of the Long Island Historical Society, where we hoped it would be secured. It is now removed to Cambridge, where it will be arranged for the benefit of ethnological students, in comparing the stone age of the two continents.

In connection with this subject we might ask, is it not possible in the great and wealthy City of New York to find a Peabody who would be willing to endow an institution for the grand purpose of collecting and studying the aboriginal arts of a great Continent? Such a museum would not merely illustrate the history of the many millions of people who have preceded us in this country, but would also furnish the most complete index to the early development of the human race in general.

When will our people learn to appreciate American ethnology sufficiently to arrest the exodus of our native relics? Not, we fear, till most of them have been transferred to Europe. Note the valuable collections already lost to us: Dr. Kock's osteological wonders—exhumed from the Southern and Western States—are now in Berlin; Catlin's Indian gallery of portraits and curiosities went to Europe; Du Chaillu's unique collection, illustrative of the natural history and antiquities of Central Africa, was offered to New York for half the price obtained for it in London. Dr. Davis has expended much time and money in the collection of the largest and most complete suit of relics ever obtained from the mounds of the Mississippi Valley. After years of unsuccessful efforts to secure a purchaser here, he was compelled to accept an offer from England, where his rare collection has gone. Regrets are, and will be entertained by American archæologists that it was not secured by the Smithsonian Institution, which published an account of the explorations, not only to verify their own publication, but also for the benefit of the future antiquarian. Mr. Squire has taken his collections, made in Central and South America, to Europe, whence it is feared they will never return.

Thus will be seen how surely we are losing all means for illustrating the ante-Columbian period of our history. We are aware that some few private collections still exist in the country which should be gathered together as the nucleus of a great American museum of aboriginal art. Who will take the initiative in doing for New York what has been done for Cambridge?—*New York Times*.

Inhuman Treatment of Prisoners—Horrors of the Rock Island Prison.—During the time that rebel prisoners were confined at Rock Island barracks, the *Argus*, on several occasions, called public attention to the condition of these prisoners, and every time was met with the reply that its rebel sympathies made it unduly solicitous for the comfort of rebels. When we, by request of the commandant of the prison, appealed to the public for donations of proper clothing for the unfortunate men who were sent, in dead of winter, in box cars, with no fires, from Tennessee to Rock Island, many of whom died on the way, and all suffered most terribly, we were denounced by very "loyal" men for sympathizing with rebels. When, on another occasion, we denounced the shameful course of the commandant of the post and chief surgeon, who refused to furnish the rebels with vegetables, or permit them to purchase them with their own money, and thus brought the scurvy upon a great number of them, we met with the same treatment. But we followed up the complaint to the authorities at Washington, on this subject, until an Order was issued permitting the prisoners to buy vegetables—and the scurvy soon ceased.

The prisoners at Rock Island barracks were treated with shameful cruelty, though their sufferings were greatly mitigated by humane people, who, at the risk of being mobbed by the "loyal," furnished them with food and clothes to a considerable extent.

We will briefly enumerate some of the inhumanities practised here:

1. The manner in which the prisoners were brought here was cruel and inhuman, causing the death of a large number of them.

2. They were sent here before suitable buildings were prepared for their reception, and besides suffering horribly, a number died from this cause.

3. Their money was taken from them and used as capital to carry on a profitable trade with them.

4. They were not supplied with sufficient food and clothing.

5. They were starved, in the hospitals and in the barracks, and one of the surgeons says the head doctor declared, when appealed to by his associates to permit more food, that he intended to starve them to death, in retaliation for the sufferings of our men in the South.

6. They were cruelly and inhumanly punished,

and numbers were shot down without the slightest provocation.

These are only a few of the facts in regard to Rock Island prison. The full details of the horrors endured there will never be known. But the Congressional Committee can, if they wish, obtain enough to satisfy any unprejudiced mind that great cruelty was practised right here in Rock Island. Two thousand dead Confederates, now mouldering to dust on the island, attest that greater numbers died here than in Andersonville, or any other Southern prison, in proportion to the number confined and the time occupied. And thousands of men throughout the Southern States can give this Committee valuable, interesting and truthful revelations as to the practices in Rock Island, if they will take pains to get it.—*Cincinnati Inquirer.*

How to Become a Millionaire. — John McDonough, the millionaire of New Orleans, has engraved upon his tomb a series of maxims he had prescribed as the rule for his guidance through life, and to which his success in business is mainly attributed. They contain so much wisdom that we copy them :

Rules for the Guidance of my Life, 1804.— Remember that labor is one of the conditions of our existence. Time is gold; throw not one minute away, but place each one to account. Do unto all men as you would be done by. Never put off till to-morrow what can be done to-day. Never bid another do what you can do yourself. Never covet what is not your own. Never think any matter so trifling as not to deserve notice. Never give out that which does not first come in. Never spend but to produce. Let the greatest order regulate the transactions of your life. Study in your course of life to do the greatest amount of good. Deprive yourselves of nothing necessary to your comfort, but live in an honorable simplicity. Labor, then, to the last moment of your existence.

Pursue strictly the above rules, and the Divine blessing and riches of every kind will flow upon you to your heart's content; but, first of all, remember that the chief and great duty of your life should be to tend, by all means in your power, to the honor and glory of our Divine Creator.

The conclusion to which I have arrived is, that without temperance there is no health; without virtue no order; without religion no happiness; and that the aim of our being is to live wisely, soberly and righteously.

John McDonough.

New Orleans, March 2, 1804.

First Baptist Church, Brooklyn. — The *Minutes of the Hudson River Association, South*, have the following account of the circumstances which led to the organization of this Church :

It was in the summer of 1822, the year memorable for the visitation of that terrible scourge, the yellow fever, that two brethren, Eliakim Raymond and Elijah Lewis, to escape its ravages in New York city, made Brooklyn their temporary home. Finding five others of like faith and practice with themselves, they gathered together in prayer meetings in private houses; the first one being held in a room on Cranbery street, directly opposite the present lecture-room of Plymouth Church (Rev. Henry Ward Beecher's); and it is worthy of notice, that two of the persons who attended that first prayer-meeting are yet living, and one of them, Mrs. Ann Lewis, widow of Deacon Elijah Lewis, is yet an honored and active member of this church.

The continuation of these meetings, week after week, led to an increase of members, and, occasionally, to preaching by ministers from New York City. These labors of love and faith did not end with the summer, but continued through autumn, winter and spring, the two brethren named continuing their personal labors and efforts, though obliged to cross the East River in open boats, through many a storm, and to forego the pleasures of attending their own comfortable churches in New York, and listening to the eloquence of such preachers as Archibald Maclay, John Williams, and Spencer H. Cone, the latter of whom was then in the zenith of his power and popularity.

On the nineteenth of August, 1823, the First Baptist church of Brooklyn was organized, with the following named persons as constituent members, viz. : Charles P. Jacobs, Richard Jones, Joshua Evans, Maria Cornell, Sarah Quereau, Elizabeth Jacobs, Hannah Jones, Margaret Evans, Margaret Nostrand, and Eliza Ann Rust.

Joshua as a General.—General D. H. Hill, of the late Confederate army, has a high opinion of the military skill of Joshua, and thinks he displays a superiority over noted Generals of later times. He says:

Joshua, the successor of Moses, was distinguished by the favor of Heaven, and yet was one of the most renowned military leaders of his own or any other age. His strategy and manœuvering furnish an interesting study, at this day, to the student of military history. He will see that the mistake which Washington made at Germantown, in attempting to take Chew's house, which Greene made at Eutaw in attempting to take the brick jail, Joshua did not make when the five Kings fled to their cave or stronghold at Makkedah. He did not turn aside from

the great object, but gave orders: "Stay ye not, "but pursue after your enemies and smite the "hindermost of them; suffer them not to enter "their cities." Had Jackson, at New Orleans, been familiar with the tactics of Joshua, he would have made his night attack on the twenty-second of December, just before day, and thus have anticipated the great victory of the eighth of January. Is it not strange that military men in modern times, with all the lights of history and experience before them, can discover no mistakes in the campaigns of Joshua, who marched and fought, ages before Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar and Napoleon? Whence did he derive his strategy? Who taught him the art of war?

A Strange Story.—A correspondent of the *Albany Evening Journal*, in noticing the recent death, in a Southern city, of a Mississippi River pilot, relates the following curious story:

This pilot was a devoted rebel at heart, but while Grant was at Young's Point, operating against Vicksburg, he was in charge of one of the Union transports, lying below the Point, on the west side of the river.—General Grant at that time was greatly annoyed and mortified at the promptness and unerring correctness of the information conveyed from his line to the enemy. "During three or four hours of each day," says the correspondent, "this pilot, after gathering "from the officers at headquarters what informa- "tion he desired—for officers would talk—would "repair to a farm house down on the Point, and, "with a mirror, which he had previously taken "from the cabin of the steamer, amuse himself "by throwing the sun's reflection up and down "the river. No one asked what he was doing— "for the employment was so simple and appar- "ently abstracted, that none thought for a mo- "ment of attributing any other motive than mere "idle pastime. But this was his secret, previously "agreed upon between himself and General Pem- "berton. Vicksburg is mainly upon a high "bluff, the lower part of the city, during certain "hours of the day, being entirely in the shade. "Commencing at the upper end of the city, and "within easy view, M. had selected thirteen "houses behind and above each other. To each "one of these houses a letter of the alphabet was "given. From the window of the farm-house "he threw the reflections, first upon one house "and then upon another, an officer of Pember- "ton's staff, in the secret, at the same time stand- "ing on the levee, with his back to M., and "reading every word easily and rapidly. And "he not only gave information of what was "transpiring in the Union camp at Young's "Point, but also gathered from Northern news- "papers important news relative to the move- "ments of armies elsewhere, sending it across the "river in the same manner. The plan was kept "up until a short time before General Grant "made arrangements for going below Vicksburg, "crossing at Grand Gulf, and coming up in "the rear. Just before that event M. was or- "dered to another point, and, consequently, the "enemy had no light upon the subject of that "last move."

Scraps.—An old resident of Jamestown, New York, reports that in 1808, when that town was first settled, the village Common was cleared of stumps by fines imposed on those who got drunk. The penalty for getting drunk was to dig up a large stump; and for getting only tipsy, a smaller stump. The removal of every stump in about two months was the result.

—Faneuil Hall Market-house stands on what for several generations was known as the Cove.

—Boston Common received its name from the fact of its being common land—land common to all the early inhabitants.

—A very curious incident occurred in the surveys of the Iron Mountain road, in the cypress swamps of South-east Missouri. The engineers, having orders to locate their surveys in connection with the United States land surveys, had occasion to search for the marks or records, made years ago, in the swamps. The land surveyors had marked the results of their work by cutting into the body of a tree, leveling off a smooth surface of the trunk, and engrossing their record on the tablets thus prepared. The engineers found the trees of the old survey, and recognized the scars of former cuttings; but to reach the records were compelled to cut into the trees again. New wood had grown up over the old record, completely hiding and protecting it. But, after cutting into the body, down to the original tablet, they found the surveyor's record as plain and distinct as when first made.

—A blundering correspondent of a New York paper says that the den where General Putnam shot the wolf is one of the summer attractions of the town of Woodstock. The old wolf-den used to be located in the southerly part of the town of Pomfret; and it undoubtedly remains there until this day.

—A recent visitor to the tip of Cape Cod, who has, we suspect, been befogging himself with old wives' traditions, wishes to know where the Indians got the copper kettle Miles Standish stole from them? We turn him over to the antiquaries, having a dim impression that said kettle, if it ever existed, was a legacy from the Danes to the aborigines, when the former settled Provincetown. —*Transcript.*

—*The Indianapolis Herald* says: "There is a "man residing in Noblesville, named Moreau, "who is ninety-seven years old. He is one of "the oldest, if not the oldest, members of the "Masonic fraternity, having joined that organiza- "tion in 1800. He was one of the assistants of "Robert Fulton in building his first steamboat; "and was on board of her during her first or trial "trip. The old man is never so happy as when, "with chalk or pencil, he is laying off diagrams, "and explaining the machinery and vessel he "helped to construct on that occasion. The "scenes and incidents of three score and ten "years ago, particularly of the war of 1812, are "as fresh in his mind as though they had hap- "pened only yesterday, while the occurrences of "last week are dim, if not entirely forgotten."

—The first newspaper tolerated in Virginia was in 1780. The subscription price was fifty dollars per annum for one copy. Advertisements of moderate length were inserted for ten dollars the first week, and seven dollars for each succeeding week.

—The old homestead of Ethan Allen still stands in the village of Bennington Centre, Vermont.

—The oldest locomotive in America was broken up at a machine shop in Bangor, Maine, the other day. It was the "Pioneer," a ten ton engine; and one of the early machines built in England, by Stephenson, the inventor of the locomotive. It was built at his works, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1835; and ran its first trip over the B. O. and M. R. R., on the sixth day of November, 1835. Its last work was done on the fifteenth day of August, 1867.

— The greatest curiosity of Flushing, N. Y., is the house in which George Fox once lived, built in 1661, and still, after two hundred years, owned and occupied by a descendant of its earliest tenant. It is in the old style of New England farm-houses, two stories in front, and with a long slope in the rear. The floors are fastened with wooden pins, and the timbers are in perfect preservation. The grounds around it are perfectly kept; and its Quakerism is more in its legend than in its present show. The present owner and his lady are most accomplished and charming people; and love to talk with strangers about the good old times. On the other side of the street they show you "George Fox's Oak," all that remains of the tree, under which the leather-breeched enthusiast was wont to interpret to the crowd the word of the Spirit. It is but a *torso* and a fragment. The crown is gone; the branches are gone; and there is only left a dry, yellow, decaying trunk. But this relic is preserved with pious care; and the friends who pass it on their way to the Sunday gatherings seem to see in its gaunt lines the visage and form of their great leader.

— In Litchfield, Conn., recently, Captain Salmon Buel celebrated his one hundredth birthday by attending the Congregational Church (which is the New England idea of festivity), the congregation rising as he came in, and the choir singing "Old Hundred," (which is the New England idea of facetiousness.)—*World.*

— Richard C. Washington, who died in Washington, recently, was a direct descendant of Lawrence Washington, the elder brother of the father of George Washington, and was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia. He had been a resident of Washington for many years, and occupied at the time of his death the position of Chief Clerk in the Appointment Office of the Post Office Department. He has been connected with this department for over twenty years.—*Transcript.*

— Mr. Larkin G. Mead, Jr., the American sculptor, has just completed the model of "Columbus before Queen Isabella," ordered some time since by Mr. Lockwood, of New York. This is Mr. Mead's most important work; and its merits are sufficient to satisfy the artist's most enthusiastic friends.—*Ibid.*

— An Historical Society has been established at St. Petersburg, with the object of searching for historical documents of the time of Peter the Great.—*Exchange.*

— Dr. N. B. Shurtleff has been appointed by the Massachusetts Historical Society to prepare the memorial of the late L. M. Sargent, Esq.

— Thomas Paine was probably the first man who suggested the practicability of constructing bridges of iron; and he conceived the idea from contemplating the fabrication of a spider's web, when he was in the United States. In 1787, Paine presented to the Academy of Sciences, at Paris, the model of a bridge which he had invented; and when he resided at Rotherdam, in Yorkshire, a bridge chiefly of wrought iron, was constructed under his direction, by the Messrs. Walker.

— The first chime of bells in America was presented to Christ's Church, Salem Street, Boston, one hundred and twenty-three years ago. The bells exist in good state of preservation. The inscription upon the third tenor reads—"We are "the first ring of bells cast for the British Empire "in North America. A. D. 1744."

— In 1796 great complaint was made of the number of hackney coaches allowed to stand in State-street, Boston. The Legislature was called upon to remedy the evil and guard the citizens from the danger of losing their eyes by the snapping of the whips of the coachmen as they passed.

— The Marion (Ohio) *Independent* says that thirteen human skeletons, of an extinct race, were found in an excavation for a cellar in that place,

lately, and expresses the opinion that the hill upon which the excavation was made is full of similar remains. A singular thing about the skeletons found was, that the arms had all been broken between the elbow and the shoulder, and the thigh bones had also been broken. "Two of the skele-"tons were of females, the rest were of males. "The females, when living, must have been taller "than the average of men of the present day. "The males must have been seven or eight feet "high."

— When the British entered Philadelphia, during the Revolution, they came by way of the Germantown road.—*Dispatch.*

— The present United States Navy Yard, Philadelphia, is on the site of the Association Battery, erected before the Revolution.—*Ibid.*

— The old graveyard, on the west side of the Schuylkill, above Market street, Philadelphia, which is now demolished by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, was assigned for use as a burying-ground to the Centre Square Friends' Meeting-House, about 1682. The latter not being maintained very long, the ground came to be considered a public one—a sort of Potter's field—and was used without obstruction, for many years. Afterwards it was, with the approval and consent of the Society of Friends, assigned to the Guardians of the Poor, as a free burying-place for the indigent poor. It was sold some years ago by virtue of an Act of Assembly, about the constitutionality of which there may be considerable doubt.

—Four markets were opened in Boston in 1734; but so strong was the opposition, they were all closed in four years.

— In regard to the inquiries about the residence of Robert Fulton in Philadelphia, I desire to say that the old frame house now standing, situate on the east side of Second-street, above Gray's-alley, was occupied about the close of the Revolutionary war by James Duffel, a silversmith, with whom Robert Fulton, then a boy, was living as an apprentice, though perhaps not indentured. Mr. Duffel removed to Fredericksburg, Va., and came often to Philadelphia to purchase goods. I had dealings with him frequently. An old lady, who had been very intimate in his family, had many conversations with me, forty or fifty years ago, respecting the houses and the residents in the neighborhood of Church and Second streets. She remarked to me that among the boys who worked with Mr. Duffel and lived in his family was one (a very good boy) named Robert; "and," said the old lady, "they tell me he was the first to start a "steamboat." I took the opportunity on the first occasion afterward of seeing Mr. Duffel, to speak to him on the subject. He said that the boy Robert, to whom the old lady alluded, was the Robert Fulton who had become so celebrated for his success in steamboats. I do not recollect if he said anything about the length of time that Fulton was with him. It is quite likely that the time was not very long.

The brick house adjoining the frame building on the south, and generally known as Stephen Anthony's house, was taken down a few years ago. There were in the north wall, about as high above the roof of the frame as a boy might reach, two bricks in which letters were cut or nicked. One was marked R. F., the other J. D. Mr. Richardson, the owner, on my request, had these two bricks carefully removed without being broken, and presented them to me. It seems quite probable that the nicking was done by Robert Fulton, intended for his own initials and those of Mr. Duffel. I have taken care of the bricks.—*Correspondent of the Sunday Dispatch.*

— James Athearn (not Atheam) Jones was the publisher and editor of the *National Palladium* in 1828, and had associated with him, part of the time, Charles G. Greene—now, I believe, of the *Boston Post.* The *Freeman's Journal*, published by Joseph P. Hamelin (who I believe was in some way related to William McCorkle), was united with an afternoon paper, called the *City Register*, published by Mr. Uber, of which the late John Miles, Esq., was the editor. It was afterwards called the *National Palladium*, and became the property of the "Hickory Club," (Henry Horn, John Pemberton, Henry S. Hughes, & Co.,) and James A. Jones came on from Boston to manage it. He was afterwards assisted by Mr. Charles G. Greene, as stated above; and occasionally Duff Greene wrote the leaders. Mr. Greene, (Charles G.) got married and did not stay long in the concern; and, after Gen. Jackson was elected President, the paper, press, types, &c., went to the *American Sentinel.* Mr. Jones, who boarded in Fourth street, next door to the corner of Willing's alley, remained in the city only long enough to transact some unfinished business, and then left for Massachusetts. I do not think he ever went to England. Some years after he left this city a paragraph went the rounds of the papers, stating that as he was ploughing somewhere in Massachusetts, he turned up something that contained a quantity of gold and silver coins, and that is the last that I heard of him.—*Ibid.*

— The present street known as Cornhill is the fourth public avenue in Boston bearing that name. The first was on Fort Hill.

— Two stone tomahawks, four knives of hard stone, and a lot of other Indian antiquities, were found in a cave opposite Oleopolis, Pa., a few days since. Among the relics were several stone vessels and two skulls.

—Some of the Universalists propose, in 1870, to celebrate the introduction of Universalism into

America. In September, 1770, John Murray, supercargo of a vessel, was blown by contrary winds into a inlet in New Jersey, known as Cranberry inlet. Up this inlet, Mr. Murray went to buy some fish. He found a man who not only would not take any money for his fish, but notified him that he had built a church for Murray, had waited a long time for him, and that the wind that held the vessel fast would not change till the sermon was preached. The sermon was delivered on Sunday morning. In the afternoon the wind changed, and the apostle of the new faith sailed out of the harbor and began his ministry, and laid the foundation of the new sect that was introduced by a special miracle—by breaking the Sabbath. Murray tells this story in his biography and the Universalists profess to believe it.

— A recent number of the *Christian Guardian*, Toronto, contains a letter from the venerable Israel Chamberlayne, D. D. of the Genesee Conference, furnishing some interesting incidents connected with pioneer preaching in Canada. In 1816, Dr. Chamberlayne, then in the twentieth year of his age and third of his ministry, was sent by Rev. William Case, presiding elder, to labor on the Ottawa circuit. The letter says:

"Where the city of Ottawa now is, or near it, "(opposite,) there was in the spring of 1816 a "small village known as Hull. With no land "road from below, it could only be reached by "water, a distance of forty miles. Represented "as all but destitute of Christian ministration, "the author of these reminiscences decided to re- "connoitre and report. It was now June, and "the Ottawa, now narrowed and more rapid, then "expanded into dark eddying bays, was gloomy "and dreadful. And this the rather as it was "overhung and shaded by the primeval wood. "The voyager in the stern, with his saddle-bags "in the bow of his borrowed 'dug-out,' had pad- "dled but fifteen miles of the forty, when—not "in vigorous health—the sign of a cabin on the "first head-land was hailed as a thankful relief "from what had become all but a forlorn hope. "He had scarcely hauled his canoe ashore and "entered into a short questioning with the inmates "of the hut, when lo! a fleet of the Hudson Bay "Company's boats! To speak of the change of "*modus procedandi* were superfluous. The boats "—six in number—were birchen, and each of six "tons capacity. But the romantic incident was a "*Night in the Woods*. The boats are unloaded "and hauled ashore; the camp-fires have extem- "porized the pea-soup; pipes have been smoked all "round, when, just as the *parle vous*, with their "single protege, were sinking to repose, canopied "only by the trees, it began to rain. *Presto*, a "boat brought from the river is transversely stowed, "Yankee and all; all are dry, and sleep well till "daylight sees them heading for the 'Carrying "Place,' an *alias* for the author's destination, "which was gained in season for to assemble the "settlement for an evening sermon. It was lis- "tened to, by some who had never heard one be- "fore, with avidity and tears."

— The fine statue of Hon. Thomas H. Benton, which has been on storage in St. Louis for several months, is at last to be erected in some suitable place. The statue is life size, and was made by Miss Harriet Hosmer, some years ago.

— A singular fact is connected with the New Jersey press. In the year 1800, a newspaper of that State contained an editorial complimentary address to the female voters of New Jersey for unanimously supporting John Adams for President in opposition to Mr. Jefferson.

— The late Caleb G. Loring, of Boston, was one of the Dartmoor prisoners, and a recipient of the barbarous treatment which the British authorities visited upon prisoners of war, in 1812–15.

— The man who wrote "Rally round the "Flag," has gone into the flag-stone business. Instead of rally around the flag he *flags* around their *alley*. So says the Boston *Transcript*.

— President Day's first wife was a daughter of the great Connecticut statesman, Roger Sherman, by whom he had one son, Sherman Day, now living in California. She died in 1806, and in 1811 he married Olivia Jones of Hartford, by whom he had seven children, none of whom survived their father.

— The oldest existing newspaper in the United States is the *New Hampshire Gazette*, established in 1757.

— The San Francisco correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune* says that he has seen a lease dated October fifth, 1853, for a room in the old Union Hotel in San Francisco (now converted into a part of the City Hall) at a rental of five hundred dollars per month, for one year to be used only as a private billiard room. The parties to this lease are Captain Isaac M. Hall, Captain Henry M. Wallen, now a Colonel or Brigadier-general, I believe, and Captain U. S. Grant, Fourth Infantry, United States Army, (a gentleman who has since been heard from at various points, East, West, and South,) of the first part, and Thomas H. Stevens (now a Commodore in the United States Navy), of the second part.

— Brown University has had five presidents, and has graduated 2267 students. Of these 165 were graduated under Dr. Manning's administration; 237 under that of Dr. Maxcy; 693 under that of Dr. Messer; 818 under Dr. Wayland, and 369 under Dr. Sears. Of these 583 have been ordained as preachers. One hundred and thirty of the students entered the Union army. Rhode Island is proud of the University, and well may be, for it is the best possession she has.

— Somebody has unearthed a ticket of the

Cumberland Mountain Road Lottery, dated 1768, and signed by George Washington as Treasurer.

—The *Brandon* (Texas) *Republican* of recent date, says of army-worms and catterpillars: "The "first time the army-worm ever destroyed the cot- "ton crop of the South, was in 1804, and it has "done the same thing every twenty-one years "since. It 1825 it made a clean sweep, and "again in 1846, and from present appearances, "it will do the same thing in 1867. A gentleman, "just up from Simpson, inform us that they are "nearly all over that county. Another gentle- "man from Smith says that they are doing great "damage there; and our exchanges, from vari- "ous quarters, report them in almost every sec- "tion of the State. We have heard of them on "several plantations in this county, but as yet "they have not done much damage; and if the "weather continues dry, and hot, they may not "do much; but if a rainy spell sets in the crop "will be destroyed."

— By the names on the counterpanes, it would seem that the original intention was to call the boats of the Bristol line respectively *The Pilgrim* and *The Puritan*. Sober second thought, we suppose, led to the conclusion that these would be misnomers, as connecting the memory of our sober and severe ancestors with entirely to much of the magnificent luxury of their descendants.

— The only instance during our five years' war in which a private was breveted for meritorious conduct was in the case of Adolphus Leibschutz, a private of the Ninth Kansas Cavalry. Mr. Leibschutz is a Pole, who came to this country to help us in our struggle, and received his brevet for meritorious services at the battle of Prairie Grove, in Arkansas.

— James Gates Percival is buried in the wilds of Wisconsin, without any stone to mark his grave.

— The great-grandmother of General Grant was the grand-mother of the late General Peter B. Porter of Niagara Falls. Noah Grant, who came from Scotland and settled at Coventry, Conn., died early, and his widow married Peter Buel, by whom she had a daughter named Abigail. This Abigail was married to Dr. Joshua Porter of Salisbury, Conn., and they were the parents of the late Augustus and Peter Buel Porter of Niagara Falls.

XV.—NOTES.

A New Imposition.

To the Editor of The Historical Magazine:

Sir: In the last number of *Harpers' Magazine*, is an article entitled "The Lost Jackson Boy," reviewing a work lately published in Chicago, entitled, *Life and Adventures of William Filley, who was stolen from his home in Jackson, Michigan, by the Indians, August 3d.*, 1837, *and his safe Return from Captivity, October 19th*, 1866, *after an Absence of Twenty-nine Years.*

As the article in question will be extensively read, and is written in full faith that William Filley is what he represents himself to be, will you permit me to scrutinize his narrative more critically than is there attempted.

That a boy by the name of William Filley was lost near Jackson, Mich., in 1837; and that a person appeared there about a year ago claiming to be this boy admits of no doubt. This person we are told, "speaks eleven different Indian dialects; "he has been in seventeen different Indian tribes; "he understands the secret of making steel out of "iron by means of a liquid; he makes his razors "out of old horse-shoes; he is skilled in the "preparation of medicines, and has" [*for sale?*] "specimens of valuable medicines prepared by his "own hands in caverns beneath perpetual snows." We are also informed that he intends to travel through the United States, when, for a consideration, doubtless, these medicines may be purchased. This looks "fishy." It looks like a first-class advertisement of an itinerant quack doctor.

The suspicion here excited rises to a certainty when we pursue the narrative. He says he was a medicine man and chief of the Camanches, and favors us with a description of their religion, and adds two "Songs to the Great Spirit," in the original Camanche tongue. (p. 82.) *They are in the Ojibeway-Algonkin dialect, and are copied word for word from* Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, ii., 399! This language is no more like Camanche, than English is like Hebrew. The book is evidently an impudent attempt at imposition by an illiterate vendor of nostrums. The descriptions of the manners and customs of the Osage and Camanche tribes are shallow and absurd, evidently picked at random from some popular work on "Indian Traits."

The work is fraudulent, and deserves to be classed with the *Narrative of John Hunter* and kindred fictions, only it is a far more impotent attempt at deception than Hunter's story.

I remain &c.,

D. G. Brinton, M. D.

West Chester, Penn., Oct., 9, 1867.

Battle of Ramsour's Mill.—In the account of the Battle of Ramsour's Mill, in Historical Magazine, July 1867. p. 27., "the moment the "other put his head *behind* his tree, &c." ought to be "*beyond* his tree, &c."

The following may be added thereto:

In traveling through that part of the country

few days ago we heard of the following stratagem practiced by one of the Tories to save his life, and afterwards related by himself. When they were defeated he ran into the mill-pond; and as he did so, he took up a large turtle lying on the bank, and waded into the water until it came up to his *nose*, just enabling him to breathe; he then put the turtle upon the top of his *head*, and kept it there. Being at a good distance from the shore, he thus passed unnoticed, and saved his life. This was equal to any device practised by Federal or Confederate soldier in the late war.

E. F. R.

Davidson College, N. C.

The Battle of King's Mountain.—The following is said to have occurred at this battle:

A soldier on the American side noticed a good deal of execution done in a particular place in his line and from a particular spot on the other side. On close inspection, he discovered that the firing on the British side was from behind a hollow chestnut tree and through a *hole in it*.

He aimed his gun repeatedly at this opening, and stopped the firing. After the battle was over, he examined the place and discovered that he had killed one of his own brothers, and wounded another, who had joined the British forces and had concealed themselves behind the tree. He reflected upon himself very severely, and became almost deranged in consequence.

E. F. R.

Davidson College, N. C.

General Wasaington's Last Sickness.

Editor of The Historical Magazine:

Sir: In looking over some back numbers of your Magazine my attention was attracted to a communication, in Vol. IX, No. 12, from Brantz Mayer, Esq., on "Washington's Mortal Sickness," containing a version of the certificate of Drs. Craik and Dick who attended the General in his last illness. I say a *version* because I have two other versions of the same, varying essentially both in phraseology and in important facts from the one sent you by Mr. Mayer, and differing also in a slight extent from each other. One of these which I have is to be found in the last number for 1799, of *The Monthly Magazine and American Review;* and the other in the *Works of William Cobbett*, who copies it from *The N. Y. Daily Advertiser* of December 30th, 1799.

In both of these New York versions, a *fourth* bleeding—at which thirty-two ounces (a quart) of blood was drawn—is mentioned; but is left out of the Baltimore version altogether.

Cobbett makes use of this in one of his attacks on Dr. Rush. I am aware that Cobbett is not generally considered first-rate authority; but as his version of the certificate does not vary materially from that of *The Monthly Magazine and American Review*, I see no cause to doubt his integrity in this matter, but am, on the contrary, inclined to believe with him that General Washington was doctored to death.

New York. C. L. W.

The Early Settlers in Kansas.

To the Editor of The Historical Magazine:

Sir: The way in which Kansas was settled, and the privations of those who, in her early state, went there, will become interestingly historical; and every little incident in this direction will be worth present preservation.

I have a letter now before me, dated "Lawrence, Kansas, August 28, 1859," written by a young Irishman, named William J. King, which shows what privations he and two companions suffered and what befell a number of emigrants who had preceded him. By the way, the writer died a short time ago of typhus fever at Lawrence. It may be well I should give you the whole of his epistle, written to his father in Ireland.

"I have just returned from the gold mines of "Western Kansas, in good health and spirits. It is "now a fixed fact that these mines are as rich as "those in California. I intend returning to the "mines again with a stock of goods about the first "of next April; and I have every faith that it "will pay me well there next summer. I made "about enough money to pay my expenses out to "the mines and back to Lawrence, and have got "a good mining claim which I think will pay me "ten dollars per day, next Summer. There are "about twenty thousand persons there already, "and nearly all are doing well, while the emigration next summer will be large. I wrote to you "that I had started to the gold country with three "others on horseback; and I assure you we had "a hard trip of it. On the route which we went "we had to travel about six hundred miles over "a barren desert, without any road to travel on, "and nothing but our compass to guide us. We "encountered a great many snow storms, which "delayed us so long on the way, that our provisions gave out, and we lived for four days without tasting food, and three days at one time "without any water. There had been at least "twenty persons starved to death on that route, "and I know of one person who was so insane "from hunger that he ate portions of two of his "own brothers after they had died, while a great "many others devoured snakes, roots, etc. So "you may guess how we had rather a bad time of "it. But it was all occasioned by our starting to "the mines too early in the season.

"We had a very valuable setter dog along with "us; and when we had lived three days without "eating, it was determined by the balance of the "company to kill the dog and feed upon him. I "begged so hard to let him live one day longer "that his life was spared for a single day. Be- "fore that time was passed, we reached Bent's "Fort, were we where supplied with plenty of "food; and here we remained a week to recruit "our exhausted bodies. The balance of the way "to the mines, two hundred miles, was pleasant, "as we had a road to travel on and a quantity of "provisions with us."

Yours faithfully,
CHARLES EDWARDS.

NEW YORK.

XVI.—QUERIES.

LOBSTERS AND NEW YORK.—It was said in an old New York newspaper, that the first vote of thanks passed by the New York Legislature, was some years before the Revolutionary war, when the thanks of the Colonial Legislature were given to William Richards of Philadelphia, for having come to New York for the purpose of planting lobsters, which formerly were imported from Rhode Island. Is this true? If so a copy of such vote ought to find its way into the columns of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

PRAWN.

DUTCH SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK.—A subscriber desires to know, up to how late the Dutch language was taught in the schools of New York?

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—It would be a very acceptable service to students and collectors if a carefully prepared list of the various publications under the imprint of this Society could find a place in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. The Editor of that work, with probably a single exception, is best able to furnish such a list; and I earnestly hope he will do so.

A COLLECTOR.

CLEVELAND, O.

MAJOR ANDRE.

UTICA, N. Y., October, 1, 1867.

H. B. DAWSON, ESQ.,

DEAR SIR: Can you or any of your correspondents inform me as to the veracity of a singular dream prefiguring the arrest and execution of Major Andre, as found on page 318 of vol. ii., Seafield's *Literature and Curiosity of Dreams?*

If Mr. Cuningham actually had the dream there related, it seems to me to be one of the most remarkable, as well as an interesting incident connected with Major Andre.

Yours truly,
R. S. WILLIAMS.

EMIGRANTS FROM VIRGINIA.—The clerk of the Augusta County Court asks for the names and post-office address of all persons who have emigrated from Augusta, Rockbridge, and Rockingham Counties; also the names of their decendants. Address box 134, Staunton, Va.

JEFFERSON AND ADAMS.—In a little volume of travels published in 1833, by Thomas F. Ash, of Philadelphia, and written by Godfrey T. Vigne, Esq., page 112, we read, "The circumstances at- "tending the deaths of Presidents Jefferson and "Adams, were very extraordinary. A Committee "of five * was originally appointed to draw up "the articles of the Constitution. Jefferson and "Adams were selected as a sub-committee, and "were in fact the real framers of the Constitu- "tion. These two gentlemen died on the fourth of "July, in the same year," [1826, fifty years after the *Declaration of Independence*, which the author means evidently by *The Constitution*,] "and the "news of their decease arrived at EXACTLY THE "SAME TIME, ON THE SAME DAY, at Philadelphia, "where the *Declaration of Independence* was "signed."

It is to the latter part of this statement that we call attention; the words in small caps and italics, which we have seen nowhere else. If this is true, it renders the matter very providential indeed. Was it so?

E. F. R.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

SIR: I read the following in Lord John Russell's *Memoirs of Tom Moore*, (vii., 194.) "Break- "fasted with Rogers to meet again the Ameri- "cans. Conversation turned, curiously enough, "before the son of Hamilton, though none of us "seemed to have thought of this at the time, "upon the prevalence of duelling in America; "and Hamilton told some strange stories on the "subject. Mr. Hamilton said there was no longer "any doubt of *his fathers' having been the writer "of almost all of Washington's addresses.*"

Pray, how far is this historically known to be true? Is it sufficiently ascertained that Hamilton composed Washington's addresses? E.

[Can any one tell us *which* of the sons of Ham-

* The committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and R. R. Livingston.

ilton was thus referred to by Moore? Ed. Hist. Mag.]

The Clerical Members of the Council that Dismissed Jonathan Edwards from Northhampton.—In the June number of The Historical Magazine, an attempt is made to show from what list of clergymen the ten members of the Council by which Jonathan Edwards was dismissed from Northampton must have been selected. Some further light is thrown upon this subject by "A Letter to the Rev. William Hobley, "in answer to his vindication of a protest against "the result of an Ecclesiastical Council met at "Northampton." This letter is signed by four out of the five members who were in sympathy with the Church and opposed to Edwards. For some reason the name of Jonathan Ashley, of Deerfield, a cousin of Edwards, does not appear on the list.

From this letter it appears, that beside the Deerfield ministers, those who were opposed to Edwards, were Robert Beach, of Springfield; Joseph Ashley, of Sunderland; Timothy Woodbridge, of Hatfield, and Chester Williams, of Hadley, who is stated in the article above referred to have been the Scribe of the Council.

The letter also gives the name of one of the friends of Edwards in the Council, not mentioned in the article. This was Rev. Mr. Reynold, of Enfield. If to these we add the names of David Hall, of Sutton; William Hobley, of Reading, and Edward Billings, of Belchertown, who are known to have been members of the council, only one out of the ten clergymen who were members of it remains unknown. Whoever he was, he was a friend of Edwards, and must be found on the list of the other ministers of the County. Thomas Strong, of New Marlborough, whose ordination sermon Edwards preached, and who had been a parishioner of Edwards; Jonathan Todd, of Southampton: John Ballantine, of Westfield; Stephen Williams, of Longmeadow; James Bridgham, of Brierfield; Samuel Hopkins of West Springfield; or his more distinguished namesake, Samuel Hopkins, of Great Barrington. It seems on some accounts most probable that it was Thomas Strong, of New Marlborough. Can any of the readers of the Magazine throw light on this question—who was the still unknown clerical member of the Council that dismissed Jonathan Edwards from the Church at Northhampton?

E. H. G.

Harlem, N. Y.

XVII.—REPLIES.

American Flags.

I.

State Library, Albany, Oct. 7, 1867.

H. B. Dawson, Esq.,

Dear Sir: I beg to offer to you the enclosed for The Historical Magazine, if acceptable.

"American Flags" are inquired about, (*II. M.*, II., ii., 119). The inquirer has probably seen Schuyler Hamilton's *The History of the National Flag of the United States of America.* Phila., 1853, pp. 115, 120.

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

H. A. Homes.

II.

West Point, N. Y. Sept. 28, 1867.

Dear Sir: Your correspondent, "B. A.," on page 119 of The Historical Magazine for August, desires information regarding the origin of the American Flag.

It may be found in a work entitled *The History of the National Flag of the United States,* by [now] Brevet Major-general Schuyler Hamilton, U. S. A., published by Lippincott, Grambo & Co., Philadelphia, 1853.

I am truly yours,

E. C. Boynton.*

III.

An interesting account of our early National banners will be found in Smith's *History of Newburyport;* and it is partly from this work, and Savage's *Lectures,* (1853) we give what follows: The first colors spoken of in connection with our war of independence were called Union Flags. They are repeatedly noticed in the newspapers of 1774. The first American Flag displayed in South Carolina was that unfurled by Colonel Moultrie, 1775. It bore a crescent on a blue ground. In October of the same year, a pine tree on a white ground, with the words, "Appeal "to Heaven," was raised on the floating batteries, and was adopted by the Massachusetts cruisers in 1776. The great Union Standard, the basis of that of the present day, was first unfurled on the second of January, 1776. This was followed by a naval flag, which bore a rattle-snake, with the motto, Don't Tread on Me. Some of the banners, however, previous to 1776, exhibited a snake with thirteen rattles, in a crimson ground interlaced with white, by some supposed in compliment to France, but more recently by others as representing those in the armorial bearing of Gen-

* We welcome Captain Boynton to our pages; and we are sure that we speak the sentiments of the great body of our readers when we say that the contributions thereto of the able historian of West Point will always be welcome. Ed. Hist. Mag.

eral Washington. A description of this flag is given in a London paper published in 1776.

It is claimed that the "Stars and Stripes," as the American ensign, were first displayed on the river Thames, Connecticut, by Captain Nicholas Johnson of Newburyport, Commander of the ship *Count de Grasse;* but this honor has been since claimed in behalf of the barque *Maria*, which subsequently went into the whaling trade. She returned to New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1856; and is asserted to be the oldest craft in the United States. Paul Jones was the first to carry the American banner to Europe. This was in 1777.

A new "Star-Spangled Banner" made its appearance in the river Thames, London, in October, 1851, showing five stars, emblematical of the British Colonies of New South Wales, the Australias, and Van Dieman's Land.

War in Disguise. [Historical Magazine, N. S. ii., 41, 121.]—The *Answer to War in Disguise*, New York, 1806, is ascribed in the Catalogue of the Library of the Albany Institute, and also in that of the New York State Library to Governeur Morris. The copy in the Institute Library had belonged to the late Stephen Van Rensselaer, who is the author probably for the statement. In Sparks' *Life of Morris*, the pamphlet is also spoken of as Morris's.

Albany, N. Y. H. A. H.

The "Runic Inscription."

To the Editor of The Historical Magazine:

The *Richmond Examiner* shrewdly suggests that "Thomas C. Raffinson, Fellow of the Royal "Society of Northern Antiquities," who contributed to the Washington *Evening Union* "a de-"scription of a discovery made by him recently, "of a Runic inscription on a rock near George-"town," has been hoaxed. It seems very probable, on the contrary, that *both papers* have been hoaxed by some foolish joker. If so, the introduction into the story of the name, "W. Langly, "1758," *may* afford some clue to the motive.

Charles C. Rafn, for many years the Secretary of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, died, I believe, within three or four years. He took a deep interest in the early Icelandic History, and his great work entitled *Antiquitates Americanæ sine Scriptores Septentrionales verum Ante-Columbinarum in America*, was published by the Society in 1837. "Thomas C. Raffinson" is most likely an assumed name, intended to suggest that of Charles C. Rafn, and so to set the story afloat among those who have simply heard the name of the Secretary of the Royal Society. The insertion of the story in your Magazine, even under the heading of Flotsam, makes it worth while to notice this, what, seen in the daily and weekly papers, seemed worthy only of a smile.

Perhaps it may be of interest to add that on the twenty-third of December, 1851, I addressed a note to Secretary Rafn, with a copy of a newly published *School History of the United States*, in which two or three pages were devoted to the Ante-Columbian History of this Continent. In reply, he states that "the section of the discov-"eries of the Northmen contains sundry inaccu-"racies and material errors owing to the author's "having been unacquainted with my work entitled "*Antiquitates Americanæ*. This has occasioned "the drawing up of a brief sketch directly based "upon the ancient records in the Old Northern or "Old Danish language, which have been preserved "in Icelandic MSS., at Copenhagen.

"This sketch is now transmitted to you, (and to "the Historical Society of New Jersey,) and may, "at pleasure, be regarded as a manuscript for in-"sertion in ———'s *History of the United States*, "or in any other publication where it may find "a suitable place, and serve to diffuse the knowl-"edge of this historical fact." This under date of July twenty-ninth, 1852.

Speaking of the same sketch, under date of August second, 1852, he says, "I have drawn up "a brief sketch, etc." His first note being indefinite as to the author of the compilation, he adds, "Alexander Humboldt, and other inquirers, who "have had an opportunity of consulting the "above-mentioned work, have fully acknowl-"edged this [*historical fact?*] as well as also the "position given in the work to the countries dis-"covered, the accurate knowledge whereof seems "to deserve to be more widely diffused."

This sketch would fill about two pages of your Magazine, and as I am not aware that it has ever been published in this country, save in the *Proceeding of the New Jersey Historical Society, for* 1853, it might be well to transfer it to your more widely circulated Magazine. See said *Proceedings*, pp., 166, 167, 168, 167, 168, (*sic.*)

Very truly yours,
"Vrederyck Felypsen."

Tarrytown, N. Y.

Aping Rank of Title. (*H. M.*, II., ii. 119, August, 1867.)—The Sovereign of Ava is entitled to be designated "The King of the Twenty-four "Umbrellas;" while the Governor of Massachusetts is really by law "His Excellency," and the Lieutenant-Governor, "His Honor." And it has been common with us to give the prefix of *honorable* to ministers named to foreign courts, judges, senators and mayors, while they hold office; but they all, when their term of office expires, drop into themselves, and can have nothing more about them than their unfledged Christian and surname.

They may remain honorable in their conduct, but their wings of honor are gone.

GOVERNEUR MORRIS. (*H. M.*, II., ii., p. 41.) This distinguished statesman lost his leg in May, 1780. In driving his phaeton through the streets of Philadelphia, his horses took fright and threw him to the pavement with such violence as to dislocate his ankle and fracture the bones of his left leg. His favorite physician, Dr. Jones, being out of town, two others were called in, who advised immediate amputation as the only means of saving his life; and his leg was taken off below the knee. It has been said that Dr. Jones was never satisfied with the precipitancy of the attending physicians, not thinking amputation necessary; and the case is often referred to by surgical lecturers as a caution against rash and precipitate decisions. He had a rough oak stick fitted to his limb, and used that through life in preference to a cork leg.

WASHINGTON, D. C. R.

XVIII.—BOOKS.

1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Battles of the United States, by Sea and Land.* By Henry B. Dawson. Revised and corrected edition. Volume I. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1867.

Battles of the War of the Revolution By Henry B. Dawson. Volume I. Morrisania, N Y.: 1867. Quarto and octavo, [Part I.] pp. two titles, 96.

At length, after many provoking delays, the first number of this long looked-for work has been issued to the subscribers; and, although we have not yet seen all the typographical beauty in it that we have been led to expect, we have seldom seen a more beautiful specimen of printing.

It is a carefully revised edition of a widely known work, to be made complete by the addition of those portions which were omitted from the original edition and of descriptions of the many Battles of the recent Warsboth, Indian and Civil; and it has been printed, as far as it has gone, with great care, by Messrs. J. M. Bradstreet & Son. The portrait of Washington, after Trumbull by Mr. H. B. Hall, of this town, is one of the finest specimens we have yet seen of that gentleman's work.

The Prospectus promised an edition of twenty-five quartos and one hundred octavos, "*and no "more;*" and we trust that there will be less delay than usual in getting out the remainder of the work. "Life is short;" yet we shall be glad to see the work finished during the era of the present generation.

2.—*Gleanings from the Harvest-field of American History.* By Henry B. Dawson. Part I. Morrisania. N. Y.: 1867.

The Park and its Vicinity, in the City of New York. By Henry B. Dawson. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1867. Octavo, pp. viii, 95.

This is the first number of its author's *Gleanings;* as it was the first-fruits of his earliest attempt to write on American History, nearly thirteen years ago.

There is perhaps only one other of our "Works" which possesses as deep a hold on our regard as this, since it was our first; and now, nearly thirteen years after it was written, as we look back over the intervening period, on our lonely toil, and scanty income, and broken health, and unceasing cares, and paralysing disappointments, we sometimes think that we have dearly paid for the small amount of knowledge which we have acquired and disseminated, and as dearly purchased the very small bubble of public respect which bears our name. Indeed, these thirteen years have been crowded with almost ceaseless toil and trouble; and it is only when we turn to the personal friends—ever indulgent, ever extending their sympathy, ever prompting us to still greater efforts to ascertain and protect the Truth—which our pen has secured for us, that we take courage, "pick our flint," and continue our labor.

We have read the proofs of this handsome reprint of our first born Historical pages; and we have found nothing which needs our correction therein, save a couple of allusions to buildings which have since disappeared and now require amended descriptions of the places where they stood. It was originally written in haste, from materials gathered on the spot, with the printer's boys waiting for the manuscript; yet we are proud to recognize it, unrevised, as our own; and shall never be ashamed of anything which is not less worthy of respect.

It is exactly uniform with our *Putnam*, and *Stony Point*, and *Howes' Diary;* and, as a specimen of fine printing it reflects credit on the Bradstreet Press, where it was printed.

The edition numbered Two hundred and fifty copies; and only one size was printed.

3.—*History and General Description of New France.* By Rev. P. F. X. DeCharlevoix, S. J. Translated, with Notes. by John Gilmary Shea. In six volumes. Volume II. New York: J. G. Shea, 1866. Quarto and octavo, pp., 6 unpaged, 285.

Books IV., V., VI., and VII., of the original edition of this standard history, have been re-produced in this splendid volume; and the learned and amiable Editor has increased their importance by adding a series of original Notes, of very great value.

Although the edition numbers only Two hundred and seventy-five copies, we regret to learn that so many have failed to honor their subscriptions that the actual cost of manufacturing the volumes has not yet been secured; and Mr. Shea has been constrained to appeal for an increased patronage to save himself from loss thereon. May not we add our earnest request that all who respect

the History of their Country, especially those in the mighty West, whose cries of exultation on the Westward march of Empire are so very noteworthy, will extend to this modest, but patient and indefatigable scholar the support which he merits?

4.—*Eulogy on George Washington.* By Francis Kinloch of Georgetown, S. C. New York: Privately printed, 1867. Octavo, pp. ii., 19.

This is one of those elegant trifles which are produced now-a-days, for presents only, by the few whose fortune, and taste, and love of choice literature combine in prompting to good works.

It is a carefully prepared retrospect of the Life and Services of General Washington; and was prepared at the request of the inhabitants of Georgetown, to be delivered on the twenty-second of February, 1800, a few weeks after his death.

This re-print, apparently a *fac-simile*, is the work of the Bradstreet Press; and the edition numbers sixty copies. It was printed for a gentleman in New York; and is only used for presents to his personal friends.

5.—*The Descendants of John Phœnix, an Early Settler in Kittery, Maine.* By S. Whitney Phœnix. New York: Privately printed, 1867. Large octavo, pp. vi., 53.

John Phœnix, the ancestor of those whose names are recorded in this volume, was an honest Scot who settled at Kittery, in Maine, prior to 1664, and lived to a good old age, leaving, at his death, a son and two daughters; and this volume narrates, with great detail, the descendants of these to the present day.

This ancient family seems to have been known, successively as FFENNICKE, FFENIX, FENNICK, FFEANIX, FENICK, PHENIX, FENWICKE, FENIX, FENNICKS, FINICK, FFINNIX, etc; until, at length, the name has become fixed on PHŒNIX; and in this elegant volume our respected friend, Stephen Whitney Phœnix, of another family, has faithfully traced its members through their various styles.

If we are not mistaken, Mr. Phœnix has now entered the brotherhood of authors for the first time; and we heartily bid him welcome. The patient research which he has displayed in the preparation of this work for the Press, bespeaks his fitness for more generally important labors in the field of History and Biography; and as the laborers in that harvest are few, so worthy an addition to the force which is now there will be very acceptable.

Of this work, Typographically, we need only say that it is printed in the best style of the Bradstreet Press, with old-style types *on one side only* of the finest tinted, laid paper. The Edition numbered, originally, Five quartos and One hundred octavos; but Mr. Phœnix has destroyed Sixty copies of the octavo, and the work is already very rare. It is printed only for private circulation.

6.—*Vassar College and its Founder.* By Benson J. Lossing. New York: C. A. Alvord, 1867. Octavo, pp. 175.

There are few men who have passed through such varied scenes as Matthew Vassar, the celebrated brewer of Poughkeepsie. Born of poor parents, removed to a strange country at an early age, without fortune or influence, he has nevertheless built a name for himself, in his business relations, which will be long remembered in the annals of American enterprise; and now, in his old age, he has seized other honors, in other fields, to which no one supposed, until within the past few years, he had ever aspired.

His munificent foundation of Vassar College, for the education of young women in all the higher branches of knowledge is well known; and in the elegantly illustrated volume before us, prepared by an early and dear friend of ours, we have a fit tribute to the worth of the Founder of that important institution.

Opening with a sketch of Mr. Vassar's life and the origin and progress of his devotion of a princely fortune to the cause of female education, it closes with a minute description of the institution itself in all its departments. It is written in the easy flowing style which marks all Mr. Lossing's productions; and as a specimen of book-making, wood-engraving and printing—it is peculiarly noteworthy, reflecting the greatest credit on both Lossing & Barrett, by whom the blocks were cut, and Mr. Alvord, by whom they were printed.

We believe the volume was printed for private circulation only.

7.—*History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion, in Virginia, in 1675 and 1676.* Cambridge: John Wilson & Sons. 1867. Octavo, pp. 50.

In December, 1812, the late Josiah Quincy, then in Congress, received from Hon. William Burwell, a Representative from Virginia, an ancient manuscript, apparently contemporary with the event, concerning the Rebellion of Bacon and Ingram, in 1675–6; and it was deposited with the Massachusetts Historical Society, in whose custody it still remains.

It is very important, as materials for History, and the Society has recently printed it *verbatim et literatim*, in a volume of its *Proceedings*. Two hundred copies, in a separate form, with a brief *Prefatory Note*, have also been printed for private circulation; and we are indebted for the copy before us to the kindness of Charles Deane, Esq., of Cambridge.

Like all such works from Messrs. Wilson's Press, it is very beautifully printed.

8.—A Sermon preached at Boston, in New England, upon a Fast Day, the 19th of January, 1636-37. By the Rev. John Wheelwright. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for 1866-67. Cambridge: John Wilson & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 22.

Those who have seen THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for April, 1867, have noticed in its pages a copy of this celebrated State-paper, *therein first printed*: those who shall see this tract and the volume from which it was taken, will be very likely to suppose that Boston had first ushered into the world this most notable piece of contemporary evidence of Boston's primitive intolerance. We make this note of what seems to be a very inconsistent way of fairly doing one's duty to our neighbor as we would he should do his duty to us. "Nothing more."

Our readers know all about this Sermon; and we will only detain them long enough, therefore, to say that Twenty-five copies only were printed in this edition, all of which were for presents.

9.—Remarks on Sebastian Cabot's Mappe-Monde. By Charles Deane. Reprinted from The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, for April, 1867. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son. 1867. Octavo, pp. 8.

While Mr. Deane was in Paris in 1866, he procured a copy of the celebrated re-print, by M. Jomard, of Sebastian Cabot's *Mappe-Monde;* and in October of that year he addressed the Society on that subject. At the meeting in April last, Mr. Deane formally presented this Map to the Society, and accompanied it with some remarks illustrative of the history of the Map, which are here reproduced, with very elaborate foot-notes, for private circulation among the friends of their author.

Mr. Deane has very carefully elaborated his Notes; and to every student of early American History, this Tract will prove very acceptable.

The edition numbered fifty copies.

10.—Seal of the "Council for New England." Cambridge, Mass.: John Wilson & Sons. 1867. Octavo, pp. 4.

The seals of the Virginia Company and the Bermudas Company have been known to archæologists, but that of "The Council for New England" has been a mystery; and Mr. Deane, not without reason, supposes he has discovered it in the elaborate design which is on the title-page of John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, & the Summer Isles*, Edition, London, 1624, and on the reverse of the title-page of the same Author's *Advertisement for the Unexperienced Planters of New England*, Edition, London, 1631.

As we said, Mr. Deane seems to have good reasons for urging this supposition; and we know no reason to dispute it beyond the naked fact that there is no other evidence on the subject than Mr. Deane's very reasonable guess—indeed, that will hardly be considered as *evidence*, although it will be considered as an *inference*, which seems to be well-founded.

The tract before us is a private print, for presents only; and the edition numbered thirty copies only.

11.—The Last Will and Testament of Captain John Smith; with some Additional Memoranda Relating to Him. Reprinted from the Proceedings of The Massachusetts Historical Society, for January 1867. Cambridge: John Wilson & Sons, 1867. Small quarto, pp., title, and verso, and 7.

There is so much romance connected with the stories concerning Captain John Smith, that the discovery of hidden truths concerning him cannot be otherwise than acceptable to every student of History. There is a peculiar fitness, also, that such discoveries should be presented to the world by Mr. Deane, who has done so much to strip the memory of the Captain of very much renown which never truly belonged to it.

It seems that the father of Smith was a small farmer, a tenant on the Willoughby estate in Lincolnshire; and that John was born at Willoughby, near Alford—the latter, subsequently, the home of Anne Hutchinson—on the sixth of January, 1579. He had one brother and one sister; made a will on the twenty-first of June 1631; and died on the same day.

In the volume before us, we have an extract from the will of the Captain's father, the entry on the *Parish Register* of the Captain's birth, his will, a *fac-similie* of his signature, the Broadside Prospectus of his *Generall Historie*, and the epitaph on his tomb—the latter now obliterated.

It will be seen that the volume contains a curious and interesting collection of *authentic* material concerning the notable Captain; and although Mr. Deane has scattered the story of his adventures in Virginia and rescue by Pocahontas, he has not left us without an equivalent in the more useful papers which we have enumerated.

This little volume is beautifully printed, exclusively for presents; and the edition numbers fifty copies only.

12.—Genealogy of a part of the Ripley Family. Compiled by H. W. Ripley, Newark, N. J.: A. S. Holbrook. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 48.

A very neatly printed and modest attempt to place on record the members of a family which originated, in America, with William Ripley, an emigrant from Hingham, Norfolk, England, who was one of the early settlers in Hingham, Mass.,

having drawn a town lot in what is now Hingham Centre, in 1638.

The writer, a stranger to us, is evidently an aged gentlemen, who has amused himself by corresponding with the different members of the family, not always with satisfactory results, and arranging the materials which he has thus obtained, for the Press. As we have said, he makes no undue pretensions and affects no airs; but in the most simple business-like style, he has arranged his statistics, and submitted them to the world. He has, in his quiet way, rendered a service to his kinsmen and to the student of our Country's History, which merits their warmest gratitude; and we earnestly bope that it will not be withheld—we most certainly tender him our own.

We believe the little work referred to is not offered for sale.

13.—History of the City of New York. By Mary L. Booth. Illustrated. [In two volumes.] New York: W. R. C. Clark, 1867. Royal octavo, pp. 892.

In our number for July, we invited the attention of our readers to the general excellencies of this newly revised History of the Metropolis, and our surprise that the worthy authoress had succeeded so completely in her difficult and thankless task. We have how the equally agreeable duty to remind them of what we said of this work, while we acknowledge the receipt of a most sumptuous copy, on tinted, laid paper of large size and fine texture, from the Bradstreet Press; and we trust that Miss Booth will receive, in this branch of her enterprize, the solid support of all who admire handsome books.

The edition numbers one hundred copies.

14.—Dictionary of the United States Congress, compiled as a manual of reference for the legislator and statesman. By Charles Lanman. Third Edition; revised and brought down to July twenty-eighth, 1866. [Washington, D. C.:] Government Printing Office. 1866. Octavo, pp. viii., 602.

We are indebted to our friend, the Author, for a second copy of this work, the first of which did not reach us; and although behind time, we desire to bear our testimony to the usefulness of the compilation, to those whose leisure is too limited to allow them to investigate for themselves, in out-of-the-way places, concerning the Federal authorities.

Of the members of Congress referred to, we need only say that the *best* as well as the *worst* of our countrymen have been in Congress; and as the personal vices of such as Webster have not been more notable than the personal virtues of such as Calhoun, such a compendium of the lives and services of every Member of Congress as we have here must, necessarily, be exceeding useful for reference.

But it is to the Appendix of the volume that we desire to direct especial attention. There is therein a perfect mine of information concerning every branch of the Legislative, Judicial, and Executive Departments of the Federal Government, and the Diplomatic Corps; and we have noticed very few drawbacks which are of sufficient importance to require notice.

We must, however, object to the statement, (pp. 514–516) that *The Declaration of Independence*, which was agreed to on the fourth of July, 1776, was *then or at any other time*, ordered to "engrossed and signed by members," and to the inference which such a statement conveyed that *that* was the particular *Declaration* which was thus signed and transmitted to us. Had Mr. Lanman examined the archives of the Secretary's office, he would have made some very interesting discoveries on this subject; and we commend the subject to his notice.

The Articles of Confederation are presented in an unexceptionable form, as is, also, the *Constitution for the United States*, except the title of the latter, in which a very important change has been made, and the *Amendments* thereto, from which have been omitted, in their proper places, the exceedingly important *Preamble* to the first ten Amendments thereto, and the several Preambles, less important, of those which have been subsequently ratified.

There is, also, in this Appendix, a great deal of very important information concerning the several States which cannot readily be found in any other work; and we understand that still further improvements are in progress for the next edition.

15.—Centennial Celebration of the Town of Orford, N. H., containing the Oration, Poems, and Speeches, delivered on Thursday, September 7, 1865, with some additional matters relating to the history of the place. [Sine loco, sine anno.] Octavo, pp. 145.

We have been favored by our valued friend, David E. Wheeler, Esq., with a copy of this exceedingly interesting local, and we propose hereafter, to make special mention of at least one subject which is herein presented to our notice, while, to-day, we shall content ourself with a general notice of the volume and the occasion which it commemorates.

Orford, we understand is one of those quiet little towns in New Hampshire, which are better able to produce great men than to retain them; and like some of her sisters, she seems to have called back the wanderers from her borders—her prodigal sons, it may be—on the occasion of her one-hundredth birth-day; shaken them by the hand and received their respectful compliments; given them a good dinner and an opportunity to put their best feet foremost; and then dismissed them to the distant scenes of their respective labors.

Orford rang her bells, discharged her artillery, flung out her banners, blowed all her music, displayed all the sturdy sons who had not abandoned her, and all the frugal daughters to whom those sons had become subject, the four hundred children—ruddy with good health, joyous because of the strange scenes which passed before them, and patriotic as their little heads and hearts could make them—which God had given her, and, generally, made a great hubbub in the outside corner of creation, on which she had rested these hundred years or more; while Orford's children, wanderers from Orford's fold, and Orford's neighbors, as all good neighbors should, "poured "in from every direction," showed themselves to Orford and to each other, listened to Orford's eloquence, joined in Orford's choruses, sat down at Orford's well-filled tables, congratulated the centenarian on her good fortune, eat her "fatted "calf," which had been killed for the occasion, and then, with good wishes for her continued happiness, bade her "Good-bye," and returned to the places from which they had come.

The Oration was a good one—historical and without any clap-trap. The Hymns were appropriate and well-written—we have no doubt they were also well sung. The after-dinner Addresses were admirable, in every respect, since Orford kept every one sober and sensible.

The volume before us commemorates this commemoration and speaks to those of the next century concerning that which has past. It is just such a volume as Orford should have sent down the stream of Time; unless the want of an imprint shall set the Orford boys of 1965, wondering *who* printed and published it. It is neat, inexpensive, complete: what more was required? what more will be desired?

16.—General Conference of the Congregational Churches in Maine, Churches and Ministers from 1672 to 1867; with the Minutes of the Forty-first Annual Meeting, held with the Pine-Street Congregational Church, Lewiston, June 25, 26, 27. 1867. Portland: Brown; Thurston & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 157.

This volume, the work, we believe, of Deacon E. F. Duren of Bangor, is a monument to his industry and good judgment, and when he modestly says, "it will be found a convenient record for "present use, and form a basis for the future "historian," he says far less than could have been said, justly.

Thus: every Church appears in its place on the record, with the date of its organization, the names of each of its successive Pastors or Stated-supplies, the date of his settlement, that of his dismission, and that of his death, or, if still living, his present residence. There is an *Appendix*, also, in which each Church again appears, with a collection of "additional facts," of great interest as special local histories of each parish—brief, yet clearly expressed and not unimportant, even to strangers; and there is, also, a Chronological arrangement of the Churches, according to the order of their formation.

The Minutes close the volume; and in these, too, we find the most elaborate tabular statements, displayed with all the labor and skill of the most patient statistician.

We believe the volume can be bought for Fifty cents; and we advise every collector of "locals" to obtain a copy.

17.—Short Studies on Great Subjects. By James Anthony Froude. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867. Crown octavo, pp. 534. Price $3.

In this volume we have a collection from the periodical literature of England, of the Essays of England's great Historian; and the impress of his genius may be found on every page. Indeed, although we do not admire his religious opinions, as we understand them, there is so much originality and independence of thought in Mr. Froude's writings, and so many attractions of style, that we find it more difficult to return this volume to the table than it was to pick it up, even at the close of a hard day's work; and we can do no less, therefore, than to commend it to the attention of our readers.

Hear what he says of History, and tell us, you who know, if Froude has not read our American newspapers; "It often seems to me as if History "was like a child's box of letters, with which we "can spell any word we please. We have only "to pick out such letters as we want, arrange "them as we like, and say nothing about those "which do not suit our purpose."

Who will say that the writer of these lines was not worthy of such setting as the Riverside press has awarded to him in this handsome volume?

18.—The Human Element in the Inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures. By T. F. Curtis, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 386.

The writer of this volume, if we do not mistake is a Baptist clergyman, with whom, many years ago, we were associated in one of the Historical Societies in New York; and our recollections of him are agreeable and have always commanded our warmest respect. He has since been Professor of Theology at Lewisburg, Penn.; and this volume is a condensation of his lectures before his class in the University at that place on the great subject of the Inspiration of the Scriptures.

Whatever Professor Curtis may have been when he was called to the Ministerial office by an Evangelical Baptist Church, it is very evident that like Strauss, he has become more and more skeptical as he grows older; and he stands now, if we un-

derstand him aright, openly denying the truth of the current theories of the infallibility of Scripture Inspiration—that the Bible is of Divine origin and the only Rule of Faith and Practice.

It will not be expected of us to enter into a discussion of the merits or demerits of the work, in all its details; yet we cannot deny ourself the pleasure of saying that nothing which we have found in the volume before us has convinced us of the stability of this, the Professors *last* resting place while on his way to Infidelity—it is evidently anything else than a Rock, and is not such a spot as a wise man would have selected as a site for his dwelling.

We cannot wish that success to the work which we should have been glad to have extended to It, under other circumstances.

19.—Home Life: a Journal. By Elizabeth M. Sewell. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 405.

This "Journal" is in fact a tale through which the Authoress desires to illustrate not only a few fundamental principals of education, but the difficulties and disappointments attendant upon the endeavor to carry them out under ordinary circumstances and amongst ordinary people.

It is neatly printed and will doubtless find many admirers, especially among those who are engaged in teaching "the young idea how to shoot."

20.—Manual of Physical Exercises: comprising Gymnastics, Rowing, Skating, Fencing, Cricket, Calisthenics, Sailing, Swimming, Sparring, Base-ball, together with Rules for Training and Sanitary Suggestions. By William Wood. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 316.

In this very handsome volume we have what appears to be a very complete manual of Gymnastic and Athletic Exercises, illustrated with One hundred and twenty-five well-executed illustrations; and as it has met the hearty approval of sundry young Gymnasts and Ball-players at Morrisania with whom we are acquainted—all of whom know more of these subjects than we do—we feel at liberty to say that it is of unusual excellence and will be exceedingly acceptable to the young people in every part of the country.

21.—The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby. By Charles Dickens. With Eight Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1867. Small Octavo, pp. x., 155.

22.—The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit. By Charles Dickens. With Eight Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1867. Small octavo, pp., vii., 522.

These volumes form Numbers II., and III., of "The Charles Dickens Series" of Dickens' Works, now in course of publication by Ticknor & Field of Boston.

Of the character of the works themselves, we need say nothing, since our readers know quite as much concerning that subject as we do; but we cannot forbear referring again to the beauty of the typography and the extremely low price at which these volumes are sold.

To the multitude of Boz's admirers, the publication of these works is a perfect God-send.

23.—Indiana Miscel'any: consisting of sketches of Indiana Life, the Early Settlements, Custom, and Hardships of the People, and the introduction of the Gospel and of Schools. Toge'her with Biographical Notices of the Pioneer Methodist Preachers of the State. By Rev. William C. Smith. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 304

The very extended title, which we have copied in full, correctly describes the contents of this neatly printed volume.

It is a Western "local" of considerable interest and value, without being very elaborate in its details or very full of pretence. It seems to have been written by a Methodist clergymen, a native of Indiana, and an enthusiastic lover of the home of his father—the State where he was born, and of which he is a citizen—and, strange as it may seem to some, the fear of "sectional pride" seems never to have haunted him.

We are glad to commend it to the collectors of local histories, as well as to those of our readers who love to trace the rise and progress, in the wilderness, of the Christian Church.

24.—Diary of a Southern Refugee, during the War. By a Lady of Virginia. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 360.

This seems to be a Diary, written by a lady, the wife of a clergyman, as her family was driven from place to place, during the eventful days of the recent war.

It is written with exceeding great ability; and as it presents an inside view of the seceding States, with their stirring rumors and heart-rending realities, it will continue to be of great service to all who desire to look into the History of that period, from the Confederate stand point.

It will be very acceptable to those who are making collections concerning the recent war.

25.—Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Living New York Physicians. By Samuel W. Francis, A. M., M. D. New York: George P. Putnam & Son. 1867. Duodecimo pp. 228.

Into this volume, a son of our late honored friend, Doctor John W. Francis, LL. D., has collected some very pleasant little sketches of living New York physicians, including Doctors Paine, Draper, Griscom, Baker, Sequard, Anderson, Stewart, Gardner, Taylor, Wood, Delafield, Beales, Hammond, and Greene, some of whom are our personal friends; for one of them we entertain the most complete contempt.

These sketches have already appeared in *The* (Phila,) *Medical and Surgical Reporter;* and, although the author has gained the literary martyr's crown for writing them, we have no doubt of their usefulness, as memorials of the notable men of this notable age.

The little volume is printed on heavy paper; and is a very neat affair.

26.—The Sayings of Dr. Bushwhacker and other Learned Men. By Fred. S. Cozzens. New York: A. Simpson & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. [ii.] 10, 213. Price $1.50.

A very neatly printed volume of short articles, written for *The Wine Press* and other periodicals; together with a few original articles now first introduced to the public. They are from the well-known pens of the author of *The Sparrowgrass Papers*, M. Paul Dinet, Professor Walcott Gibbs, Charles G. and Henry P. Leland, Colonel Peter A. Porter, and Gulian C. Verplanck; and they are dedicated to the last named gentleman, the honored and venerable friend of the editor.

The articles themselves are short, sparkling, and interesting; and these good qualities added to the attractive style in which they are presented, will secure for them a host of gratified readers.

27.— The Poetical Works of John Greanleaf Whittier. Complete edition. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1867. 16mo. pp. xi., 40.

The taste of Ticknor & Fields, and the mechanical ability of Welch, Bigelow & Co., have been united in the production of this exquisite little gem—one of the Diamond Edition of the Poets, now passing through the hands of the enterprizing house whose imprint it bears.

So long and so widely have the verses of the Quaker Poet been known to his countrymen, and so generally elsewhere than in the United States have their merits been recognized, that our readers need be told nothing concerning them: concerning the collection, we can only say that it evidently contains all that the author now recognizes as his works; and as a specimen of book-making it is a very pattern of neatness.

2.—Acknowledgements.

The following works remain on our table and will be carefelly noticed at the earliest possible opportunity:

Life of Timothy Pickering, Vol. I. *Little, Brown & Co.*

Swinton's Decisive Battles of the War. *Dick & Fitzgerald.*

Father Tom and the Pope. *A. Simpson & Co.*

Macmillan's Bible Teachings in Nature. *D. Appleton & Co.*

Holland's Kathrina. *C. Scribner & Co.*

Paulding's The Bulls and the Jonathans. *C. Scribner & Co.*

Skey's Hysteria. *A. Simpson & Co.*

Eiloart's Curate's Discipline. *Harper & Brothers.*

Draper's Civil War in America. *Harper & Brothers.*

Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America. Vol. XIV. *Presbyterian Publishing Commitee.*

XLVIth Report of the Mercantile Library Association, New York.

Opinion of Corporation Council on Power of Corporation to Issue Tavern Licenses.

Caldwell's Anniversary Discourse. *Hammond, Angell & Co.*

Hammond's Opinion in the Johnston Will Case. *Baker, Voorhies & Co.*

Personal Representation Society's Memorial. *A. Simpson & Co.*

Minutes of the General Association of Massachusetts. *Congregational Board of Publication.*

Proceedings of the Meeting held at the Inauguration of the Rutgers Female College. *A. Simpson & Co.*

DePeyster's Decisive Conflicts. No. I. *Privately printed.*

CCXXIX Anniversary of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. 1867. *Privately printed.*

General Early's Memoir of the last Year of the War for Independence. *Privately printed.*

Jones's Indian Bulletin for 1867. *Privately printed.*

The Relation of the Right Honourable the Lord De-La-Warre, Lord Gouernour and Captaine General of the Colonie, planted in Virginica. London, 1611. *Privately re-printed.*

Whitney's Language and the Study of Language. *C. Scribner & Co.*

N. Y. Colonial Tracts. No. I. Journal of the Voyage of the Sloop *Mary* from Quebec. *Joel Munsell, Albany*, N. Y.

————————No. II. Voyage of George Clarke to America. *Joel Munsell, Albany.*

Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates at Boston, 1780, *Joel Munsell, Albany.*

Memorial Volume of the Semi-centennial Anniversary of Hartwick Seminary. *Joel Munsell, Albany.*

Scott's Early New England Marriage Dower. *Privately printed.*

Beecher's Prayers from Plymouth Pulpit. *C. Scribner & Co.*

Stevens's Records of the Chamber of Commerce. *The Author.*

Neill's Terra Mariæ. *J. B. Lippincot & Co.*

LORD's Old Roman World. *C. Scribner & Co.*

JONES's History of the Church of God. *The Same.*

STILES's History of Brooklyn. *The Author.*

GUIZOT's Meditations on Christianity. *C. Scribner & Co.*

Slave Songs of the United States. *A. Simpson & Co.*

PAULDING's Tales of the Good Woman. *C. Scribner & Co.*

3.—MISCELLANY.

SCRAPS.—*The Pall Mall Gazette* says that in the library of the House of Lords, the original copy of the *Sealed Book of Common Prayer*, which has been so long missing, has been discovered. It is found in the manuscript that the bishops had ordered that the Communion Tables should stand at the east end of the chancel, and that the celebrant should stand eastward; but they subsequently erased the rubrics.

—The *New York Times* and a Western paper agree that Mr. Bancroft "would have greatly "improved his style by five years' drill on a first-"class newspaper."

—A spelling-book, published in 1790, was recently put up at an auction sale in Washington, and, reaching the sum of $25, was bid in by the auctioneers and presented to the Oldest Inhabitants Association. The same firm also presented to the above-named society a dinner plate made about the year 1800, on which is a figure of Washington surrounded by guns and flags.

—We recently had the pleasure of examining the manuscript of the *History of Augusta*, upon which Hon. James W. North, of this city, has for many years been engaged, and which will probably be published another Spring. The work, so far as completed, makes about 1500 large manuscript pages, closely written, and, when finished, the number will probably reach nearly two thousand. It commences about the year 1600, is to be brought down to the present time, and the amount of labor bestowed upon the collection and arranging of the great mass of facts presented in the work, can only be realized by those who have been engaged in similar undertakings. No fact of interest relating to the history and progress of our city has been omitted, while many portions are treated with considerable elaboration and fullness. The biographical sketches will form an important division of the work, and its genealogical registers, which are very full and comprise records of many of the old families, will not be the least interesting portion of the work. When issued, we understand it will be illustrated to some extent, with views of scenery, buildings, portraits, &c., and will form a most important addition to our State history.—*Maine Farmer.*

REVIVAL OF "PUTNAM'S MAGAZINE."—On the first of January next, Mr. George P. Putnam will revive *Putnam's Magazine*. It is announced that the plan of the new magazine will generally resemble that of its prototype, with the addition of new features, and that "it will aim at a broad "and generous nationality, and an enlightened "pursuit of all topics, whether of politics, society, "art, science or literature; while no effort will "be spared to present in its pages, in every va-"riety, the productions of the most accomplished "authors of the day." The high reputation of the old magazine is the best introduction for the new one.—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

—General William Schoulers *History of Massachusetts in the Rebellion* is passing through the press and will shortly be given to the public. Few have had the opportunities of Gen. Shouler, whether as regards his official position as Adjutant-General of Massachusetts during the war, or his intimate relations with prominent men, to acquire a minute and accurate view of the tremendous struggle now happily ended; and his ripe experience as a journalist and author well qualifies him to put in judicious and attractive shape the materials thus collected.

— Charles Sumner, in his *Prophetic Voices About America*, published in a recent issue of the *Atlantic*, quotes from Seneca as saying "the sea "will disclose new worlds."

Dr. Hedge, in a note to the Boston *Transcript*, convicts Mr. Sumner of confounding Seneca, the philosopher, and Seneca, the tragedian, and of misquoting and misrendering his lines. The whole passages, as written by the old poet, literally translated, read thus: "In late years there "will come ages in which the ocean shall unloose "the band of things, and the great earth shall "lie exposed, and Typhus shall discover new "worlds, nor shall there be an uttermost Thule "for the lands." Hedge well remarks, "That "the passage should ever have been considered "as prophesying anything so specific as the dis-"covery of America, is a literary wonder. Taken "in its context, it seems to be mere poetic rhap-"sody, suggested by the new activity of maritime "adventure, in the time of the author." Mr. Sumner is probably indebted to Bacon for the idea of the prophetic import of the passage, and his use of it illustrates the value of the second-hand scholarship of which we have so much.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. Second Series.] OCTOBER, 1867. [No. 4

I.—THE DUELS BETWEEN—PRICE AND PHILIP HAMILTON, AND GEORGE I. EACKER.

Hoboken, Sunday and Monday, November 22 and 23, 1801.

The quiet of the little city of New York, nearly sixty-six years ago, was suddenly disturbed on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third of November, by reports of a difficulty between a young lawyer, of respectable standing, on one side, and two other young men respectably connected in the city, on the other; and on Tuesday these reports were followed by the following announcement, in the leading papers of the day:

[From *The New York Gazette, and General Advertiser*, No. 4964, Vol. XV. New York, Tuesday, November 24, 1801.]

"In consequence of a quarrel which originated at the Theatre on Friday evening, between George I. Eacker, Philip Hamilton, and young Mr. Price, a Duel was fought at Powles Hook on Sunday last by the former and the latter, when, it is said, three shots were exchanged without injury to either.

"Yesterday another Duel was fought by Mr. Philip Hamilton (oldest son of General Hamilton) and Mr. Eacker, at the same place. It is with extreme regret we mention, that Mr. H. was shot through the body just above the hip, the ball lodging in the left arm; and it is feared the wound will prove mortal."

[From *The Evening Post*, No. 8. New York, Tuesday, November 24, 1801.]

"DIED.

"This morning, in the 20th year of his age, Philip Hamilton, eldest son of General Hamilton,—murdered in a duel.—

"As the public will be anxious to know the leading particulars of this deplorable event, we have collected the following, which may be relied upon as correct.

"On Friday evening last, young Hamilton and young Price, sitting in the same box with Mr. George I. Eacker, began in levity a conversation respecting an oration delivered by the latter in July, and made use of some expressions respecting it, which were overheard by Eacker, who asked Hamilton to step into the lobby; Price followed—here the expression, *damned rascal*, was used by Eacker, to one of them, and a little scuffle ensued; but they soon adjourned to a public house:—an explanation was then demanded, which of them the offensive expression was meant for; after a little hesitation, it was declared to be intended for each: Eacker then said, as they parted, '*I expect to hear from you;*' they replied, '*You shall;*' and challenges followed. A meeting took place, between Eacker and Price, on Sunday morning; which, after exchanging four shots each, was finished by the interference of the seconds.

"Yesterday afternoon, the fatal Duel was fought between young Hamilton and Eacker. Hamilton received a shot thro' the body the first discharge, and fell without firing. He was brought across the ferry to his father's house, where he languished of the wound till this morning, when he expired.

"He was a young man of an amiable disposition and cultivated mind; much esteemed and affectionately beloved by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

"Reflections on this horrid custom must occur to every man of humanity; but the voice of an individual or of the press must be ineffectual without additional, strong and pointed legislative interference. Fashion has placed it upon a footing which nothing short of this can controul."

On the following morning, this statement was replied to in another paper, as follows:

[From *The American Citizen and General Advertiser*, Vol. II., No. 528, New York, Wednesday, November 25, 1801.]

"The paragraph which appeared in *The Evening Post* of yesterday, is a most gross, and, we

have reason to believe, *premeditated* misstatement of facts. The true causes which led to the duels fought by Mr. Eacker and Mr. Price, and the former and Mr. Philip Hamilton, are carefully, but dishonorably withheld from the public. What Mr. Coleman's motives were for penning such a misstatement can only be determined by the paragraph itself, which is a violent outrage on justice, on personal sensibility, and that delicacy which it was the duty of Mr. Coleman to have observed as an editor of a paper through which correct information *ought* to find its way to the public. Mr. Price, and the unfortunate Mr. Hamilton, were, we assure the public, the *aggressors*. They violently assaulted Mr. Eacker, whose conduct through every stage of the unfortunate affair, was perfectly honourable, and exempt from blame. They commenced the assault upon, and challenged Mr. Eacker. We cannot, however, at present, descend to particulars, but we shall, to-morrow, present to the public a full and correct statement of every material circumstance relating to the causes of the duels, authenticated by witnesses whose impartiality and credibility will not be questioned. Till then, we request the public to suspend their opinion."

On the same (Wednesday) morning, the following additional particulars of the dispute appeared in another of the daily papers:

[From *The New York Gazette and General Advertiser*, No. 4965, Vol. XV. New York, Wednesday, November 25, 1801.]

"*DIED*;

"On the morning of the 24th instant, Mr. Philip Hamilton, eldest son of General Hamilton, in the 20th year of his age, of a wound received in a duel with Capt. George I. Eacker. Few events have so much interested the public, whether they consider the youth and promising talents of the deceased, the feelings of most affectionate parents, or the false honor to which his life was sacrificed.

"The duel was occasioned by some frolicksome and satirical expressions made by Mr. Hamilton and a young Mr. Price, at the Theatre, on the Friday preceding, about an oration of Mr. Eacker's, and in his hearing. This conduct Mr. Eacker resented in a very intemperate manner, collared Mr. Hamilton, called them damned rascals and villains, and said if he did not hear from them, he would treat them as such. Challenges were consequently sent to him by both.

"Mr. Eacker and Mr. Price met on the Sunday following, and after exchanging four shots, without injury to either, the seconds interfered. On Monday the fatal duel between Mr. Eacker and Mr. Hamilton took place. Young Hamilton was shot through the body, on the first discharge, and fell without firing. He languished until the next morning, and then expired.

"He was a young man of a natural amiable disposition, of a strong and well cultivated mind. In August last, he took his first degree in Columbia College, and at the commencement delivered an oration remarkable for its correctness of sentiment, elegance of diction, and with that justness of elocution and propriety of gesture, that all hoped to see in him another HAMILTON. Let it be added, as the highest praise, that in his dying moments, he professed his belief in the Christian religion, and relied for pardon and mercy on the Saviour Jesus Christ.

"As to the part which Mr. Eacker has acted; whether he was not too hasty in resenting the levities of youth; whether he might not after the first duel even on the principles of the world, have avoided the second, there is little disposition to discuss. Conscience is a just monitor, and there is a tribunal to which all are amenable. The custom of fighting duels should receive the highest reprobation; as being not only directly opposed to that meekness and forbearance which Christianity enjoins; but contrary to the dictates of humanity, and destructive of peace, order and happiness among mankind.

The *Evening Post*, on Wednesday evening, disclaimed any intention to misrepresent the facts; and on the next day, Thursday, the following statement by the friends of Mr. Eacker, appeared in the columns of *The Citizen*, in response to those which had previously appeared in *The Evening Post* and *New York Gazette*:

[From *The American Citizen and General Advertiser*, Vol. II., No. 529, New York, Thursday, November 26, 1801.]

"COMMUNICATION.

"The friends of Mr. Eacker consider themselves obliged, in consequence of the gross misstatements, omissions, and insinuated falsehood which have appeared in a morning and evening paper, to lay before the public the unfortunate causes which produced the truly melancholy catastrophe of Monday. They beg leave to assure the public, and Mr. Hamilton's friends in particular, that it is with the extremest regret they are obliged to give publicity to these circumstances. But their duty to Mr. Eacker, and to truth, compel them to undertake the painful task. They, at the same time, wish to be understood, that they had not the least idea that Mr. Hamilton's friends in any degree, directly or indirectly, authorized the publications above alluded to.

"During the representation of the play on Friday evening last, Mr. Eacker, being with a party in a stage box, heard some gentlemen talk unsu

ally loud, and from certain words, perceiving their observations were pointed at him, looked round and saw Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Price laughing. He took no further notice of their conduct, but joined immediately in conversation with his party, and made use of every means to prevent its being observed by them, that he was the subject of ridicule to the gentlemen behind. Immediately preceding the pantomime, the box being full, Messrs. Hamilton and Price, leaving the opposite side of the house, again intruded into the box occupied by Mr. Eacker and his party. At the moment of their entrance, they commenced a loud conversation, replete with the most sarcastic remarks upon Mr. Eacker. Their manner was more indecent, if possible, than their conversation. Mr. Eacker himself, thus pointedly the object of contempt and ridicule, and his name being mentioned aloud, could no longer sustain the painful sensation resulting from his situation. He determined to leave the box and remonstrate with Mr. Hamilton, privately, in the lobby. As he stepped into the lobby with his back towards Messrs. Hamilton and Price, covered with agitation and shame to be thus treated, he exclaimed, 'It is too abom-'inable to be publicly insulted by a set of rascals!' 'Who do you call damn'd rascals?' was the immediate enquiry, repeated again and again. Mr. Eacker felt anxious to avoid a broil in the theatre, and observed to the gentlemen that he lived at No. 50 Wall-street, where he was always to be found. 'Your place of residence has nothing to 'do with it,' was the reply. Upon this, some persons observing an intention, as they supposed, to assault Mr. Eacker, and desirous to prevent a disturbance in the theatre, stepped before the gentlemen, and with difficulty prevented their approaching Mr. Eacker. Mr. Eacker then requested them to make less noise, and proposed retiring to some private place. On the way to the tavern, irritating language passed among the gentlemen. Arriving at the tavern, Messrs. Price and Hamilton peremptorily insisted upon Mr. Eacker's particularizing the person to whom he had applied the appellation of *rascal*. Mr. Eacker demanded of them '*whether they came into the* '*box on purpose to insult him.*' '*That is* '*nothing to the purpose,*' was the reply, '*we in-*'*sist upon your particularizing the person you* '*meant to distinguish by the appellation of* rascal.' '*Did you mean to insult me?*' again repeated Mr. Eacker. 'We insist upon a direct answer,' was reiterated. 'Well then you are both ras-'cals.' Upon leaving the house, Messrs. Price and Hamilton conducted themselves in such a manner, as would inevitably, if continued, have drawn the attention of persons in the street. Mr. Eacker said, 'Gentlemen, you had better make less 'noise; I shall expect to hear from you.' 'That 'you shall,' was the immediate reply. Mr. Eacker returned to the theatre, and had not been there long before he received a message from Mr. Price, requesting him, in very laconic terms, to appoint his time and place of meeting. The unfortunate consequences are too well known to need repetition.

"From this statement it follows irresistibly:

"*First*:—That whilst Mr. Eacker was peaceably engaged in the amusements of the theatre, these gentlemen came twice to the box, and in the latter instance, when the box was already crowded, and thus proved a premeditated plan to insult Mr. E., and by sarcastic observations to make him an object of contempt.

"*Second*:—That Mr. Eacker behaved, considering the extremely difficult situation in which he was placed, with very considerable moderation; particularly at the tavern, where an opportunity was offered to disavow their intention to insult.

"*Third*:—That Mr. Eacker was innocently compelled to put his life repeatedly at the hazard to maintain his reputation, and that against men whom he had never offended—never injured; and to whom he had never spoken ten words during the whole course of his life."

On the evening of that day, (Thursday), *The Evening Post* contained a promise that, on the following evening, a statement would appear in its columns, containing "some things necessary to "enable the public to form a correct judgment "of the affair;" and on the following morning, Friday, *The Citizen* returned to the subject, with the following article:

[From *The American Citizen and General Advertiser*, Vol. II., No. 530, New York, Friday, November 27, 1801.]

"It is with deep and sincere regret that we find ourselves necessitated to notice the shameful paragraphs which have appeared in the *Gazette*, and in the *Evening Post*. In what we are about to say, it is not intended nor shall our observations be calculated to add additional wounds to the feelings of General Hamilton and his lady, or to those of the friends of the deceased, which are already, no doubt, sufficiently lacerated. It was our determination to have observed a respectful silence touching the melancholy event. Nor could anything have induced us to swerve from this determination, but the publication of the paragraphs alluded to, and a consequent necessary and very rational desire to counteract their baleful tendencies, by the promulgation of a candid and correct statement of facts. For, however we may differ in political sentiment from General Hamilton, *humanity* belongs alike to all, and ought to be alike respected by all. Truth, integrity and honor,

are virtues not exclusively possessed by any one factitious division of men. They are qualities of the heart that are by no means regulated by differences of political sentiment. We are sufficiently acquainted with the nature of man, to know that it does not necessarily follow, that he whose sentiments, whether religious or political, are opposed to my own, must on that account be wanting in morals, in which comprehensive term, truth, integrity and honor are included. We can feel for the distresses of others, even our opponents. And we despise the miscreant, who, to gratify party spirit, would wound the feelings of humanity, by discolouring truth, or the withholding of it, *knowingly*, from the public. But it cannot be, that in this case, misrepresentation can be acceptable to any.

"It has, however, been asserted, by many, that the atrocious paragraph penned by Mr. Coleman, was written by and with the consent of General Hamilton and his friends. We embrace this opportunity to declare (and we have had an opportunity of knowing much of the matter) our disbelief of the assertion. We have reason to believe, and we do sincerely believe, the rumor *a most unfounded one.* We most fully acquit, indeed we never suspected, that either General Hamilton or his friends, knew of, or consented to, the publication of the unprincipled and reprobate effusion. It was rather calculated to excite their indignation, by the assertion of dishonorable insinuations and vile falsehoods, than to please them. There can be no doubt, however, of its being intended by Mr. Coleman to injure the sensibility of Mr. Eacker, who was already sufficiently afflicted, without this superaddition of wanton, unnecessary, and *unmanly* offence. But this is a consistent item in the character of Mr. Coleman. It was expected from him: and, therefore it does not surprise those to whom he is *known*.

"If anything could add to the painful sensations felt by the parents and friends of the deceased Mr. Hamilton, it must be the wanton and cruel manner in which Mr. Coleman announced the fatal event. A fury of the most malignant kind could not have dictated a more dishonorable and offensive paragraph. 'Murdered in a 'duel!' O Shame! Shame, Mr. Coleman. In a strict legal sense the act may be termed 'murder:' but your words convey another meaning. The idea of Mr. Hamilton's being 'murdered in a 'duel,' imports, as mentioned by you, that Mr. Eacker, availing himself of an undue advantage, shot Mr. Hamilton when unprepared. Than which nothing can be more untrue. For, after the word had been given by the seconds, a pause of a minute, perhaps more, ensued, before Mr. Eacker discharged his pistol. This pause was in consequence of Mr. Eacker having determined to wait for the fire of Mr. Hamilton, and also of the latter, it appears, having come to a similar resolution. After having waited for some time, Mr. Eacker drew his pistol to level it with more accuracy, and at the same instant Mr. Hamilton did the same. Mr. Eacker, however, fired first, and Mr. Hamilton fired, with his pistol presented towards Mr. Eacker, as soon as the report of the fire of the latter was heard.* In the first fire, as already stated, Mr. Hamilton received his mortal wound. Take away the iniquity of duelling, and nothing can be more honorable and gentlemanly than the conduct of both parties. Mr. Hamilton was cool and collected both before and after he had received his wound, as well as Mr. Eacker, who exhibited, after the wound was given, all those appearances which no man could avoid on an occasion so solemn.

"We are anxious to avoid comments on the deceased Mr. Hamilton. We wish to speak well of the dead. But truth, and the cause of the living, as well as that of the dead, demand that facts be accurately stated.

"Mr. Coleman represents the conduct of Messrs. Price and Hamilton as nothing more than childish levity. It will be remembered, that Mr. Eacker is not many years older than either of the gentlemen. But the communication which we published yesterday shows that their conduct wore a more serious aspect than appertains to levity. It is apparent from the statement of facts published in yesterday's *Citizen*,† that the two gentlemen sought to insult Mr. Eacker. That they entered twice into the box where he and his companions were. That the first time, they applied to him insulting language, of which Mr. Eacker endeavoured to take no notice. This was during the play. That 'immediately preceding the pantomine,' Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Price returned from another part of the house to the same box, where they again commenced a very insulting conversation; and lest Mr. E. should mistake them, mentioned his name. This conduct has about it something of a more serious nature than levity—it demonstrates, and we are sorry to say it, a predetermination to insult Mr. Eacker. It appears, however, that Mr. Eacker was determined to take no notice of the gentlemen, until the eyes of the audience in the neighboring boxes were fixed both upon them and himself. And then he called them out of the box into the lobby to remonstrate with them on the impropriety of their conduct. But it unfortu-

* It is not true as stated in the *Gazette* and in the *Evening Post*, that Mr. Hamilton fell without firing. The seconds of both parties acknowledge that he fired.

† It is written by a young gentleman who went to the theatre with Mr. Eacker and accompanied him through every stage of the controversy. This gentleman is a friend to Mr. Hamilton; but he is a man of honor and integrity, and he conceived it his duty to make the statement. Any person desirous to know the gentleman, shall be satisfied by calling at our office.

nately happened, that Mr. Eacker, when walking before them, uttered to himself these words: 'It 'is too abominable to be publicly insulted by a 'set of rascals.' It is very probable, nevertheless, that any man would have uttered similar expressions, under like circumstances. For 'nature 'cannot bear more than it can.' But we say it was unfortunate, since the gentlemen seized upon the words, and endeavoured to make that the basis of a quarrel, which was only the natural effect of their previous insult.

"But Mr. Coleman, not satisfied with having communicated to the public wanton and glaring misinformation, plunged himself, in Wednesday's *Evening Post*, deeper and deeper into misstatements and preposterousness. He says: 'Desirous 'that the public mind should not be pre-occupied 'by any misstatements, he early attempted to pro-'cure accurate information, and for that purpose 'applied to a gentlemen, who, although neither 'the second to Mr. Hamilton, nor in any way con-'nected with him, yet from his concern in the 'affair, might be presumed to be capable of giv-'ing it.'

"But although Mr. Coleman had objections, as every man ought to have, against *others* 'pre-oc-'cupying the public mind with *misstatements*,' he had none, it would seem, against doing so *himself*. Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Price were *alone* at the theatre, and no one was in the box with Mr. Eacker, but his friend and some very respectable ladies. It could not be, therefore, and Mr. Coleman and every other man must know it, that he could obtain *correct* information respecting the insult offered to Mr. Eacker in the theatre, from persons who *were not there*. Yet, upon this *hearsay* evidence, he pledges himself to the public, that the *false* statement which he published was *true!*

"But we accused Mr. Coleman of having *withheld* information from the public, for which he thought proper to bestow on the editor of the *Citizen* a very *handsome compliment*. This compliment shall be noticed in *due* time, and in a *manner* exactly *suited* to the *character* of Mr. Coleman. We will, however, show, in order to make good our assertion, that Mr. Coleman *did withhold* information from the public,

"The person to whom Mr. Coleman applied for information, in the first instance, *must* have known, it is fair to infer, from the manner in which he mentions his 'concern in the affair,' that Messrs Price and Hamilton challenged Mr. Eacker. This, indeed, could not have been unknown to Mr. Coleman himself. Willing, however, to discolour the fact, he leaves the matter extremely doubtful, whether the gentlemen challenged Mr. Eacker or not. Indeed, a man at a distance, judging from his statement, would conclude that Mr. Eacker was the challenger. This is withholding from the public information which he knew was true, and which he ought to have mentioned in his 'true statement of facts.'

"It is hardly necessary to notice Mr. Lang. His 'good nature' is easily imposed upon by those who write paragraphs, which appear as his own. We shall only just mention, therefore, that his statement is obviously false. Mr. Lang says, 'This conduct Mr. Eacker resented in a very in-'temperate manner, collared Mr. Hamilton, called 'them damned rascals and villains, and said if 'he did not hear from them he would treat them 'as such.' This is an unfounded calumny, and we have no doubt, but that it will appear so, by the statement which the *Evening Post* of yesterday says the friends of Mr. Hamilton are preparing for the press. There was no collaring took place on either side. And the friends of Mr. Eacker say that he conducted himself 'with very 'considerable moderation.'

"We hope this is the last time we shall have occasion to mention this unfortunate affair. We we wish it to slide quietly into oblivion. It would, perhaps, have been well, had the circumstances of the case ended with the duel."

On the afternoon of the same day, the following appeared in *The Evening Post*, further postponing the promised statement of young Hamilton's friends.

[From *The New York Evening Post*, No. 11. New York, Friday, November 27, 1801.

The Editor has to apologize for the delay of the interesting particulars promised in yesterday's paper. Some of the friends of the late unfortunate Mr. Hamilton, influenced by motives of strict justice and delicacy to Mr. Eacker and his friends, have had a meeting with some of them to adjust certain facts, and they now have it in their power to place the affair on very different grounds from those of vague report, and thus to provide against all future altercation, leaving to the good sense and discernment of the public to make up their judgment upon the facts. Such is the communication which will appear to-morrow."

On the following day, Saturday, the *Post* redeemed its promise, thus made, as follows:

[From *The New York Evening Post*, No. 12. New York, Saturday, November 28, 1801.

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"The friends of young Mr. Hamilton sincerely regret that the unfortunate affair, which terminated his life, should have become matter of newspaper discussion. But since it has so happened, they feel it to be due to his memory, that a correct statement of facts should vindicate him from

more blame than is imputable to him, and should show that the catastrophe which ensued, might probably have been avoided, if, in the subsequent stages of the transaction, the moderation, as well of Mr. H., as of his friends, had been favorably met. Under this impression they proceed to submit to the public such statement, formed from the details of parties intimately connected with the whole affair.

"On the evening of Friday the 20th instant, at the Theatre, Mr. Hamilton and another young gentleman Mr. P——, went into a box where Mr. Eacker was, and entered into conversation together, casting pointed ridicule upon the oration delivered by Mr. Eacker, on the Fourth of July last, and afterwards printed. The relative situation was such that it is believed that those young gentlemen were not unwilling their observations should be overheard by Mr. E. Accordingly he did hear them, and in consequence left his seat and called Mr. H. out of the box into the lobby: Mr. P. went out also. Mr. E. seized Mr. H. by the collar and exclaimed, 'I will not be insulted 'by a set of rascals.' Mr. H. and Mr. P. severally demanded an explanation to whom he applied the epithet: no positive reply was then made. The parties, on the proposition of Mr. H. adjourned to a tavern—there the demand for explanation, as to the term rascals, was renewed. After some intermediate altercation, Mr. E. avowed his meaning to be that Mr. H. and Mr. P. were both 'Rascals.' The disputants shortly after separated; Mr. E. declaring as they parted, 'that he should expect to 'hear from them, and that if he did not, he should 'treat them as blackguards,' and they assured him that he should not be disappointed. Mr. P. immediately sent an invitation to Mr. E. to meet him, which was accepted.

"Mr. H. about 10 o'clock the same night, called on Mr. D. S. Jones, to communicate what had happened and consult as to the steps proper to be taken. After he had detailed the transaction (in substance as above stated) Mr, J. declared his extreme reluctance to take part in the affair, and his absolute determination not to do it until he had consulted Mr. H's near relation, Capt. Church, in concert with whom he would consent to engage in it. Mr. H. assented to this condition. Accordingly Mr. J. called on Capt. C.—gave him the information he had received and conversed with him as to the measures proper to be pursued. They united in opinion, that the retaliation of Mr. E. had been of so violent a nature as to render it impossible for Mr. H. to decline taking further notice of it; but that, considering all circumstances, and more particularly that the first offence was given by Mr. H. it would be fit that the first step to be taken should be such as to leave an opening for accommodation, with a view to which it was agreed that the message to be sent to Mr. E, should be 'to require some *ex*-'*planation* of the offensive expressions which he 'had used that night to Mr. H.' This message, with the approbation of Mr. H. was delivered to Mr. E. about half past eleven the same night, in the presence of Mr. Lawrence. Mr. E. replied that he had already received a message from Mr. P. and was engaged to him—that after attending to this engagement, Mr. J. should be informed when he might repeat his call. Some incidental conversation ensued, in the course of which Mr. E. asked whether 'he was to consider that com-'munication as a direct challenge?' Mr. J. answered, 'certainly not; for such messages effect-'ually shut the door to everything like negotia-'tion.'

"Things remained in this situation until Sunday, between one and two o'clock, when having heard that the expected meeting with Mr. P. had taken place, Mr. Jones called upon Mr. Lawrence (who had accompanied Mr. E.) to learn the result—At this interview, Mr. L. intimated to Mr. Jones, and the intimation was afterwards confirmed by Mr. E. (who had then joined those gentlemen) that Mr. E. intended to write a note to Mr. J. to inform him that he was then at leisure to receive any communication from Mr. H. After receiving this intimation, Captain C. and Mr. J. again met—much conversation took place between them about the desirableness of an accommodation, which they both ardently wished—they agreed, that the attempt to effect it should be made; and that, with this view, the first thing to be done should be to endeavor to prevent the sending of the promised note—as its contents might, perhaps, increase the obstacles to a pacific adjustment. Having arranged the plan of proceeding, to avert, if possible, the necessity of going to extremities, Mr. J. waited on Mr. L. and informed him of the wishes of Capt. Church and himself, to have the sending of the note postponed, as he had overtures to make as to the accommodation; the discussion of which might be more difficult after its reception than in that of the affair. Mr. L. acceded to the justness of this remark, and readily promised to take measures, for affecting the postponement. Mr. J. then repeated to Mr. L., the earnest wish of Capt. Church and himself, for accommodation; and added, that although they acted in that respect without the knowledge or consent of Mr. H. yet, that they would pledge themselves for his performance of any engagement, which they might enter into on his behalf; that the extreme youth of Mr. H. would excuse Mr. E. for not pursuing so punctilious a course with him, as would be necessary with a person of riper age; that as Mr. E. had already met Mr. P. for the same cause of controversy, he might the more easily, and without danger of any imputation on his honor, mee

our wishes for accommodation—and that the relative situation of the two gentlemen, with regard to political opinions and connections, afforded a strong additional motive for moderation, lest an hostile issue might be referred to a spirit of party, which it was to be presumed could not be agreeable to Mr. E. Mr. Jones desired Mr. L. to repeat this conversation to Mr. E. and to impress these ideas upon his mind, as forcibly as he could, and then to offer this as the basis of accommodation; that Mr. E. should disavow the application of *rascal* to the general conduct and character of Mr. H. or in some way apologize for the insult of having called him so; this being done, they would procure from Mr. H. a proper apology for his conduct at the Theatre, upon their receiving assurance that it would be followed by a competent apology on the part of Mr. E. for his subsequent conduct and expressions. Mr. L. who entered readily into the negotiation and appeared sincere in his wishes for its success, then parted from Mr. J. for the purpose of making this communication to Mr. E. and about three o'clock in the afternoon returned to Mr. Jones, and told him, that he had had the proposed conversation with Mr. E. who had not acceded to the proposition which Mr. Jones had requested Mr. L. to make; and also, that Mr. E. had not authorized him to make any overtures towards an accommodation; but left Mr. Jones with this remaak, 'in truth, 'Jones, from Mr. E.'s present disposition of mind, 'I am persuaded there are very feeble, if any hopes 'of accommodation.' It is proper to add, that Mr. L. observed to Mr. J. in the course of his conversation, that Mr. E. appeared more irritated against Mr. H. than against Mr. P. as he considered Mr. H. the principal in the affair.

"Mr. J. now considered the attempt at negotiation completely defeated, and remained at home in expectation of receiving the communication from Mr. E.; this was received about half-past five in the afternoon.

"Shortly afterwards the first message, on the part of Mr. H. was repeated to Mr. E.—in substance '*requiring an explanatinn of the expres-* '*sions which he had made use of to Mr. H. at* '*the Theatre on Friday night.*' The bearer of this message observed, that perhaps it had come in a shape which was somewhat unexpected, and Mr. E. might therefore wish to consult his friends previously to giving his answer—if so, he, the bearer, would retire for a short time, and either return or remain at home for the answer.—Mr. Eacker adopted the idea, and appointed fifteen minutes for the return of the bearer. At the expiration of that time he came back. Mr. E. first undertook to deliver his answer verbally, but after some hesitation and embarrasment of expression, he drew from his pocket a paper from which he read it—it was to this effect, '*the ex-* '*pressions I made use of towards Mr. Hamilton* '*at the Theatre on Friday night last, were pro-* '*duced by his conduct on that occasion; I thought* '*them applicable then,* AND I THINK SO STILL.'

"The bearer of the message conceiving this reply to be a reiteration of the offence, rendered particularly emphatical by what had intervened, and that any further effort to accommodate was not only hopeless but would have been dishonorable to Mr. H. felt himself bound, by the posture of the affair, and by his previous arrangement with Mr. H., to declare to Mr. E. that such being the answer, he was instructed to request a meeting; and since things had come to this issue, though he was unwilling to urge haste, yet, as the numerous relations and friends of Mr. H. would be made extremely unhappy should they obtain a knowledge of the transaction beforehand, it was desirable the interview should take place without delay. In consequence arrangements were shortly after made for a meeting the next day.

"In the meantime Mr. H. still reflecting, that in the origin of the controversy, the blame lay with him, averse in principle to the shedding of blood in private combat, anxious to repair his original fault as far as he was able without dishonor, and to stand acquitted to his own mind, came to the determination to reserve his fire, receive that of his antagonist, and then discharge his pistol in the air. This determination was communicated to his friend, who was instructed to avow the motive of his forbearance after Mr. H. should have thrown away his fire, and to submit to Mr. E. to decide for himself what was then to be done on his part, and whether he would proceed in the affair; with the intention of Mr. H. to let it end there, if Mr. E. should then see fit to make a suitable reparation for the violent effect of his resentment.

"Unhappily the first fire of Mr. E. took effect, and by mortally wounding Mr. H. defeated the execution of this generous intention. In the shock of the wound his pistol went off in the air, evidently without a deviation from the original resolution, which was speeedily after declared by his friend on the ground.

It is but a small tribute of this estimable but unfortunate young man, to say, that the witnesses to this fatal scene testify the display of a steady resolution on his part, which evinced the most deliberate courage. His confidential friends declare that throughout the progress of the affair, subsequent to the first error, his behaviour was remarkably temperate, and that he possessed himself perfectly. His manner on the ground was calm and composed beyond expression. The idea of his own danger seemed to be lost in anticipation of the satisfaction which he might receive from the final triumph of his generous moderation. While lying in the arms of his friend, in all the

torture of the first effects of so severe a wound, he kindly urged the second of his adversary to withdraw from danger—forgetting his own situation in the concern for the safety of others.

"He received the wound about three o'clock, and languished till five the next morning in the full possession of his faculties, supporting the pain of his situation with the utmost fortitude, without a murmur or a reproach—soothing occasionally his afflicted parents, and piously resigned to the event.

"An interview took place on the evening of Thursday last, between Mr. D. S. Jones and Mr. Lawrence, in the presence of J. B. Church Esq., and William Cutting, Esq., for the purpose of agreeing on a statement of facts, so far as Mr. J. and Mr. L. had a mutual agency in conducting the affair; at which interview the truth of the above statement in whatever has relation to that agency, received the full assent of both these gentlemen."

On the following Monday, *The Post* published the following, supplementary to the above:

[From *The New York Evening Post*, No. 13, New York, Monday, November 30, 1801.]

"*COMMUNICATION.*

"Conceiving it possible that the public may understand from the note subjoined to the communication by Mr. Hamilton's friends in *The Evening Post* of Saturday last, that the facts agreed upon by Mr. Jones and Mr. Lawrence, in the presence of John B. Church, Esq., and William Cutting, Esq., extended to the whole of that statement, we are authorized and required by the parties to remark, that the facts alluded to are those only in which Mr. Jones and Mr. Lawrence had a *mutual agency*, viz: commencing with the interview which took place between Mr. Jones and Mr. Eacker in the presence of Mr. Lawrence, and terminating with the conversation in which Mr. Lawrence informed Mr. Jones that the overtures made through him were not acceded to; had no reference to the previous transactions at the Theatre, or to the interview at the Tavern, between Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Eacker."

"The following note was to have been added to the statement of the Duel in Saturday evening's paper, making it by a reference apply to the words 'riper age' near the bottom of the first column:—

"Mr. Hamilton was not 20 years of age; Mr. Eacker's age is not precisely ascertained; it is believed to be about 30, and *known* to be at least 27."

On the following day, Tuesday, *The Citizen* continued the discussion as follows:

[From *The American Citizen and General Advertiser*, Vol. II., No. 533, New York, Tuesday, December 1, 1801.]

"We now lay before the public *all* the authoritative documents relative to the causes which produced the late duels. Upon these documents *alone*, the public are to form their opinion of the conduct of the principals concerned. All the observations that have been made respecting the duels that have caused so much sensibility in the public mind, are to be laid aside, and viewed, if viewed at all, as extraneous matter. The following statement was published by the authority of Mr. Lawrence, a gentleman of undoubted honor and veracity, who accompanied Mr. Eacker to the Theatre, and who was privy to all the material circumstances that produced the duels.—EDITORS.

The *Citizen* then copied entire the elaborate article which had already appeared in its own columns on the preceding Thursday, (*ante*, pp. 194, 195); the still more elaborate statement, by Mr. Hamilton's friends which had appeared in *The Evening Post*, of the succeding Saturday, (*ante*, pp. 197–200)—the last preceded by a statement that "it will be understood that Mr. Lawrence *assents* to the accuracy of the following "statement, so far only as Mr. Jones and himself "had a *mutual agency* in the facts related in it. "The extent of this *agency*, however, ought to "be known. The mutual agency *commenced* "with overtures for reconciliation, and terminated "with them. To every *other* circumstance related in the following narration, Mr. Lawrence, "we understand, does not assent;"—and the note, which had appeared in the same paper as the last, concerning the interview between Messrs. Jones and Lawrence, (*ante*, pp, 200), and these were followed by the following original article:

"*COMMUNICATION.*

"A friend of Mr. Eacker, in reply to those of Mr. Hamilton, will be as brief as possible. There is a propriety in terminating discussions which it is known are a bed of torture to the friends and relatives of Mr. Hamilton, as well as Mr. Eacker. Not supposing the two statements to be materially different in regard to the circumstances of the dispute which brought on the melancholy affair, he would only notice

one omission which is attributed to inadvertance, and that is the repetition of an offence, as detailed by Mr. Lawrence after a considerable interval, not solely confined to 'pointed ridicule upon his 'oration,' but personally extended to him in other respects. Without deeming it material, it is farther to be remarked, both from motives of equal justice to the moderation of Mr. Eacker, and to the honor of Mr. Hamilton, that the belief of Mr. Eacker's having collared Mr. Hamilton, must have been founded on a mistake. It must be destroyed by a reflection which it is thought is conclusive. Unconscious from what source or grounds the persuasion was derived, it is submitted, whether it is probable that a gentleman of Mr. Hamilton's lively temper and spirit, in demanding an explanation at the time of the dispute, and afterwards, would have confined himself to an *epithet* without taking notice of so great an indignity as a *personal assault?*

"Without presuming to regulate public opinion on the much lamented event, it cannot be improper to make some further observation, as imperious necessity seems to require it.

"It is remarkable to see the difference between a statement of facts, detailed by men of a nice sense of honor, or by editors whose servile and unprincipled dispositions influence them to distort truth in so solemn a case as this.

The indecent paragraphs alluded to, particularly that in the *Evening Post*, cannot be much counteracted. It is impossible for any man of sentiment to read without horror a publication so totally destitute of truth, and which appears to have been fabricated with the wicked and malicious intention of wounding the feelings of Mr. Eacker's friends, and of destroying his peace of mind forever. With pleasure do they remark, that the universal reprobation of the conduct of the editor of that paper, in publishing the villainous and diabolical paragraph, is a proof of the detestation in which he is held by the friends of Mr. Hamilton themselves, who have not less execrated it, than those against whom it was directed. This much is necessary to be said, to place in a proper point of view the atrocious misrepresentations which have gone forth, against the inclination, and to the indignation, as it is firmly believed, of Mr. Hamilton's friends.

"It is no more than common justice, that Mr. Eacker's friends should evince a solicitude for his happiness equal to the just regard which Mr. Hamilton's friends have evinced for his memory,

"With this view, the following remarks are made upon the statement of Mr. Hamilton's friends, from which it appears :—

"*First* :—That Mr. Eacker received the *first* insult, and one which considering the time, place and circumstances, was *wanton, unprovoked,* '*pointed,*' and of the *grossest* kind.

"*Second* :—That Mr. Eacker was the person challenged.

"*Third* :—That no overture of accommodation was made to Mr. Eacker, with the *knowledge* or *consent* of Mr. Hamilton.

"*Fourth* :— That the written answer of Mr. Eacker may be considered, and must have been intended as opening the door to a negotiation ; for by this answer it appears, that Mr. Eacker was willing to restrict the expressions used towards Mr. Hamilton, to the particular conduct which occasioned them, without intimating that his general deportment merited them.

"*Fifth.*—That the *unauthorized* overtures made by the friends of Mr. Hamilton, were uniformly accompanied with the *sine qua non*, that Mr. Eacker, who it is admitted by all, was the gentleman *first insulted*, should make the *first* concession. If, then, Mr. Hamilton could have been prevailed upon to have made any acknowledgment, Mr. Eacker was to make a *farther*, and a *second* apology. It was impossible for Mr Eacker not to be shocked with the proposition, which he, no doubt, thought, and was in fact, *indelicate.*

"Had he acceded to it, he must have been humbled in his own eyes, and in those of the world. This would easily account for Mr. Eacker's state of mind as mentioned by Mr. Lawrence, in addition to the consideration, that an offence from Mr. Hamilton, who has always borne the character of a gentleman in society, and who was so respectably connected, was well calculated to inflict a deeper wound than an insult offered by his unworthy companion, whose future conduct, must be very different from his past life, if he ever means to merit that honorable appellation. A man whom Mr. Eacker was COMPELLED to meet, in consequence of his CONNECTION with Mr. Hamilton in the insult.

"*Sixth* :—Every friend of humanity must regret that Mr. Hamilton, who according to the statement of his friends admitted 'the blame in 'the origin of the controversy to lay with him.' was permitted to expose his life in the manner he did. It is not intended to detract from the praise due to his generous resolution of not attempting the life of his adversary. It is to be remarked, however, that he, or the friends of the gentleman, if they advised the measure, did not perceive that nothing would have justified it, but a consciousness of his being in fault, in which case, it would certainly have reflected no dishonor upon him to have tried to procure an accommodation by some small concession on his part. In short it is evident, that the *total and absolute humiliation of the first insulted*, Mr. Eacker, would have been the inevitable consequence of a different conduct on his part. With respect to the relative ages of the parties, it is proper to remark, that from the

nice etiquette, and scrupulous punctilio which the friends of Mr. Hamilton manifest for his honor, it is evident, that they regarded him in the same light as Mr. Eacker, to wit, as one who was accountable for his acts, and whom Mr. Eacker could not avoid treating as a gentleman, had he had the disposition to do otherwise. Besides, is it reasonable to expect concessions and sacrifices of honor and feeling from one of 'twenty-seven,' the true age of Mr. Eacker, to a young man of 'twenty,' which a gentleman more advanced in years could not request?

"IT IS CLEAR, that aberrations from accepted and usual rules, are more to be expected from a 'young,' man, than one who is at an age, when ideas of honor and propriety are most strong."

On the evening of the same day, Tuesday, *The Evening Post* thus responded to the last article in *The Citizen:*

[From *The New York Evening Post*, No. 14. New York, Tuesday, December 1, 1801.]

"The Editor requests the writer of the Communication in the *American Citizen*, this morning, who styles himself *a friend of Mr. Eacker*, to descend a little more to particulars than he has chosen to do in that part which relates to the editor; and to show wherein the statement made by him on Tuesday last, of the late unfortunate duel, betrays a *servile and unprincipled disposition to distort truth;* and what are the writer's reasons for declaring that statement *totally destitute of truth;* and wherein it appears to him to have been *fabricated with the wicked and malicious intention of wounding the peace of Mr. Eacker's friends, and of destroying his peace of mind forever.* The writer will also be pleased to state his reasons for calling the publication above alluded to a *villainous and diabolical paragraph*, and to point out wherein consists its *atrocious misrepresentations.*

"With the opinion which the writer expresses, that the conduct of the Editor, on that occasion, has met with *universal reprobation*, he will not meddle; he submits to the decision of the public, without reply or comment; neither will he remark upon what the writer considers *a proof of the detestation in which the Editor is held by the friends of Mr. Hamilton themselves*, farther than to observe, that if this was true, they would hardly have chosen the *Evening Post* as the first vehicle for their statement to the public. He feels himself authorized to add, that the terms on which he has since stood with the nearest connections of Mr. Hamilton, while it refutes the calumnious insinuation, affords him a consolation, equally grateful to his sensibility, and flattering to his pride. He is satisfied with having acted from upright motives, and he is assured, that they have been properly appreciated by those whose esteem is dear to him.

"Nothing is more painful than to be under the necessity of prolonging the memory of a melancholy event, which could not too soon have been withdrawn from public observation—but the Editor owes it to his own character and feelings to demand from the writer who has indulged himself in such harsh expressions, the ground upon which he justifies their use."

We have not discovered that the Editor of *The Evening Post* was gratified by *The Citizen's* correspondent; and with a brief article which appeared in *The Commercial Advertiser*, on the same day—in which Mr. Eacker was charged with the crime of Murder—and a brief rejoinder to that article, which appeared on the following morning, Wednesday, in *The Citizen*, the Press seems to have dropped the subject. That rejoinder was in the following words:

[From *The American Citizen and General Advertiser*, Vol. II., No. 534, New York, Wednesday, December 2, 1801.]

"Several articles in this day's paper were omitted yesterday, to give place to the whole of the documents furnished by the friends of the parties in the late unfortunate duel. Had not the feelings and character of Mr. Eacker been assailed with unparalleled malignity by persons having no knowledge of the affair but from report, we should have remained totally silent. It appears that the spirit of revenge is not yet satiated. In the *Commercial Advertiser* of yesterday are remarks intended to be understood as coming from the editor of that paper, unparalleled for cruelty and misrepresentation. Is it not sufficient for this writer to hear of Mr. Eacker being insulted by two young men in a gross and public manner—is it not sufficient that his life should be twice put at hazard, or be stigmatized as a coward? No; all this is not sufficient for a mind that thirsts for revenge. Nothing short of the destruction of an innocent person can satisfy. Because Mr. Eacker resented an insult too notorious not to be noticed; because he accepted challenges, the refusal of which would have subjected him to the insults of his enemies; because he would not make the first overtures for accommodation, when he was not the aggressor; in fact, because he was so fortunate as to escape with his life, the malignant spirit of this writer is determined not only to wound Mr. Eacker's feelings, already made tender by the melancholy catastrophe, but imprecates the vengeance of heaven to

torture him forever. In the name of Virtue and Humanity, how long will men be found whose savage temper cannot be equalled even amongst the prowling tigers and ferocious wolves of the wilderness.

We have been favored, however, with a fragment of a private letter, written by a gentleman who was acquainted with all the parties to this affair; and we take pleasure in adding it to the published testimony in the case:

New York, Nov 21: 1801

Dear Sister

Papa and Sally arrived here after a tolerably pleasant passage of about two days. On Monday next the 23d Inst we expect to remove from our present place of residence, Mr Chesebrough's, to a House we have taken until May at the rate of £120 pr year, situated two doors from Greenwich in Jay Street, which runs parallel with Dey Street and at about Six or Seven Streets north of it. The House is at a very short distance from the residence of the Rhinelander Family—Some time in the course of next week Papa or myself will go to Bethlehem after Clarissa: from whom we have recceived no news for a considerable time. Should I go myself I shall take Philadelphia in my way; at least in returning.—Nothing very important has occurred in Town, lately, except the promulgation of the news of the preliminaries of *peace* between Great Britain and France being signed; which has caused much surprise and anxiety among the commercial part of the community here. The Theatre opened last monday evening with *Lovers Vows* and Fortunes Frolic to a very numerous, but extremely ante-brilliant audience. Our Corps at present consists entirely of the last year's Troop, with the addition of the eccentric and splendid *Cooper*. Whether the Union Balls will be reinstituted this season or not remains as yet in dubiety.—We yesterday received a letter from John dated Dublin 2d Sep in which he informs us that he is about to sail in two hours for Bordeaux from whence he will proceed to the South of France; where he will continue 4 or 5 months. Should he prosecute this Jaunt, I am confident, from the circumstance of Peace having taken place, which will invite into France all the nobility and persons of wealth and fashion from Great Britain and the Continent, it must be a prolific source of instruction and pleasure. John's letter to you will have arrived previous to, or inclosed in this.—Poor Boy! feelingly do I sympathize with thee; while so pathetically bewailing the wretchedly confined situation of thy dear Sweet ducky donna Signora *damma* Floretta!—condemned to cells dark dank and drear and lonely as those of her *warm* and tender prototype the enamour'd Eloisa! Ah Johnny! Poetry, either in extemporizing or quoting it never was, nor ever will be thy *forte!* For alas! in giving us a *touch* of the narrative—pathetic, thou hast mistaken the words most * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * an adjournment to a public House was proposed—where H & P demanded of E. whom he meant to call rascal &c. whether he meant to implicate both, (H and P) in the expression &c:—E, answered yes, that they had both behaved like rascals—that he should expect to hear from them—and if not he would treat them both like blackguards &c. They answered that he *should* hear from them &c.—Mr. *E* return'd to his party, where at about 10 o'clock he received a challenge from Price to meet him the next day but one (Sunday) at 12 o'clock at Hoebuck—and the next day (Saturday) one from *H* to meet him Monday at the same Hour and place. In consequence of this, A meeting ensued between E, and P, at the time and place appointed towit on Sunday. Mr. Lawrence as second to E, Mr James Lynch to P,—three shots each were fired, when the seconds interposed—but the combatants being *both* inclined to take another shot and agreeing, that after that, they would *shake hands*, A fourth took place, but without effect, when a reconciliation ensued: P, at the same time observing that E, was such a damn'd *lath* of a fellow, that he might shoot all day to no purpose. On Monday before the time appointed for the meeting between E, & H, General Hamilton heard of it and commanded his Son, when on the ground, to reserve his *fire* 'till after Mr E, had shot and then to discharge his pistol in the air The combatants appeared on the ground at time appointed—Cooper the Player as second to E, and David Jones to H,—the distance was measured—the signal given E, fired—H, fell! his Pistol still loaded he was immediately placed in a boat which was rowed with the greatest rapidity to this shore, where he was landed near the State Prison—all the Physicians in Town were called for, and the news spread like a conflagration—At the Theatre I was informed of it about 9 O'clock Monday evening—I immediately ran to the House near the State Prison from whence I was told they dare not remove him—Picture to yourself my dear Girl the emotions which must have assailed me on my arrival at his room to which I was admitted as his old College classmate! On a Bed without curtains lay poor Phil, pale and languid, his rolling, distorted eye balls darting forth the flashes of delirium—on one side of him on the same bed lay his agonized father—on the other his distracted mother—around him numerous relatives and friends weeping and fix'd in sorrow—blanch'd with astonishment and affright was the countenance, which a few moments before was illumined by the smile of merriment.—I could continue in the room but a very short time

—returning Home I quickened my pace almost unconsciously, hoping to escape the image as well as the reality of what I had witnessed!—It appeared that the Ball had enter'd the right side just above the hip Bone, passed through the body and lodged in the left arm—Yesterday, tuesday, I was invited to attend his funeral at 4 o'clock that afternoon.—Although the day was very rainy, and the burial took place so unexpectedly soon after the decease, he having died tuesday morning at 4 or 5 o'clock, the followers were very numerous and respectable. His poor father was with difficulty supported to the grave of his hopes!—Oh God! Cold as the humid clod which now covers his Body, is the form which but a few Hours since was animated and joyous as the Bird which perches on his grave!—If before I send this, any thing new occurs you shall be informed of it—

Wednesday, Decr 9th

Mr Thurston as I am informed is about returning Home to day—As this news came rather unexpectedly you will allow me to conclude this in a very desultory way.

We have not yet arranged ev'ry thing in the House as we intended but are in a fair way of being settled soon—Clara has not yet arrived, as it has been impossible for either Papa or myself to go after her—Fennel has joined our Company Nothing yet has transpired relative to the resumption of the Union Balls—The Death of young Hamilton has been the topic of Tea table conversation and the theme of Newspaper essayists for two weeks past, and People have been foolishly influenced by Political principles in deciding on the merits of the transaction! But

> "In spite of pride in erring reason's spite,"
> "One truth is clear, whatever is, is right."

Clara or Sally will I expect in the course of the winter change situations with you and give you opportunity of alternating the Country and Town Amusements—I understand Miss Ann Constable is about being married to Mr Pierpont a Gentlemen of fortune (*as it is said*) I have not time to write any thing more than this—Write me by first opportunity or I will &c &c adieu, love to all—

Thos W Rathbone

In response to enquiries from several of our subscribers, we have thus presented all the papers in our possession concerning this lamentable affair; and as there has been no opinion asked, and none seems to be called for, we leave the subject with our readers.

H. B. D.

Morrisania, N. Y.

II.—RELATION OF WHAT BEFEL THE PERSONS WHO ESCAPED FROM THE DISASTERS THAT ATTENDED THE ARMAMENT OF CAPTAIN PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ ON THE SHORES AND IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE NORTH.—Continued.

Translated from the XXXVTH Book of the "Historia General y Natural de Indias," by Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdez.

Chapter II.

The preceding chapter relates how the Spaniards determined to go to Aute. On their way, the Indians beset them in the bad passage-ways and lakes, killing one and wounding five or six, besides doing injury to some horses. Journeying eight or nine days they arrived, from Apalache, but found all the houses burned, and many fields in which the maize was ready for use. Two days later Cabeça de Vaça being ordered with Andres Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo to go with nine cavalry and fifty men on foot in quest of the sea, they took the Commissary with them and started, the Governor remaining by the others, of whom the greater part were sick, and the number of them increasing every day.

One may readily believe that by this time the reverend father could be content to be within the cell he left in Spain, rather than in these parts, looking after grennial and mitre, which seduce some not to part with their time only, but with life. Even those who serve God forget themselves when they are encased in dignities the fewer rise to; and I would they did not adventure their souls in that pursuit. Those without ambition or desire of prelacies, who work unselfishly the better to serve Him in the conversion of those Indians, with an honest, meritorious and holy desire, are such here as harvest the grain, and for the rest, Heaven mend them.

The troop, on the day it left Aute, arrived at some shoals by the sea, where it rested that night. In the morning, twenty men were detached to examine the coast. These reported that they could not explore it for being distant; with this all went back to camp, where the Governor, Comptroller and Inspector, with many others, were fallen sick.

VII. After a day's repose, the people departed for the place whence the sea had been observed or found, taking with them all the maize they could carry, and arrived with great difficulty, the sick being numerous and unable to yield assistance. For two days they remained, casting about and reflecting upon what means were within reach to save life and escape out of the country.

The building of vessels appeared impracticable. They had no nails, tow, resin, nor other thing that for the purpose are indispensable; and, as necessity already drove them to extremity, they took their stirrups, bridle-bits and spurs for iron; of wood were made pipes, and with deer-skin the bellows, when from the iron were made tools.

As the men were thin and not able to work, a horse was slaughtered every third day, which, being divided among the laborers and the sick, others worked to eat of the meat. In four or five visits made to Aute by the cavalry and most robust of the men, much maize was brought back, sufficient for use in the time they were there, with some to take away. Under these circumstances boats were commenced on the fourth day of August. They were caulked with the husks of palmetto, of which rope was also made, and daubed with pitch of pine trees, which were in plenty; of shirts were made sails, and of the hide of horse's legs were made bags to hold water. In the time the vessels were being built, ten Christians were killed, traversed from side to side by the arrow, while engaged in fishing around those banks in sight of the camps, without the possibilitg of giving them succour.

From the place where the ships were left to where these boats were built was, according to the opinion of the greater number traveling there, about two hundred and eighty leagues; and in all that distance they saw no mountains, nor could they hear of any. The people are in stature very large, have fine bearing and elegant manners. Every one has the use of the bow, and is a true shot. The bows are ten or twelve palms in length; nearly as large round as the wrist; powerful and excellent wood. What an arrow will go through is incredible; a feat that must be seen to be believed.

On the twentieth day of September, five boats were finished, each twenty-two cubits in length. About forty men had there died of sickness. The Governor had taken one of the boats for himself and forty-eight men; another he gave to the Comptroller and the friars with forty-seven men; to the Treasurer and the Inspector, another with forty-eight men; to the Captain Tellez and Penalosa, to Alonso del Castillo and Andres Dorantes, he gave two more, in each of which were forty-eight men. The horses having been consumed, the people embarked on the twenty-second day of September.

As the vessels were small, when the provisions, clothing and arms were on board, they were deeply laden, not more than a *xeme** above water. In this condition they sailed seven days among those shoals, until the unfortunates arrived on a small islet near the main, and found some ranchos, whence they took five canoes. The same day they went to the coast, not until then observed, where they stopped, and put waist-boards about their boats, made from the canoes, so that they sat two palms more above the sea; and, this done, they went on their way. Entering into many bays and among shoals that appeared along the shore, the land ever ahead of them, they continued on without knowing whither.

One night a canoe came out, following them for a little while. They turned about to speak it, but it would not hearken: and as the canoe is a very fast vessel, it got away: so the Christians returned on their course. Next morning a storm overtook them and they anchored at an island, but found no water, of which there was much want. They tarried there three days; and as it was then the fifth in which they had not drank, some took salt-water in such quantity that five or six suddenly died. Although the storm was not over, as the thirst was insupportable, they concluded to go in the direction they had seen the canoe depart, commending themselves to God, as it was at the risk of life. They crossed, and at sunset arrived at a point offering shelter, with moderate sea. Some canoes came out and spoke to them: they followed the distance of a full league to houses along the shore on the edge of the water, before which were many jars and pots of water, with abundance of fish. The Cacique came out as the Governor jumped on land, and took him to his house: he offered him the fish and water, in recompense for which the Christians returned bread, hawkbells, and some of their maize. At night, when the two were together, many Indians fell upon the Christians, killing three men lying sick on the shore, and striking the Governor on the head with a stone. Those present seizing upon the Cacique, he threw them off, leaving in their hands a very fine robe he wore of civet marten. These skins, Cabeça de Vaca says, were excellent, the best he ever saw, and the like the others declared. They had the odor of musk. Other marten skins in robes were taken; yet none such as these. The Governor, injured and sick, was put on board, with all who were unwell or weak. Three times were the Christians attacked that night; but in the end were let alone. Many of the Indians got well sabred, and many of the Spaniards were sorely wounded. After this affair, the Christians remained there two days; but saw no more natives.

Thence the Christians went on in their vessels. At the end of three or four days they entered among some estuaries, and coming upon a canoe with Indians, asked for water, giving them a little jar to bring it in. Two Christians went with them; and two natives, remaining as hostages, were hindered from throwing themselves into the water. In the

* The distance from the end of the extended forefinger to that of the thumb. TRANSLATOR.

morning, canoes beginning to come, the Spaniards left the estuaries and went out to sea, where in little more than an hour were twenty canoes under three or four principal persons, who wore robes of the very fine fur mentioned, with their locks long and loose. These asked for their men, and in turn they were asked for those they had. The Christians were told to come to their houses, but refused; for the country was much overflown and abounded in estuaries. As the hostages were kept, and the Spaniards would not go, the natives assailed them with staves and some arrows, bringing on a skirmish, after which they returned.

X. Our people went on, and at the close of the second day, the boat in which the Treasurer was, arrived at a point made by the coast, behind which was a river flowing in freshet, broad and much enlarged. A little way back approached the boat of the Governor, which, with the others, anchored at some islands near by. The Treasurer went out to them and made known the discovery of the river. As no wood was found by which to parch maize, and the people had eaten it raw for two days, they concluded to go to the river, the water of which was dipped fresh from the sea; but on approaching near, the strong current at its mouth did not permit them to land; and in striving to reach the shore, the wind sprang up from the north, when these together drove them farther to sea. They sailed that night and next day, until the night, when they found themselves in three fathoms depth of water. Having seen many smokes that evening along the coast, they dared not land in the dark, and came to anchor. The current being strong, and the anchors no more than bags of stone, the boats were taken out to sea; and when day dawned they could not see each other, nor discern the land.

Thus Alvar Nunez Cabeça de Vaça, who gives this account, kept his way until noon, when he discovered two of the boats. Coming up with the nearest, he found it to be the Governor's, when they spoke. Narvaez asked his opinion as to what should be done. The Treasurer said they ought to join the boat in sight, and then they would go wheresoever he might direct. The Governor said he meant to reach the land by rowing, and that the Treasurer must do the like by his boat. So he was followed for the matter of a league and a half, until the men, weak and exhausted, for three days having eaten only the ration of a single handful of raw corn each day, could not keep up with the Governor, whose boat had more speed, was lighter and less encumbered, when the Treasurer besought him to order an end thrown to his boat; but the Governor answered that he could not, that it was not a time to wait for any one, and each should endeavor to do the best he was able to save his own life.

Not so responded that famous Count of Niebla, Don Enrique de Guzman, who, at Gibraltar, gathered in others to his boat until he and they were drowned together. The Treasurer and those with him did not wish Narvaez to take them, yet asked that he would give them a rope's end, whereby his boat might assist theirs on her way; and giving it, at any time was it in his power to let her go at convenience.

Returning to the account: having heard the unkind response of the Governor Pamphilo, the Treasurer followed for a little time until he lost sight of him; and then he bore away for the other boat at sea, being the one commanded by Penalosa and Captain Tellez, which waited for him. The two sailed together three hours, until nightfall. In consequence of that, the people suffered from extreme hunger; and from being wet the night before by the waves, they were all lying around, not five of them being able men. Thus wore away the night; and at four o'clock, the master of the boat belonging to the Treasurer threw the lead and found seven fathoms depth of water. As the sound of the breaking waves was very loud, they remained out until sunrise, when they found themselves a league from land, and putting the bows toward the shore, God be praised, they reached there in safety.

XI. Directly the Treasurer sent a man to some trees in sight, that, from their tops, he might survey the country. He returned and stated that they were on an island. Then he went back to examine for a path or fire: in the afternoon he returned and said he had found a small quantity of fish, which he brought. Behind him came three Indians, and in their rear two hundred bowmen, their ears bored and stuck with joints of cane. The Treasurer and the Inspector went out, and called to them, when they came; and they gave them some articles of traffic. Each warrior presented an arrow in token of friendship, and said, by signs, that the next day at sunrise they would bring food.

XII. They did so, returning in the morning with fish, and those roots they eat. They came in the same manner the next day. The Spaniards, provided with water, set about to continue their voyage. They undressed to throw their boat out into the water, and, thus at work, a sea struck her at the bows and wet those on one side engaged in rowing, causing them with that and the cold to let go their oars, so that the boat being on her beam ends another wave capsized her. The Inspector and two others remaining on their seats, she took them under, and they were drowned. The others came to shore naked without saving anything. They remained there on the coast, suffering severe cold until the evening, then the Indians coming to look after them, beheld them in that plight. They wept with the Christians,

as in grief for their troubles; and the Treasurer besought them to take the people to their houses. They did so, XIII. and in the morning said that other men like the Christians were near there. The Governor sent two men to find out who they were; and discovered them to be Alonso del Castillo, Andres Dorantes, and the others belonging to their boat, which had been capsized on the same island; the fifth day of November, the other having come to land on the subsequent day. The food and clothing they had, which were very little, they divided with Cabeça de Vaça and his companions.

Chapter III.

After the people of the two boats had counselled together, they concluded to refit the boat of the Treasurer. This they accomplished the best they knew how; and threw her out into the water. Finding that they could not keep her afloat because of worms and other difficulties, which must necessarily lead to shipwreck, they agreed to winter there, as indeed nothing further could be done. Believing Panuco to be near, they sent a hidalgo, named Figuerva, three XIV. men and an Indian thither, that they might give information of the state of the survivors and the place at which they were.

Five or six days from that time the people began to die, and the hunger became so excessive that of five who were together, some were eaten. The natives also were stricken with pain in the bowels, of which the half died; and the Indians thought to destroy the few remaining Spaniards, declaring that they had brought that malign pest to the country; but God choose that one of the chief men should say that they ought not to do so, nor believe that the Christians brought the sickness, seeing how they likewise suffered, very few of them surviving; that if they had brought it they too would not die. In consequence of what the Chief said, the Christians were allowed to live. They were then two or three days without taking a morsel. More merciful would it have been under the circumstances had the Spaniards been killed, than left through this generosity to support pain, hunger and suspense.

The Christians, sick and feeling themselves dying like the natives, resolved to go over to the mainland, into some marshes and creeks, after oysters the natives eat for three or four months in the year, without other thing, at a time they experience hunger, and make exertion continually, day and night, to protect themselves from mosquitoes, which are in such numbers as to render the endurance of them scarcely supportable. Brackish water only is to be got, and no wood. In other four months of the year, they eat blackberries and the green things growing wild; for two other months, they suck certain roots, and eat lizards, snakes, rats, and great spiders; and for the other two months, they live on fish. They go after another root, like the ground truffle, got in water. At times there are deer, which they kill from canoes. The people are very comely, and the women endure excessive hard labor.

The Indians took Alonso del Castillo and Andres Dorantes to the main, to eat oysters, where they staid till the end of March, in the year 1529, when they returned to the Island. The Christians there brought together numbered barely fourteen; the Treasurer was in an opposite part of the country, very unwell and with no hope of recovery. Two, for being very thin and without strength, were left; and the rest crossing the bay, traveled along the shore.

Cabeça de Vaça contined living there five years and a half, digging roots in the earth beneath the water from morning to night with a hoe or stick such as the Indians use, bringing one or two loads daily on the bare back with no other covering on than that of the savages. In this employment he served them, as well as in others they set him upon, such as bringing home game and carrying about their huts; since it is the practice while seeking roots to remove every three or four days, the great destitution over all that country permitting of no continued place of abode.

Nothing whatsover is planted, nor can maize be got. The country is healthy, and is temperate, save in winter while the north wind blows, when the fishes freeze even out in the sea. Andres Dorantes says he knew snow and hail to fall on one occasion; that greater hunger is there sustained than can be credited, although farther on they found more severe; and that the people feared death more than any he has ever known, and weep for their deceased with feelings of tenderness and intense grief.

Cabeça de Vaça, finding the work not only hard but extreme, began trafficing among the Indians, and to bring things from other parts for them which they needed and could not get. In this occupation he went occasionally into the interior and by the coast forty leagues ahead. Three times on his outward travel he crossed the bay he supposed from appearances to be the one called Espiritu Sancto. Twice he went back that distance to bring a Christian, the survivor of two whom Castillo and Dorantes had left very emaciated on the island; the last time he was got off, across that bay, and taken ten leagues from it on the way to certain Indians at war with those of the other side. These gave them the names of some Christians, of whom they had killed three or four, stating that many others had died near there of starvation, and that the survivors were in a wasted condition. They gave much other

bad news, and drew arrows at the hearts of the Spaniards, menacing to kill them. Unable to keep him, the man Cabeça de Vaça had rescued went back; and after two or three days the Treasurer secretly departed. Coming upon two Indians they conducted him to Alonso del Castillo and Andres Dorantes; the latter was waiting there the arrival of a slave he owned.

Asturiano, the clergyman, with a negro, had been living *the first winter* on an island back of the one where the vessels, were lost to which they had gone for subsistence. The Indians brought them back again across the bay in a canoe to the island, where was Andres Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo, Diego Dorantes and Pedro Valdivieso, with six others who had survived the cold and hunger; and together, on the first day of April, they took their departure. Two were left for want of strength to march, as also Cabeça de Vaça and another, who were inland and could not be got at to bring away. In return for some things, the Indians passed them over another bay.

The Christians traveled thence two leagues to a large river that was beginning to swell from freshet and rain, where they made rafts on which they crossed with much labor, they having few swimmers. Having gone three leagues more, they came to another river, running powerfully from the same cause, with such fury, that the fresh water extended a good way into the sea. They made rafts as before. The first being assisted went over in safety; the other was driven to sea more than a league; for the men being emaciated and worn out by the hardships of winter and the journey, had no strength. On the way they had eaten only of the abundant rock-weed, of which glass in Spain is made, and certain crabs hatched in crevices along shore and are little else than shell. Two men were drowned, two escaped from the raft by swimming, and one who remained sitting, finding himself beyond the current got on to the top, where the wind acting on him as a sail, took him thence again and cast him on the shore in safety.

The ten were now joined by another Christian. After going four leagues they came to a river and found a boat they recognized as that of the Comptroller, Alonso Enriquez, and the Commissary, but could find nothing of the people. Having gone five or six leagues, they arrived at a large river, where were two ranchos, from which the tenants fled. Other Indians, from the opposite side, who knew what they were, having before seen those of that boat and others belonging to the one of the Governor, having assured themselves took them over in a canoe to their houses. Nothing was found there to eat; but the Christians received a little fish which sufficed to sustain them through the night.

The Spaniards left the next day, and on the fourth day arrived at a bay, having lost two of their number by hunger and fatigue, nine now remaining. The bay was broad, nearly a league across; the point on the side towards Panuco, running out nearly a quarter of a league to sea, has on it some large white sand stacks which it is reasonable to suppose can be seen from the ocean, and consequently were thought to mark the river Espiritu Sancto. Finding no way of passing they were greatly harrassed. At last they discovered a broken canoe, which setting to rights in the best manner possible, they crossed in the two days they were there. Going on much depressed by hunger, the greater number swollen by the sea-weed they had eaten, with much exertion they came, at the end of twelve leagues, to a small bay, not over the breadth of a river. They tarried the day of their arrival. The next day, seeing an Indian on the opposite shore, they called to him, but he gave them no attention, and went off. In the afternoon, he returned, bringing with him one of the four that had been sent forward the previous winter to reach the land of Christians. Presently they came over; and he, Figuerva, there recounted to the nine the fate of his three companions, two having died of hunger, and the third being killed by Indians. He stated that he had come upon a Christian named Esquivel, the sole survivor in the boats of the Governor and Alonso Enriquez, from subsisting on the flesh of those that died, the rest perishing of hunger, some feeding upon others; that the boat of the Comptroller was wrecked where they saw her, and the Governor following along by the coast came upon those men, as he still kept the sea in his boat; that on discovering them he concluded to lighten the vessel, by setting his people on shore, that they might travel together along the coast, being weary of the voyage and without food, and that keeping in sight of them on coming to any river or bay he would pass them over to the other shore. In this manner they arrived at the river supposed to be Esperitu Sancto, where the Governor crossed them to the other shore, remaining in the boat unwilling to land, there being with him only a pilot, Anton Perez, and his page Camps. As the night set in, a strong wind came on to blow from the north; and from that time nothing was ever heard of them. Narvaez at the time was covered with spots; and as those with him were not robust, it may be considered that they were taken by the ocean. The people going by certain pools and overflown grounds, went inland, where, without resource, they all perished during the past winter.

Thus ended the account of Figuerva, without his being able to add more than that Esquivel was about there in the possession of some natives, and they might see him in a little while; but, in

about a month from that time, it was known that he no longer lived; having gone from the Indians, they had followed after and put him to death.

The Christian tarried a few moments, long enough to relate the sad news. As the Indian who brought him would not permit him to remain, he was constrained to go back. Asturiano, the clergyman, and a young man being the only ones who knew how to swim, accompanied them to the intent of returning with fish which they were promised, and that they should be brought back over the bay; but when the Indians found them at their houses, they would neither bring nor let them return; on the contrary they put their houses into canoes and took the two Christians with them, saying that they should soon come back, and they went to gather a certain leaf they use for a beverage that is drank as hot as can be borne. One of the men, who came next morning and brought a small quantity of fish given him, related the circumstances. The eight companions remained there that day to appease their hunger, and the next morning they saw two Indians of a rancho coming over the water to place their dwelling on the hither side. The object was to live on the blackberries that grow in some places along the coast, which they seek during a season they know very well, and, when they can be had, are a food that will support them. They called to the Indians, who came as to persons they thought lightly of, taking some part of what they possessed almost by force. The Christians besought the natives to set them over, which they did in a canoe, taking them to their houses near by, and at dark gave them a little fish. The next day they went out for more, and returned at night, giving them a part of what they had caught. The day following they moved off with them; and never after were the two Christians seen the other Indians took away.

Immense God! How excessive these labors for a life so short as that of man! What unheard of torments for the human frame! What intolerable hunger for the body so weak! What adversities so extreme for flesh so sensitive! What deaths so desperate for the understanding so unreasonable! With what did the captains and ministers of these journeyings, who were so deceived and mocked, repay the unhappy beings they led to die such deaths? It may be said that they who gave credit to these words received the reward of their cupidity.

We know that Pamphilo de Narvaez was never in that land, where he proposed to take this people, believing himself to be Lord and Governor, when it appears to me he knew not how to govern even himself. Can there be greater folly than to follow after such leaders? And behold how dexterous were his pilots, who, passing over to that country, knew not whither they were going nor where they were. Thus closed the lives of those both of the sea and land in evil deaths, neither knowing what they were about.

* * * * * *

Tell me now, ye who have read, if you ever heard or knew of a people so unfortunate as these, so worked and so evil counselled. Look at that perigrination of Ulysses, that navigation of Jason, the labors of Hercules, that are all fictions and metaphors which, understood as they should be, nothing could you find in them to marvel at; they are not to be compared in equality with the labors of these sinners who made so sad a journey and end.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—AN EARLY NEW YORK PUBLICATION.

COMMUNICATED BY HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, PRESIDENT OF THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

"THE ARTICLES OF FAITH OF The Holy "Evangelical Church, According to *The* WORD "*of* GOD, AND The AUGSBURG CONFESSION. Set "forth in FORTY SERMONS.—By Magist. *Pe*- "*trus Sachariæ Nakskow*, Præpositus, and Min- "ister of the Gospel in *Jutland*, in *Denmark*.— "Translated from the Original into English, *By* "Jochum Melchior Magens.—NEW YORK: Printed "and Sold, by J. PARKER and W. WEYMAN, at "the New Printing-Office in *Beaver-street;* Also "to be Sold by GODFRIED MULLER, Reader in the "Lutheran Church, in *New-York*, and Mr. "SCHLEYDORN in *Philadelphia*, MDCCLIV."

Pp. ii, ii, (2), 314; but page-numbers 111–210 are *repeated*, and the last page should be 414. Sm. 4to.

Bound with these sermons, and evidently designed to make part of the same volume, (though separately paged), is—

"THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF THE XXVIII. "ARTICLES OF THE Evangelical unvaried CON- "FESSION, Presented at AUSBURGH," etc.: translated, as appears by an address to the Reader, (dated, "New-York, the 11th, Nov. 1755,") by the Rev. "John Albert Weygand, Minister of the "Gospel in the old Lutheran Church in New- "York, and Hackensack:" and printed by J. Parker and W. Weyman, 1755. Pp. 30, (2).

A quarto of four hundred and fifty pages from a New York press, in 1754, deserves more notice than it appears to have received from local historians or bibliographers. It may not be unknown to New York collectors; but I have not found its title in any American Catalogue; and the copy now before me is the only one I have ever met with.

Magister Magens, the translator, had lived

several years at Flushing, and was chosen an Elder of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in New York. The Dedication of his book may be worth reprinting in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for the personal and local history it contains.

"To the Honourable VESTRY of the EVANGELI-
"CAL CHURCH in The City of NEW-YORK.

"*Reverend Fathers, and Brothers in Christ:*
"It is now going on five years since I arriv'd
"here from the *West Indies*, in order, if I should
"like the Place, to settle here, or else remove to
"*Copenhagen*, where I have had my Education
"in the Royal University; though born in the
"Island of St. *Thomas*, under subjection of his
"most Sovereign Majesty the King of *Denmark:*
"But I cannot express how I was griev'd in my
"Mind, when, upon Inquiry after the State of
"our Holy *Evangelical Church* and Brethren, I
"mostly met with a general Contempt and Dis-
"commendation, partly occasion'd by the bad
"and immoral Lives of so well Preachers as some
"of their Hearers; partly by the great Prejudice
"that prevail'd among the other Congregations,
"concerning our Holy Doctrine: And,
"therefore I resolv'd to translate the *Forty*
"*Sermons*, of the Worthy Magister *Petrus Zach-*
"*ariæ Nakskow*, upon the Articles of our Faith,
"in order to have them printed; *First*, For the
"better Conviction of all who are unacquainted
"with the Purity of our Holy Doctrine; and,
"*Secondly*, For the Edification of them that are
"desirous to be instructed in the true Way of
"Salvation. And since the Honourable *Vestry*
"have chosen me to be an Elder of our Church,
"in the City of *New-York*, I thought it proper
"to dedicate this, my well-meaning Labour, to
"them.

"I shall always endeavour to help the promot-
"ing of this our sound Doctrine, and remain with
"due Regard,

"Reverend Fathers and Brethren,
"Your most Obedient,
"J. M. MAGENS.

"FLUSHING, Jan.
"31, 1754."

IV.—NOTES ON THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONGRESS AT PARIS.

FROM LETTERS BY PROFESSOR CARL VOGT TO "THE COLOGNE GAZETTE." TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR RAU FOR THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK.

The Congress was opened on the seventeenth day of August, 1867, in the Ecole de Medicine; and its labors lasted two weeks. The various countries were thus represented: France, by Longperrier and Quatrefages; Scandinavia, by Nilson; England, by Franks; America, by Squier; Denmark, by Worsaae, and Germany and Switzerland, by Vogt, who delivered the opening address. Mr. Larted being President.

The collection of antiquities from the drift-period, the caves, the Lacustrian villages and the kitchen-middens, &c., were exhibited in the large halls where the Congress met, and are described as really magnificent, affording the investigator of the primitive condition of man unusual facilities for research and comparison. The most interesting relics in the French department were, according to Professor Vogt, those of the rein-deer period, from the caverns of Dordogne, consisting of representations engraved on horn, bone, ivory, and stone, and of carved articles. "There is the "mammoth," says Vogt, "the elephant of the "diluvial period, with his long mane, engraved "on ivory, or carved to serve as a handle; there "are the rein-deer, the cave-tiger, and the cave-"bear; the stag, the aurochs, the horse, and the "wild goat; there are birds, fishes, groups of "frogs, and even representations of plants, only "recently found, among which is a tulip-like "flower with twisted stem. And the very same "savage men, who displayed so much artistic "taste, were not yet far enough advanced to know "how to grind stone, but merely *chipped* the edges "of their weapons of flint."

It will be of interest to the Society to learn that our associate, Mr. E. G. Squier, made remarks relating to his discoveries in Peru, exhibiting at the same time the large plans and diagrams, which have become familiar to us. Mr. Squier used the English language; but his friend, Alfred Maury, translated for him into French.

Bertrand exhibited a map showing the distribution of cromlechs on the Eastern Hemisphere. They are chiefly found along the coasts and in the large river-valleys, occurring most frequently and of the largest size in Bretagne, North Germany, and Denmark. The question whether they belong to one or more periods, or were constructed by one or by various nations, remained unsolved, because the facts thus far collected are not yet sufficiently numerous to justify a final conclusion. Their number, however, is astonishing. Mr. Cartailhac exhibited an album containing about a hundred representations of cromlechs occurring in one Department. Longuemar spoke of seventy-six cromlechs and nineteen barrows in the Department of the Vienne. Worsaae mentioned that hundreds of them had been examined by him in Denmark, and by Lisch, in Mecklenburg.

Very important discoveries relating to the antiquity of man were communicated during the session of the Congress. Two gentlemen of the Catholic clery, exhibited bones of the Halitherium,

an animal of the whale kind, from the *faluns*, or shell-marls of Touraine, which are coeval, geologically speaking, with the tertiary limestones of the basin of Mayence, or the sandstones of the molasse in Switzerland. These bones, which constitute a whole skeleton, bear on their surface cuts and marks evidently produced by flint implements, and it would seem, therefore, that man is even older than the diluvium, for the *faluns* of Touraine belong to the *tertiary* period, and the bones discovered in them claim a much higher antiquity than the remains of mammoths and hippopotami of the diluvium. At a period, when Mount Rigi did not yet exist, and sharks and rays swam about between the Jura and the Alps, hunting tribes already roamed through France and feasted upon a whale which the sea had floated ashore. The Abbe Bourgeois, one of the reverend gentlemen, admitted the high antiquity of man in a paper which he read before the Congress. An Italian investigator, Issel from Genoa, exhibited human bones found in the blue clay of the sub-Appennine formation which belongs also to the tertiary. These bones were exhumed near Colle del Vento. There can be but little doubt that man existed already in the tertiary epoch, long before the ice-period.

The indications that the primitive inhabitants of Europe were cannibals are rapidly accumulating. Hamy, one of the Secretaries, reported several facts, which have already been brought before the Anthropological Society of Paris. Vogt gave a minute account of the finding at Chauvaux, near Liege, where Spring discovered bones of young human individuals, which were treated exactly like the bones of animals that had served for meals. He also spoke of the human bones found at Uelze, in Westphalia, of which Professor Schaaffhausen of Bonn has given a similar account. Broca made interesting remarks relating to cannibalism. He stated he had doubted for a long time that man-eating had existed in Europe in pre-historic times, but a human bone, extracted by Dr. Clement from the pile-work of Concise, on the lake of Neuchatel, had convinced him. On this bone, he said, the cuts of flint hatchets and the marks of gnawing teeth could plainly be seen; and the marrow has evidently been scraped out from the cavity of the bone. Other testimonials were brought forth. Roujou found, near Villeneuve St. Georges, thigh bones and jaws opened and partly roasted. Julien found in a cavern near Buis, the bones of three individuals treated in the same manner. Worsaae discovered in a tumulus of the North, in one corner, the bones of animals which had served for the funeral meal; in the other corner, he found a heap of human bones, indicating by their appearance that they were likewise the remains of a meal; and Spring, who was just at that time in Copenhagen, identified the latter instantly with those found by him at Chauvaux. All those, who had devoted their attention to this subject, agreed with Vogt, that the finds indicating cannibalism in Europe, were to be referred to the end of the stone age, or, perhaps, to the beginning of the bronze period. "Our ancestors," says Vogt, "were "evidently savages in every respect; why then, "should they not have done like other savages, "who kill and eat their prisoners?"

The museum of St. Germain contains many beautiful models of cromlechs and dolmens, constructed in a manner that they can be taken asunder, and that their proportions and inner structure are perfectly laid open to view. The stone weapons, earthen vessels, and bones, found in the cromlechs, and casts of the large stone slabs, which constitute the latter, are likewise exhibited in the museum. The casts of the stone plates of the dolmen of Garr 'iness, in Bretagne, are the most interesting, being covered all over with intricate spiral lines. On one stone, a compact grey granite, are to be seen rude representations of stone axes and chisels, the outlines of which are regularly and deeply cut in the hard stone. How was that possible without metal, without steel or hardened bronze? These sculptures certainly must have been executed with metal. Such, at least, is the opinion prevailing among the anquarians who are present. But Mr. Bertrand thinks differently, and proceeds to make a trial. A fine piece of the same granite is worked with stone chisels and axes; and the experiment proves to be a perfect success. After a day's labor, a circle and a few lines are engraved. A chisel of polished flint used during the whole time was hardly injured; one of nephrite had become somewhat blunted, and a similar implement of greenstone still more. But the edge of a bronze axe used in the operation was instantly bent, and it became evident that those sculptures had not been executed with bronze, but with stone. The labor of years, however, was probably required, before the builders of that cromlech succeeded in tracing all their figures on the surface of the stones.

The museum of St. Germain contains also, among other valuable relics, many antiquities of the Gallo-Roman period, put up there to facilitate the imperial studies of Julias Cæsar and his times.

On a certain day, a number of the delegates made an excursion to Amiens, the capital of Picardy, for the purpose of inspecting the classic grounds, where Boucher de Perthes discovered those remarkable flint implements associated with the bones of extinct animals of the diluvial period. Between the city and an institution founded by the Jesuits and called St. Acheul, there extends a sterile, almost horizontal plateau, consisting of layers of sand and pebbles, the whole

thickness amounting to thirty feet and more. This formation rests on the white chalk, which encloses many nodules of flint. The flint axes and bones are found in the layer just above the chalk. These rude flint implements, fashioned by the wild men who hunted the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the gigantic elk, are now somewhat rare, and as there is considerable demand for them, the working men of the neighborhood supply the want by fabricating them; and the excursionists were much amused by the discovery of several modern working places. While they were on the spot, an individual made his appearance, who professed to have a great fancy for flint implements. Taking up a piece of flint, he begins to operate on it with another piece in lieu of a hammer. The flakes which he splits off, have exactly the shape of knives and scrapers; and in a few minutes he has made a flint axe, that perfectly resembles a genuine one. The fracture, of course, is fresh; but our artist informs the savants how this defect can be easily remedied. The specimens, he says, are boiled in lime-water, and, by that process, covered with a white crust; they are then greased and burned in smoke, and the sharp edges are smoothed with sandstone. After these manipulations, the most practiced eye can hardly distinguish these imitations from the originals. The excursionists bought a great many of these modern flint articles for the purpose of comparing them with the genuine ones.

The Congress will meet next year in London; and Sir Roderick Murchinson is designated as President.

V.—PARALLEL AND COMBINED EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE CHEROKEE INDIANS IN SOUTH AND IN NORTH CAROLINA, IN 1776.

By Professor E. F. Rockwell, of North Carolina.

[In the Summer of 1776, the Cherokee Indians in the Western part of North Carolina, as we learn from Martin's History of that State, page 393, "commenced their invasions "on the unprotected and unsuspecting back settlers.

"Early in the month of July, Griffith Rutherford, Briga-"dier-general of the militia of the District of Salisbury," [the Court-House of Rowan County, and at that time including Iredell] "passed the mountains at the head of nineteen "hundred men, while Colonel Williamson led a party of the "militia of South Carolina against the Cherokees. As Gen-"eral Rutherford crossed the wilderness, parties of Indians, "lying in ambush, harrased him by a galling fire. He "however, after a short time, succeeded in silencing them, "ranged the settlement of the enemy undisturbed, laid waste "the plantations, and destroyed their provisions. This "timely chastisement produced the most fortunate effect; "most of the Indians surrendered themselves, and sued for "peace."*

From Wheeler's *History of North Carolina*, 383-384, we learn more particulars of this expedition. "In 1776," he says, "he [*Rutherford*] commanded an army of two thousand "and four hundred men to subdue the Overhill Chero-"kee Indians. He marched to the territory, destroyed thirty-"six towns, cut up their standing corn, and drove off their "cattle. * * * * Rutherford crossed the Blue Ridge at "the Swannanoa Gap, and passed down the French Broad, "and crossed the river at the ford, which passes to this day "by the name of the War Ford; then up the Valley of Hom-"iny Creek; then crossing Pigeon (River) to the Tuckasege "(River.) From thence they crossed the Cowee Mountain to "the Tennessee River. In the Valley of the Tennessee River "[*in Macon County, North Carolina*] they burned the towns "of Watanga, Esteetoa, and Ellajay. Here, on the four-"teenth of September, they met General Williamson, with "troops from South Carolina, who had crossed the Blue "Ridge at the sources of the Tennessee River. In his "march for the valley towns, General Williamson was at-"tacked in a narrow pass near the present town of Franklin "[Macon County], by a body of Indians in ambush. He "lost thirteen men killed and thirty wounded. The Indians "were routed with great slaughter."

"Rutherford, in a skirmish at Valley Town, Ellajay, and "near Franklin, lost three men; but he completely subdued "the Indians, and turning his large stock of cattle, which he "had for subsistence, along with the army, on their growing "crops, destroyed their means, and with his troops burned "their towns. He returned in October, and at Salisbury dis-"banded his troops. The Rev. James Hall, of Iredell, ac-"companied this expedition as Chaplain."

From Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina*, 326, we learn that "When it was necessary for the American forces to "march into the Cherokee country in Georgia" [adjacent to the country inhabited by the same tribe in North Carolina, and the same expedition spoken of above] "to quell the "Indians, a company was raised in Iredell" [then part of Rowan] "for that expedition, and Mr. Hall" [Rev. James Hall, D.D.], "went with his friends as Chaplain to the army. "During the expedition, which lasted about two months, "the Chaplain offered public prayers, very regularly, every "morning and evening; but had but one opportunity of "preaching. On that occasion he took his stand under a "large shady tree; the army, consisting of about four thou-"sand men, was drawn up around him; the soldiers brought "from the neighboring woods each a young sapling, or long "branch of a tree, with all the foliage, and as they were "drawn up in close ranks, seating themselves on the ground, "and resting their shady branches upon the earth, they "formed a dense shade, and under this novel shelter from "the sun, listened to the sermon."

These extracts will enable the reader to understand the following. Sixteen or more years ago, the writer found in Iredell County, a portion of an old pamphlet, without title-page or conclusion. It was traditionally called the "Ross "Pamphlet," probably the Journal of a Captain Ross, in the Expedition of General Williamson, above mentioned, through the Northwestern part of South Carolina, into the Cherokee country of North Carolina, where, as it will appear from the Journal, just where it breaks off, they fell in with the North Army (i. e. Rutherford's), and that "evening "they had the prayers of Mr. Hall, a Presbyterian minister, "being in the North Army." At that time we advertised in several newspapers for a complete copy, and published the fragment which we had, but have never heard of any more than what appears in the following pages of the Journal.

Davidson College, N. C. E. F. R.

JOURNAL.

July the eighth day, being Monday, we assembled at Captain Peter Clinton's, in the province of South Carolina, and on or by the waters of Ellison's creek, to engage the Indians, on account of the insurrections they made on the white inhabitants, killing and plundering all they came to. This express occasioned us to rise to stop them in their present undertaking. Being commanded by Colonel Neel, and under Captain Clinton, we started, and marched to William.

* The best, and probably the only full account of Rutherford's expedition against the Cherokees in 1776, is found in the *University Magazine*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina) for May, 1852, (i. 132-136) which we shall reproduce in The Historical Magazine for November.

Hall's, and encamped after a day's march of about fourteen miles.

Tuesday, the ninth day of July, 1776, we marched over Broad River, about two miles, and meeting a party of our men, it gave us fresh fortitude in the pursuing of our heathen enemies. We encamped here after a day's march of about eighteen miles.

Wednesday, the tenth, we started, and marched twenty-five miles to one Moor's. We continued our march next day, fifteen miles, to one Mr. Walford's fort, on Lawson's fork, hearing that the Indians had persisted as far as Prince's fort, on Tiga, and killing and plundering all before them, hurried us on in our march to the aforesaid fort, where we arrived Friday, the twelfth instant. We found no enemy there. We stayed there two days: then hearing our enemies were harbored and encouraged at the house of one Perris', we started and marched within two miles, being joined with, or assisted by, Colonel Thomas's regiment, in all about three hundred men. We encamped on a hill all night, in order to attack the house and inhabitants there in the morning. When daylight came, we surrounded the house, but, contrary to our expectations, we found no Indians there, for they had left that place, and had embodied themselves together and marched to another fort called Lindly's fort, being assisted by or with a number of white men, in order to destroy the same; but by the conduct and valor of the inhabitants of the fort, the designs of the heathen enemy were frustrated, being forced to retreat after a smart firing from both sides. After a retreat of these heathens, the battle ended with little or no slaughter on either side, save some few wounded. We will next return to Perris's, and let you know that we took his wife and daughters, and, in short, all his family, as likewise some tories that harbored there; so taking all prisoners, and committing his houses to the flames, we took his effects, as free plunder, driving cows, steers and horses, and brought all to our camp at Prince's fort, distant twenty-five miles. When we arrived, we saw a man that had gone that night to a mill, about six miles off, with a wagon for provisions, who intended to return that night; so as he was returning, within two miles of the fort, and riding a horse across the creek, not thinking of danger, on a sudden there was an Indian within two roods of him, and to his surprise fired at him, and shot him through the thick of the thigh, and the horse scaring, threw him down. The Indian immediately made to him, but to save himself he jumped into the creek; then rushed forth another Indian with his gun ready to fire, which made the poor water-prisoner expect nothing but death. But to be short, he fired at him, and the bullet took him below the shoulder and out by the left breast. By this last shot the poor helpless white man fell back into the water. The Indian seeing this, drew his tomahawk and made to him, thinking to have sunk it into his brains; but, contrary to his expectations, the wounded man snatched it out of his hand, and made to the Indian, who retreated with the halloo of "hoboy, hoboy." When the white man saw this, he made his best way back to the mill, knowing that the Indians were between him and the fort, and got some men at the mill to conduct him back to the fort. This was a remarkable deliverance that one man could escape from four Indians, well armed, as says the beholder.—This aforesaid man is of the name of Reed, a man of superior dignity, courage and flexibility, which appears by his valor during his escape from the Indians. I am next to inform you, that we began to vendue the aforesaid plunder on the sixteenth, and continued till the eighteenth instant, and, by a vulgar guess, amounted to seven thousand, seven hundred and thirty-three pounds, South currency.

Friday, the twenty-first day of July, 1776, our next orders was to make to our enemies. So we started with a silent and secure march, being determined to rout and scatter them if possible. We continued our course to one Hight's, and seeing there what slaughter was made by our heathen enemies, by killing and scalping all they met with; this sight seemed terrifying, to see our fellow creatures lying dead and massacred in such a manner, as hindered us almost from interring or burying them, their effects being destroyed, their houses lying in ashes; this, with all other of their actions, occasioned us to vow revenge or die in the attempt.—So we continued in the pursuit of revenge, and marched on to Perris's place; beholding with satisfaction the ruins of the same, we lay here encamped till Thursday, the third day of August.———Then, Friday, the fourth, we marched about fourteen miles, and encamped on a round hill.———Saturday, the fifth, our orders were to form ourselves in a hollow square, with the wagons around us. Then there was a party appointed to stay with the wagons and baggage, as guards, while the rest of us marched to our enemy's towns. We continued our course to Streke, an Indian town, called Estatoe. When within about two miles of the same, we parted in divisions as follows: Colonel Thomas ordered his men to the right flank to surround our enemy's towns, and the light horse of both regiments to the left, and us, to Colonel Neel's regiment, in the front or center. We marched very carefully till coming within sight of the town, then rushed in with all speed possible, but, contrary to our expectation or desire, we got no Indians there, save one that escaped with being shot in his thigh. After this we set the houses on fire, and marched as quick as possible to another town,

called Qualhatchee ; and our enemies having left that also, we committed it to the flames, and started with rather running than marching to another town called Taxaway. And the inhabitants thereof being deserted, we stayed there but a short time, and left it on fire to warm themselves by at their return. We well remember this also, that while we marched to the aforesaid town, a few of our men detained in this Qualhatchee town, gathering peaches, and roasting ears, being tired with traveling, they laid themselves down to rest, and the enemy, who always watches such opportunities, coming close to two of our aforesaid men, fired at them, and shot one of them through the thigh. This shot coming so unexpectedly, set the men in great surprise ; for no assistance being nigh, they expected nothing but death. But making the best speed they could up a neighboring mountain, being tired with running, and the wounded man almost ready to faint, they halted to rest themselves ; and casting their eyes towards the ground that they left, they espied about sixteen Indians there, looking as earnestly for blood as a hunter after his game. After this discovery, they started to our baggage guard, and got safe there. By this time we came up, wishing for such game, but finding none we made to our wagons, and arrived about sunset, being distant about nine miles.

Sunday, the sixth of August, we started, wagons and all, and marched to our aforesaid towns again, to help them off with some of their crops and vegetables, of which they were very well stored, far beyond our conception. But to be short, we persisted in that undertaking as far as the furthermost of the aforesaid towns. After these performances, we were yet ordered to continue, and marched down Savannah river to Sugartown, in order to meet General Williamson there, according to his own appointment. When we arrived, we found the town destroyed, and them gone. We set out after them, down the aforesaid water, to another town called Keewee, where we met with a party of the aforesaid General's regiment, whilst the other party was a hunting for towns, camps, or any other place of harboring for or of our enemies.

Thursday, the eighth, we started in our turn, scouting the Cane Brakes that was confined by the aforesaid Savannah river, and continued to Taxaway, where we routed a camp of Indians in the said town. In discovering us they all fled, save one sturdy fellow, who allowing himself to fight some, but being prevented of his design, was forced to surrender up his camp, and worse for him, his life also, with doing no other execution than wounding one of our men through the side of his belly. Then we had to leave two companies of our men with the wounded man, and the rest of us continued hunting for more of such game, and came along the said Savannah river to a town called Chittitogo, where we started some more of our foresters, and killed one squaw, and captivated a squaw and two negroes, and got information from the captives of an Indian camp up in the mountain, where was confined old Mrs. Hite and her two daughters, whom they took prisoners, when they killed the remainder of the family. They likewise informed us, that there were three hundred warriors started to Keewee, and were determined to take that town and wagons ; and likewise that there was a body of them yet guarding the camps.——This information put us to a stand, whether it would be expedient to return, or advance to relieve the poor prisoners ; after a long consultation, it was concluded by our good Colonel Neel to pursue our enemies, which we willingly complied to, and started with a small body of men ; for Colonel Thomas's was ordered by him to go back to camp. But to proceed, we marched over mountains very difficult to climb, but allowing not to be conquered, we crossed them with some difficulty, and persisted as far as a mountain within three miles of the camp. Being to our view unclimbable we ascended partly to the top of the same, and making our best speed up were halted by a shot of a gun, which came from our enemies, who were screened by blinds made with broken limbs of trees; and no sooner we stopped, but they fired about fourteen guns, killed one horse and wounded another. We received no more damage, but spread round the mountain to surround them ; but they cleared themselves, night coming on. We had to encamp here all night upon this mountain. So on Friday, the ninth, we started about daylight, and marched down to their camp. But they were all fled, and had carried Mrs. Hight about one hundred yards from their camp, and had killed her there, leaving her on her face, naked. After burying her, we ransacked the camps, getting some plunder, they not having time to carry all off.——So started back to Keewee to our camps, and lay there till an express arrived from General Williamson's scouting party, which gave the following intelligence, to wit : That on the twelfth instant, General Williamson came to Towmossy, where he saw signs of Indians very fresh —Detached Captain Perkins and Captain Anderson with sixty men to reconnoiter or track the enemy ; likewise Major Downs went out with twenty men, Captain Anderson with twenty-five men, parted from Captain Perkins, and crossed a creek. Soon after Captain Perkins and his thirty-five men saw two Indians, and fired at them. The Indians instantly set up the war whoop and ran. The party followed, and was quickly met by a party of the enemy, supposed to be between two and three hundred, who engaged them very furiously, when Major Downs fortunately came

up in the rear, and Anderson falling on the back of the enemy. To the right the firing was heard at the town, when Williamson turned out with one hundred and fifty men, who coming close on the back of the enemy, made them quickly give way. The furthermost of their party being almost surrounded, and were entirely cut off, sixteen were found dead in the valley where the battle ended. These our men scalped, but did not look any further: it being now near sunset, they were called off by beat of a drum. We had two killed and sixteen wounded: three of the latter died next day, of whom was Captain Neel and Captain Lacy, a couple of brave officers and good men. So close was the engagement, that a stout Indian engaged a sturdy young white man, who was a good bruiser, and expert at gouging. After breaking their guns on each other, they laid hold of other, when the cracker had his thumbs instantly in the fellow's eyes, who roared and cried "Canaly," "Enough" in English; "Damn you," says the white man, "you can never have enough while you are "alive." He then threw him down, set his foot upon his head, and scalped him alive; then took up one of the broken guns and knocked out his brains. It would have been fun if he had let the latter action alone, and sent him home without his nightcap, to tell his countrymen how he had been treated. I am next to inform you that our provision being out, we concluded to return for a fresh supply of the same, and steered homewards with but one day's allowance.—Marched, eastward, crossed Six Mile Creek—next to Twelve Mile Creek; from thence to Eighteen Mile Creek; from thence to Reedy River; the next waters were Lawson's Fork; so continued to Pacolet; next to Tiga River; next marched to Broad River; so continued our course home; and the number of miles that we marched from Keewee was one hundred and seventy-three miles, traveling the chief of the same on the one day's allowance; yet for all that slavery and hardship it did not deter nor daunt us from trying it again, for as soon as we got a supply of provisions, we all assembled at our noble Captain's again, the day appointed, voluntarily, to go and destroy all opposing enemies, and to pursue the Indians as far as mountains and roads admitted of.—So,

Friday, the twenty-third day of August, 1776, we started from Captain Peter Clinton's, on Ellison's Creek, and continued our march to John Smith's, meeting nothing material, being a day's march of about ten miles.

Saturday, the twenty-fourth, we started from camp, and marched to Mr. Smith's, at Broad River, distant about nineteen miles. This night we received an account that Major Robinson had made his escape, being some time ago confined on account of his misbehavior; after this account, Colonel Neel ordered off Captain Andrew Neel to the aforesaid Robinson's habitation, where they found none but his wife, whom they mislisted not, but committed his effects to the flames. After this they returned to our camps.

Sunday, the twenty-fifth, we started, to march by order, to Sinacha Fort, where we were to meet General Williamson, our head commander, which orders we obeyed, and marched to Mr. Goudilock's meeting, nothing material happening, distant twenty miles. So we continued from thence to Waford's fort, on Lawson's fork, finding nothing worthy our relating, distant twenty-one miles. From thence we steered our course to Tiga River, and made the best of our way to Prince's fort, on the aforesaid waters. From thence to one Vernar's, a day's march of about twenty-three miles. So,

Wednesday, the twenty-eighth instant, we next steered our course to Hight's old place, next to Perris's place, on Reedy River, a day's march of thirty-three miles. We steered from camp at Perris's and marched across Soludy River, about six miles, and continued along the road about six miles more; then took to the woods for a nigh cut to our desired Fort. In thismanner we marched about five miles, crossed two small branches of Twelve mile creek, our day's march about seventeen miles, and encamped by a small branch.

Friday, the thirtieth, in the morning, a little after the wagoners started to hunt their horses, our camps were surprised by a negro of Captain Ross's, who had lately arrived from hunting, who gave us the following relation, viz.: That after hunting for his horses some time, he finding them by a thicket, distant from camp about one mile, and when mounting on one of them, there was a shot fired from the thickets, and he casting his eyes about, perceived a sturdy Indian rushing out therefrom and making to him, who, when he perceived, trusting to his horse for safety, set off with all speed possible, and kept his distance pretty well for about one hundred yards; but, on a sudden, the horse fell dead, occasioned by the aforesaid shot; which, when the Indian perceived, increased his pace, thinking to have had a negro to wait on him. But contrary to his expectation, the boy being supple and unwilling to have an Indian for his master, he cleared himself, and came to the camps. After this account, we instantly started in the pursuit of them, though all in vain, for we could not find them. So they cleared themselves, and took with them nine horses, and shot at another horse hunter, but he happily escaped, with having his horse shot in the rump. So close was the Indian to him, that the smoke and powder lashed against him, but he fortunately escaped. After these surprises, we started and marched across the Ninety-sixth road, so on that course about two miles, encamped, after a day's march of about sixteen miles.

This night there came a man to our camp, who gave the following account of his adventures, to wit: That he was at Senica Fort, with General Williamson, and being so necessitated that he had to go home, and missing his road, happened on an Indian town called Soquani, and alighted off his horse to gather peaches or such like; and being some distance off his horse, casting his eyes round towards him, espied Indians coming to him, when he made the best of his way to our camps. This information being delivered, our Colonel ordered forty-two light horsemen to go to the aforesaid Soquani town, it being all we could raise; so they steered to the town, and coming into the same, they found the aforesaid man's horse tied where he left him; and searching further, they found four Indian's horses—a small restitution for upwards of nine they took from us before. After this, we started, and marched down to Senica Fort, where we met or found General Williamson and regiment, and encamped.

Sunday, the first day of September, there was a company of light horse scouters raised, and taking the Cotappo Indians with them, they being entire foes to the Cherokees, they marched along through Sugartown, likewise through Taxaway, and coming upon some fresh signs of their enemies, one of the Cotappo's being detached to track the enemy, and made out the sign as far as their camps, confined in a hollow. After this reconnoiter of the Indian, he returned to the white men, and informed them as follows: That there was a great many of them, too numerous for our white men that were there. This information occasioned them to send down an express to Sinache, our camps, for a reinforcement of men and some more provision. This being delivered, we started as quick as possible to their assistance very securely; but they not having patience to wait for our arrival, and doubting that the enemy would not stay long there, they attacked the camps; but being deceived by the situation of the same, they attacked the wrong end, and gave them a clear passage to run—as they did the first shot. The Cotappos being in the front, espied a Cheerokee coming out of one of their houses, and being so confounded by the surprise, ran the wrong road for him, for instead of clearing himself, as the rest of his countrymen did, he made right in the face of our Indians, who, willing to see such a chance, embraced the opportunity, and committed him to the terrors of death. After the departure of those cowards, the Cotappos searched next for plunder, and got a great parcel of beads, wampum, garters, and deerskins, and likewise some horses; and in getting this booty were vastly encouraged; but as they were returning with their prize, and ascending up a hill, some small distance from their camps, the Cheerokees waylaid the Cotappos, and being unperceived by being behind trees, fired at them, and killed one of the head warriors among them, he who first discovered their camps. Our men instantly rushed up; but, as soon as our enemies fired, they ran so that they cleared themselves. After this they started down to Taxaway, where we met them with the reinforcement; and having nothing more to do there, we all marched back to Senica Fort, and arrived Thursday the third, and lay there waiting for Colonel Sumpter and regiment, before we could start to the Middle Settlements, being too scarce for ammunition; so lay encamped till Thursday, the twelfth instant, when arrived two hundred and seventy men of Colonel Sumpter's, who encamped.

Friday, the thirteenth day of September, 1776, we started by beat of drum to march; our intent was for the Middle Settlements, a habitation for Indians. We, or our lines of battle, were ordered as follows: We were drawn up in three lines or wings, Colonel Sumpter commander of the right wing, Colonel Hammon commander of the left wing, and Colonel Neel commander of the front or center. In this manner we marched to the waters of Cane Creek, and encamped after a day's march of about eight miles.

Saturday, the fourteenth, we started from camp, and marched untill we came to the mountains of Ocone, and crossed them with some difficulty, and at length came to a small branch, and encamped there after a day's march of fifteen miles. Next day we marched about twelve miles, and encamped at a river called Tugla, at the mouth of Warewoman's Creek. From there we marched next day, and crossed Warewoman's Creek, it being so crooked that we crossed it above sixteen miles in the distance of eight. Then coming into a mountainous country, our marchingbecoming the more difficulter, we scarcely exceeded twelve miles per day; but allowing that this distance itself would some time or other bring us to our enemy's towns, it fared us as follows: We next came to the waters of Little Tugla, and encamped by the foot of two mountains—this day's march about twelve miles.

Tuesday, the seventeenth of September, we started as formerly, and marched to the waters of Tinnessy River; from thence to the Gassy Plains, and on to the Narrows made by the mountains on one side, and Tinnessy River on the other, where we expected to have an engagement with our enemies, being so advantageous for them, being the spot where they repulsed General Grant the last war, with killing upwards of fifty men, a great many horses, and lost a vast deal of provision; so much that a great many suffered before they returned. But to be short: we came through these narrows with great courage, and continued our march to the first town in the Mid-

dle Settlements, called Thisintheagh, and finding the Indians all had fled, we encamped in this town, it being convenient on account of house-room. Here we stopped till further orders, which soon came; for on Wednesday, the eighteenth instant, we marched along Tinnessy River to Coweachee Town, and finding the north army had been there, commanded by Brigadier General Rutherford, we started in pursuit of them as far as a town called Cannutee, where we found a party of the aforesaid army; that is to say, a baggage guard, whilst the rest marched to the vallies. We started at the north fork of Tinnessy, and marched this day to the south fork of said waters, being about twelve miles. This evening we were informed that the north army had started to the vallies was bewildered on account of being destitute of a pilot. This account occasioned us to send two pilots to them, allowing them to attack the lower end of the vallies, whilst we were to attack the uppermost town. Here we encamped by the aforesaid Tinnissy River.

Thursday, the nineteenth day of September, 1776, we started to the vallies, and a most difficult road it was, marching along Tinnessy River or branch, called Cowechee; the path or road we marched led us into a long valley, or rather a hollow, surrounded by mountains on all sides, only the entrance. This place goes by the name of Black Hole, and well it deserves that title. But to proceed: on our entering, our front guard, commanded by Captain Ross, was about half through these narrows, and seeing some very fresh signs of Indians, had a mind to halt, until the two wings, that is, Colonel Sumpter and Colonel Hammon's would come up even with him; but they being tedious, the passage being narrow and difficult, and he being hurried by one John Sentspeers, who was hurrying fast to his end, as appears by his conduct. But to be as short as possible: as I informed you, the aforesaid Captain, being about half through these narrows, the enemy was all ambuscaded around us, and not being discovered until Captain Hampton, who was Captain of the main guard, and marched on the front of the right wing, had ascended up the mountain, when he espied Indians behind a tree. After this discovery he instantly fired at them. This alarm opened or rather emptied our enemy's guns. To our surprise they poured down their bullets upon us beyond the standing of any common soldiers; but we being resolute, were determined not to be conquered, which plainly appears by our valor and magnanimity, our noble Colonel Neel being partly in the front, fought most admirably, considering his age and frailty; but casting these infirmities away, and putting on the coat of invincibleness, and rushing through his enemies like a Hercules or one fearless of danger, with his men at his back, determined to fight while there was one of them; and by our obedience to his orders we, through mercy, defeated our enemies, with the loss of thirteen gallant men. A merciful escape, considering the wonderful form those heathens were placed in; likewise the impossibility of our getting an equal chance with them. The greatest and indeed almost all the killed and wounded were in Colonel Neel's regiment, on account of our being in front of the battle. This engagement may be spoken of as a miracle, considering the multitudes of enemies, and an admirable place they had to fire on us, that we were not almost all killed; for nature never formed such an advantageous place for our enemies, which was allowed of by all spectators. This mountain is of a hemispherical form, and had to march over the center of the same, where our enemies had us partly under their fire before they were discovered. This battle continued the space of two hours very warm. But according to our orders, which was as follows: the first fire, our line (that is Colonel Neel's regiment) was ordered to the right, to assist the guard who was first attacked; and leaving our line, according to order, and none to fill up our place, the poor front guard was left amongst their heathen enemies, with none to assist them, so that them that could not get retreating died by the hand of the enemy; for Colonel Sumpter was ordered with his regiment to a mountain to the right, distant almost a mile; the chief design of that, I suppose, was to hinder our enemies from coming round on our baggage and provisions, which orders they executed very manfully; but as for Colonel Hammon's regiment, I cannot give any account of their orders, as I had not an opportunity of seeing them; the line however that they ought to have cleared of our enemies was the left, which kept up a constant and hot fire against us; but by risking and running upon them, cleared them off their mountain, which seemed an impossibility to do, considering the advantage they had of us, on account of the situation of the mountain they were on, and likewise the grass being so admirably long, that they always had the first shot; and also the mountain being so steep, that they could handily clear themselves, so that we had, to appearance, but little chance with them. One thing, we pretty soon cleared them off their mountain; for there was no other way to conquer them than the method we took, which was to run right upon them as hard as we could run; for it would have been next to vanity to stand and fight them. But to be short, we cleared them off their mountain, without giving them so much time as to take off all their luggage; for they left baggage of about two hundred of them, that is to say, blankets, moccasins, boots, some guns, matchcoats, deerskins, &c., &c.

I must here give a sketch of the conduct of some of Colonel Neel's men who were wounded and escaped, first of Captain Ross, who was in the front, was slightly wounded; the Indian that fired at him thought to have his scalp, and making to him, his head being down and bleeding, struck with the gun in his hand until the force of the stroke broke the butt thereof; but the Captain recovering, and acting like a gentleman becoming his station, with all the intrepidity that nature ever endowed a hero with of this age, soon overcame him and got his scalp. This aforesaid Captain ought to be extolled to the utmost for his wonderful conduct and patriotism, who is always acting for the good and advantage of his country; and none who is not bigoted up in enthusiasm, that is to say, heat of imagination. If we were here to applaud him according to his deserts, we should neither have room nor expression to accomplish the same. But to proceed: we will next take notice of a lieutenant that was that day in the front with him, named William Patrick, a man of distinction as well as property: he was in the midst of his enemies during the whole engagement, and shewed all the valor and dexterity imaginable. Next our noble Captain Clinton, who ought to be in the front of our journal on account of his valor and elegance, being a gentleman of superior dignity and flexibility, his courage is unbounded, and his conduct inexpressible, as plainly appeared by the sudden retreat of these foresters, occasioned by the undaunted courage of such superior officers, and the assistance of their good soldiers; but more particularly by the hand of Providence that interposed in our behalf, we conquered our heathen enemies.——The number of Indians that fought us that day, by information, was six hundred; the number of them that was killed is not exactly known, but we found but four dead on the ground. We had to encamp here all night, on account of burying our dead and attending the sick and wounded: a most dreadful sight to behold our fellow creatures lying massacred in such a manner by the heathens; for there was three or four scalped and one sadly speared and tomahawked. His name was John Sentspeers, who, when the battle began, ran violently up among the thick of them; so that they had time and liberty to do with whatsoever they listed. There was also killed Samuel Thompson, a young man of great courage and valor, likewise a man of conduct, and gained the good will and esteem of all that ever was acquainted with him; in short, he was of that evenness of temper, that all his acquaintance desired his company. If I had time and room to display his merits, or was really able to do so, it would make the most obduratest heart lament the loss of such a hero, to think that power or authority over such a good man. But why should I say so; who by appearance was in that assembly fitter to go and attend the call he was commissioned or summoned unto? It was allowed he was deceived, by thinking it was one of our own Indians, until the Cheerokee shot him with two bullets in the body. There was likewise killed John Guyton, rWilliam Moore, James Caldwell, John Branne, James Lusk, and one the name of Linch, the remainder I cannot recollect; but there was killed on the ground thirteen, and eighteen wounded; in all, killed and wounded, the number of thirty-one gallant and brave soldiers.

Friday, the twentieth, we gathered our sick and wounded, and sent them back to the North army, and sent with them a guard of one hundred men, and the remainder of us continued our march to the vallies; so started and came into the greatest of the narrows, where were great numbers of our enemy's camps, confined by the sides of admirable laurel thickets. Our road seemed to go up such a large mountain, or rather between two mountains, which seemed the wildermost like part of the world we were ever in—the precipice of which seemed unclimable; but not fearing these seeming difficulties whilst our good preceptor Colonel Neel was able and willing to lead us through all danger. In this manner we marched, expecting we should see our enemies every mile, whom we were always ready to engage, being prepared for them. At length we came to the top of the mountain with some difficulty, and finding it so high and open, we encamped theron, after a day's march of about five miles.

Saturday, the twenty-first instant, we continued our march as formerly, and as I have mentioned of the day's march before, of the difficulties contained therein, I think this day will afford us little restitution therefor, only this, it seems something descending, we marched through laurel swamps and thickets, a place where we had not the happiness of the sun to shine on us, neither the privilege of marching without great difficulty, occasioned by the narrowness of the path, being closed in by mountains on both sides; and also the thickets of laurel so closed over our heads, that it hindered us, I might say, from the light of the firmament. It also hindered our flankers to march, and confined us almost to one path. In this manner we marched about five miles, and on a sudden the front espied an Indian squaw; at her they fired two guns, which put us all in an alarm, allowing it an attack, but soon found to the contrary. Seeing no more Indians there, we sent up one Bremen, a half Indian, that was in company, to ask her some questions; for although she was wounded in the shoulder and leg, yet she could speak, and told the interpreter as follows, viz.: That all the Over-Hill Indians, and the chief of the Indians of the towns we had gone through, were at that battle that was fought the day be-

fore; and further, that they were encamped about four miles ahead, and was preparing to give us battle by the river or waters of Tinnessy. Hearing this account we started, and the informer being unable to travel, some of our men favored her so far that they killed her there, to put her out of pain. But to proceed, we marched as quick as possible to the aforesaid waters, beholding, as we marched, the backs and forms they had to lay their guns on, in case of an engagement, as we conjectured; and by the appearance of the same, there appeared to be great numbers of them, which gave us fresh assurance of our having another engagement with them, which we much wished, if we could get an equal chance with them in the ground, which is almost an impossibility to do, they having such opportunities of choosing it; and likewise, they will not stand a battle with any, but when they have such advantages. By this time we came within sight of the aforesaid river, which seemed the most advantageous place for our enemies of any water we had hitherto met with, being closed in by a thicket on one side and by a large mountain on the other; however, placing our men in order, as follows, we sent the left wing over the river, the right wing up the mountain, and us in the front or centre. These were the orders of our head commander, General Williamson, which we obeyed, and marched through a dreadful valley and wonderful thickets. At length we came to a place more clear, and encamped there, after a day's march of nine miles.

We are to mind, that the number of men that marched from Sinachee Fort, that drew provisions were one thousand eight hundred and sixty, but the aforesaid battle reduced us to the number of one thousand six hundred, exclusive of one hundred and sixty-four who were sent back with the sick and wounded.

Sunday, the twenty-second day of September, 1776, we started, and it seemed as if we were never to get a road again that was travelable, for this day showed us the worst road we hitherto met with; the reason was, this day Colonel Neel's regiment was appointed for the right wing flank, which occasioned us to take to the tops of the mountains, which seemed a task hard enough for birds; but it was not a time then to hesitate; go we must, and go we did all with one consent, knowing that there was no danger or material affair to happen. Colonel Neel's regiment was all they depended upon in the execution of it, and it always happened that we came off fortunately and victorious, being crowned with fortitude capable to bring us through the greatest difficulties. So we marched from one mountain to another, which seemed an impossibility even for fancy to accomplish it, or for the most curious writer to describe. At length we came to a mountain more curious than the rest, because it gave us a more clearer view of the neighboring mountains, and a small valley or grassy plain. This we wished to be our desired port; the distance we could not give an exact account of. I have taken notice of this extraordinary mountain which was almost impassable, being nearly perpendicular. The next mountain that offered was named by us Slatey Hill, on account of its natural produce, abounding mightily with slates. Over this we came also, and arrived at the path where the army had to march, which was little inferior to ours, only not nigh so high, but abounding with laurel swamps and sideling thickets. After this manner we marched to the waters of Highwassa, and encamped between two mountains, after a day's march of nine miles.

Monday, the twenty-third, we made ready to march. The orders from our General was, that there should be forty men chosen out of each regiment for front guards, or rather spies, to discover the situation of the towns; so we set off, and always minded to take posession of all the hills and mountains we came to. We crossed a small mountain named Knotty Hill; from thence we steered to another, where we had a full view of a town called Burning-town, distant from us about one mile. So took to the right to surround it, and continued in that course about half way. By this time we espied the main body of our army marching into it. The front of the town we took, where we got peaceably, without shooting a gun, though a large town, having upwards of ninety houses, and large quantities of corn; but they had cleared themselves, and took with them the chief of all their effects, save some of their horses. A party of Colonel Thomas's regiment being on the hunt of plunder, or some such thing, found an Indian squaw and took her prisoner, she being lame, was unable to go with her friends; she was so sullen, that she would, as an old saying is, neither lead nor drive, and, by their account, she died in their hands; but I suppose they helped her to her end. Here we encamped among the corn, where we had a great plenty of corn, peas, beans, potatoes and hogs. This day's march about three miles.

Tuesday, the twenty-fourth instant, we were ordered to assemble in companies to spread through the town to destroy, cut down and burn all the vegetables belonging to our heathen enemies, which was no small undertaking, they being so plentifully supplied. So after accomplishing this we were ordered to march. By this time there was an express arrived from the North army that gave us the following intelligence, viz.: That the first town they came to they surrounded it, and killed and took the number of sixteen Indian fellows and squaws, without the loss of one man, the enemy not being apprized of their com-

ing. After this agreeable account we started, and came along a small mount, called by them Bloody Hill; and so on to another town, called Timossy, distance two miles, and encamped.

Wednesday, the twenty-fifth of September, 1776, we engaged our former labor, that is, cutting and destsoying all things that might be of advantage to our enemies. Finding here curious buildings, great apple trees, and, whiteman-like, improvements, these we destroyed, and marched down said vallies to another town named Nowyouwee; this we destroyed, and all things thereunto belonging, distant two miles. From hence we started to another town called Tilicho, a brave plentiful town, abounding with the aforesaid rarities; I may call them rarities; why so? because they are hemmed in on both sides by or with such large mountains, and likewise the settlements of the soil, yielding such abundance of increase, that we could not help conjecturing there was great multitudes of them; the smallest of these valley towns by our computation, exceeded two hundred acres of corn, besides crops of potatoes, peas and beans. These creatures are most curious in their way of building, according to their opportunity of instruction; they raise in each of their towns a large house, which they call a town, or in other terms, a Fowwoing-house; they raise it partly round, first by four large forks stuck in the ground upright, then from each of these forks there goes a beam to the other, which forms a frame, and by laths and other small pieces of timber, forms it a hollow square, and brings it to a top much resembling our home-made barrack-sheds, covered with bark or grassy sods; the door or entrance is extremely narrow or straight, and when in, it is as dark as a dungeon, having no chimneys, windows, or any other hole wherein light might shine. We allowed that in these houses they hold their idolatrous worship, it being all so tramped around, where they have had a fire. Their dwelling houses is made some one way, and some another; some is made with sapplings stuck in the ground upright, then laths tide on these, with splits of cane or such like; so with daubing outside and in with mud nicely, they finish a close warm building. They have few or no chimnies, and their fires in the middle of their houses. I am next to inform you that we marched to another town called Cannastion, and encamped; this day's march six miles.

Thursday, the twenty-sixth, we started, and marched about two miles to another town called Canucy; here we stopped to destroy their handy work. From thence to another town named Ecochee; here we stopped, and served it as the last mentioned. From hence we steered to another, called Highwassah, where we met the North army, and encamped. This evening, we had the prayers of Mr. Hall, a Presbyterian minister, being in the North army, where Brigadier General Rutherford brought us sixteen prisoners, that is to say, Nathan Hicks, Walter Scot, Matthew McMahan, Richard Rattleiff, William Thomas, Godfrey Isacks, and Alexander Vernon, Hick's old squaw, named Peg, Scot's squaw and two children, one Indian fellow, named the Barking Dog, Charles Hicks, and one old squaw; these prisoners were committed to our care to secure or commit them for punishment according to their deserts, being confederates or assistants to the Indians.

VI.—CAMBRIDGE, IN 1775.

COMMUNICATED BY J. RUSSELL, ESQ., OF WASHINGTON CITY.

[The following letter, from the late Judge Winthrop, who was appointed Provincial Postmaster at Cambridge, Mass., at the beginning of the American Revolution, exhibits a great contrast between that day of small things and the present time. The present salary of the Postmaster there is $2000 per annum, with a corresponding increase of business.—J. R.]

CAMBRIDGE, July 5 1775

SIR

When the Congress did me the honor to appoint me postmaster for this town, I was in hopes it would have enabled me to tarry here. But as the office will not furnish the single article of victuals, as the establishment is at present, I shall be constrained to quit the *place of business*, & seek for a subsistence somewhere else. All the money I have received since the oath was administered on the 25th of May, amounts only to £7.07.10d—15 per cent of it is my pay for six weeks, that is at the rate of 6 1-4d a day nearly. Judge then, Sir, whether this be sufficient to furnish one, who has no other support, with a Subsistence—or indeed, whether the office is worth keeping up on this plan; for it is in vain that we expect it to grow better during times of confusion, & a suspension of trade. But I will not take up your attention any longer than to observe that it is with reluctance I think of leaving Cambridge, & that I shall be glad of any opportunity to promote the common cause, as far as shall come within my small sphere of action. Unless the Congress think fit to alter the establishment, I must beg the favor of them to consider this letter as a resignation, & grant an order for paying the money which I have received to the Treasurer, after a deduction of my 15 per cent, that the Bond may be forthwith delivered up. The letters which remain I shall be ready to deliver to any new Postmaster whom the Congress shall appoint & remain with great respect Sir

Your most obedient servant

JAMES WINTHROP

To the Honorable JAMES WARREN, ESQ
President of the Massachusetts Congress
WATERTOWN

[Action of the Provincial Congress on the Above Letter.]

In Provincial Congress

Watertown July 7 1775

The Committee appointed to take into consideration the Letter from Mr James Winthrop Postmaster in Cambridge have attended to that service, and beg leave to report

That from the representation made by Mr Winthrop in said Letter it is evident that the profits arising from said Office upon the present plan are not sufficient for his support, and considering he has no other business in the town, it is reasonable he should be dismissed according to his request and it is recommended that he be directed to pay the money already taken to the Receiver General (his fees being deducted) & that the letters now in his hands be committed to the care of the Committee of Safety, and they be desired to recommend some person to the aforementioned office

A true copy from the Minutes
Attest
Samuel Freeman
Sec'y

VII MAJOR-GENERAL GORDON'S REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF MONOCACY.

Head Quarters Gordon's Division,
July 22, 1864.

Major :—In accordance with orders from Corps Head-quarters, I have the honor to submit the following report.

About half-past two P. M., on the ninth day of July, I was ordered by Major-general Breckinridge, commanding Corps, to move my Division to the right, and cross the Monocacy about one mile below the bridge and ford (on the Georgetown pike), which were then held by the enemy. On reaching the river, I directed my Brigade commanders to cross as rapidly as possible, and then to file to the left in the direction of the enemy's line, and I rode to the front in order to reconnoitre the enemy's position. I found that Brigadier-general McCausland's cavalry Brigade (dismounted) had been driven back by superior numbers, and that the enemy was posted along the line of a fence, on the crest of the ridge running obliquely to the left from the river. In his front lay an open field, which was commanded by his artillery and small arms to the extent of their range, while in his rear, ran a valley nearly parallel with the general direction of his line of battle. In this valley, I discovered from a wooded eminence in front of his left, another line of battle in support of the first. Both these lines were in advance of the Georgetown road. The enemy's line of skirmishers covered the front of his first line, and stretched far beyond it to the left. Having been ordered to attack this force, I had the Division skirmishers, under Captain Keller, of Evans's Brigade, deployed, and directed one Brigade (Evans's) under the protection of a dense woodland, about seven hundred yards in front of the enemy's left, to move by the right flank and form so as to over-lap the enemy's left. The two Brigades (Hays's and Stafford's) united under the command of Brigadier-general York, were ordered to form on the left of Brigadier-general Evans,—and Terry's Brigade to move in support of the left of my line. These dispositions having been made, I ordered the command to advance *en echelon* by Brigades from the right. The troops emerged from the woods seven hundred yards in front of the enemy's left, under heavy fire from infantry and artillery, and had advanced but a short distance when, on account of the wounding of one Brigade commander, (Evans) to whom explicit instructions had been given as to the movement of his—the leading Brigade—and the killing of several regimental commanders, and the difficulty of advancing in line through a field covered with wheat-shocks and intersected by fences, the perfect alignment of this Brigade was, necessarily, to some extent, broken. However, this temporary confusion did not retard its advance, which as I had anticipated, forced the enemy to change his front under fire. At this point, the Louisiana Brigades, under the command of Brigadier-general York, became engaged, and the two Brigades (Evans's and York's) moved forward with much spirit, driving back the enemy's first line in confusion upon his second. After a brief halt at the fence, from which this first line had been driven, I ordered a charge on the second line, which was equally successful. At this point, I discovered a third line, which over-lapped both my flanks, and which was posted still more strongly in the deep cuts along the Georgetown road, and behind the crest of the hill near the Monocacy bridge—and at once ordered Brigadier-general Terry, who as yet had not been engaged, to attack vigorously that portion of the enemy's line nearest the river, and from which my troops were receiving a severe flank fire. This Brigade advanced with great spirit and in excellent order, driving the enemy from his position on a portion of the line. He still held most stubbornly his strong position, in front of the other two Brigades and upon my right. He also advanced at the same time, two fresh lines of troops, to retake the position from which he had been driven by Terry's Brigade. These were repulsed with heavy loss and in great confusion. Having suffered severe loss in driving back two lines, either of which I believed equal in length to my command, and having discovered the third line longer than either of the others, and protected by the cuts in the road,

and in order to avoid the great loss it would require to drive the enemy from his position by a direct front attack, I despatched two staff officers in succession to ask for a brigade to use upon the enemy's flank. Ascertaining, however, that a considerable length of time must elapse before these could reach me, I at once ordered Brigadier-general Terry to change front with his brigade to the right, and attack the enemy's right. This movement, promptly executed, with a simultaneous attack from the front, resulted in the dislodging of this line and the complete rout of the enemy's forces.

This battle, though short, was severe. I desire, in this connection, to state a fact of which I was an eye-witness, and which, for its rare occurrence, and the evidence it affords of the sanguinary character of this struggle, I consider worthy of official mention. One portion of the enemy's second line extended along a branch, from which he was driven, leaving many dead and wounded in the water and upon its banks. This position was in turn occupied by a portion of Evans's brigade, in the attack on the enemy's third line. So profuse was the flow of blood from the killed and wounded, of both these forces, that it reddened the stream for more than a hundred yards below.

It has not been my fortune to witness, on any battle-field, a more commendable spirit and courage, than was exhibited on this, by both officers and men. To my brigade commanders, for their good example and prompt execution of orders, I am especially indebted. They rode in the midst of their troops, under the severest fire, and exhibited that cool courage so essential in an officer on the field. There are many other officers, of lower grade, who well deserve particular mention,—among them, I desire to call attention to the admirable conduct of Colonel Peck, Ninth Louisiana, commanding Hays's brigade; Colonel Atkinson, commanding Evans's brigade; Colonels Funk and Dungan, commanding the remnants of the "Stonewall" and Jones's brigades, of Terry's command.

I regret to state that my loss was heavy in both officers and men, amounting in the aggregate, as shown by tabular report, of brigade commanders, to six hundred and ninty-eight. Among the killed, are Colonel J. H. Lamar and Lieutenant-colonel Van Valkenburgh, both of the Sixty-first Georgia regiment, of Evans's brigade, and both meritorious officers. Colonel Lamar, a most promising young officer, was shot from his horse at the head of his regiment. Several other regimental commanders of this brigade, were wounded; some, it is feared, mortally. Lieutenant-colonel Hodges, Ninth Louisiana regiment, Hays's brigade, an officer of rare merit, was severely wounded and left at hospital in Frederick City.

I cannot too highly commend the conduct, on the field, of the members of my staff, Major R. W. Hunter, and Captains V. Dabney and L. Powell. The prompt, fearless, and intelligent manner with which they bore my orders to every portion of the field, met my hearty approbation. Lieutenant S. Wilmer, my signal officer, had been previously wounded, during the skirmishing in front of Maryland Heights, bearing, under severe fire, an order from me. Major Moore, my Inspector, rendered efficient service in his Department. My senior Surgeon, Dr. J. H. Stevens, labored assiduously during the afternoon and night, in caring for the many wounded.

I am, Major,
Very respectfully,
Your ob't serv't,
J. B. Gordon,
Major-general.

Major J. Stoddard Johnston,
A. A. G., Breckinridge's Corps.

VIII. — PIONEER GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCHES—EXPLORATIONS AND SURVEYS IN THE "LOUISIANA PURCHASE."

By Henry O'Rielly, Esq.

To the Editor of the Historical Magazine.

The recent lecture before the New York Historical Society concerning the exploration of the regions tributary to the Red River of the North, reminds me of the propriety of showing some facts respecting the geographical researches of our old friend, William Darby, in another section of the Continent.

Though the value of his Geographical and Statistical labors is measurably appreciated by people familiar with events in the first half of this century, Mr. Darby's merits are comparatively unknown to the generality of readers at the present time. His unassuming disposition caused him, during life, to show far less than he was; and now that he is no more among us, it is the duty of his surviving friends to present such facts as may aid in placing him in proper position among the Pioneers of Progress, whose memories should be gratefully remembered in connexion with our national advancement.

While occupying an humble position as a Clerk in the Treasury Department at Washington, in 1847–8, (seven years before his death,) the necessities of age and the scantiness of salary impelled him to seek some acknowledgment from the Government for services early rendered in exploring and surveying a large section of the "Louisiana Territory," soon after its annexation by purchase from the first Napoleon.

With this purpose, he gave me some privately-printed statements, along with oral information, concerning the service on which this claim, or rather appeal, was founded—that I might inform

such friends as could be induced to aid in promoting the object.

It was not merely of unrequited labor that the worthy veteran complained. He spoke with greater sensibility of the fact that the *credit* to which he was justly entitled had been bestowed, along with the resulting profits, on another person—that person being merely the compiler of the Map for which Mr. Darby had furnished the essential surveys referred to by the National Government—those surveys being the result of his own personal toil and expense.

The recognition of "Melish's Map" as an authority by our National Government, in diplomatic intercourse and treaty stipulations, (indicated, for instance, by the treaty of 1819 between the United States and His Catholic Majesty,) gave prestige and profit to the compiler—leaving the explorer and author, who acquired the information by actual field labor, in surveying at his own expense, to mourn for non-requited toil and misdirected credit.

The simple statement of these transactions, by Mr. Darby himself, is an interesting contribution to the history of the "Louisiana Purchase"—while it furnishes another evidence of the facility with which persons who dearly earn recompense and distinction are injured by the misdirection of credit as well as compensation to other parties. I give the statement as it was given to me by the author—but it is proper to add that the title given by him is entirely too modest—as his explorations and surveys covered a much broader field than the valley of the Sabine River.

The States of Louisiana and Texas, of which he explored and surveyed essential parts, and in which he could not find sufficient encouragement to publish his maps, (consequent on which want of patronage, was his falling under the compiler above-mentioned,) may yet honor themselves by at least recognizing the early and unrequited services of William Darby, in naming some of the new counties or cities that will be established within the boundaries he first surveyed.

Henry O'Rielly.

New York, 24 Pine-st., Oct., 1867.

[Statement of Mr. Darby, referred to in the Foregoing Letter of Mr. O'Rielly.]

NOTES IN REGARD TO MY SURVEY OF THE SABINE RIVER.

It was in the first part of the year 1808 that I first formed the design to make a map of, and write a statistical account of that region of country, including the State of Louisiana and parts adjacent. From the time mentioned to the month of August, 1811, I kept the plan in view, though only incidentally collecting material; but thenceforward, until late in 1814, my attention was turned and my time devoted almost exclusively to the project.

When seriously engaged I soon found that all the maps and other data descriptive of the region intended to be represented, and which were then published and attainable, even when added to element produced by the public surveys, yielded very insufficient material, particularly as to the outlines; and that to construct a map of the country with any pretence to accuracy or fullness, I had much to procure from my own means.

In the latter part of 1811, I made an extensive tour over the northern part of what is now the State of Louisiana, and became still more convinced of the necessity of an actual survey of the northwestern and western part of the regions intended to be represented and described. In consequence of these convictions, I made, in 1812 and 1813, a regular survey, which was commenced at the flag-staff of Fort Claiborne, at Natchitoches, and extending thence, over the intermediate space, to where north latitude thirty-two degrees crosses the Sabine river; thence down that stream to its discharge into the Gulf of Mexico; thence along the shore of that Gulf to the mouth of the Calcasieu river; and thence up that stream to its upper lake.

The element obtained by this survey, incorporated with all other requisite data, which I had been enabled to obtain, constituted the element for my map and statistical account of Louisiana, and part of the then Mississippi territory.

All these surveys and collections were made *at my own expense*, and for which I have *never received the smallest recompense;* except what may be supposed to have accrued from the sale of the map and book, which, from a cause I shall fully shew, *never returned to me a tithe of their own expense*. Application was made to the Legislature of Louisiana for aid in publication and refused; but, though thus left to my own slender resources, I persevered, and in the month of August, 1814, had made preparation to proceed to New York and Philadelphia, with a view to publication; but when about to set out was arrested by the depressing news that the seat of Government of the United States had been taken and in part destroyed by a British army. The natural effect on the public mind of such an event was, for the time, to render abortive all attempts to carry into execution any such an undertaking as the one on which I was employed. Rapidly following the report of the capture and partial conflagration of Washington, came the rumor of an intended invasion of Louisiana, which was realized in the month of December, of the same year. Of how my time was employed during the invasion to its glorious termination, the subjoined

documents will show. They are copied from the originals now on my table :

"HERMITAGE September 7th, 1827.

"DEAR SIR :

"Your note of the 14th ult. has been received, "and as you have requested I send you a testi- "monial of my approbation of your services as "one of my Topographical Staff, in the campaign "before New Orleans, in the years 1814–15. You "will find it below. I regret that you have lost "the one heretofore given you.

"With my best wishes,
"I am, dear sir,
"Yours,
"ANDREW JACKSON."

"Be it remembered, that during the late war, "and whilst the enemy were before New Orleans, "William Darby acted as one of my Topo- "graphical Staff, performed his duty much to "the satisfaction of the Commanding General, "and at the close of the war I gave him a writ- "ten testimonial that his services had obtained for "him my full approbation.

"Given under my hand, this 7th September, "1827.

"ANDREW JACKSON."

After the British fleet and army had retired from the fields and waters of Louisiana, General Jackson made preparation to give up the command of the Seventh Military District to General Edmund P. Gaines, preparatory to setting out to return to his home in Tennessee. The latter arrived at New Orleans about the same time that the British army retreated, and a few days after, at his request, I accompained General Gaines on a tour of inspection to Petite Coquille, Bauyou Terre Aux Bœufs, and other places.

Before leaving Louisiana, General Jackson inspected the rough copy of my map, and gave the attestation, which I now copy from the original :

"HEAD QUARTERS, NEW ORLEANS,
"5th April, 1815.

"I have no doubt whatever that Mr. Darby's "map of Louisiana is more correct than any "which has been published of that country.

"He has certainly taken extraordinary pains to "acquire correct information; and, as far as my "opportunities have enabled me to judge, I am "induced to think his delineations very correct.

"ANDREW JACKSON,
"Major-general commanding
"7th military district.

"The Honorable Secretary at War."

Louisiana was not a new field to General Gaines; he had resided in it and the neighboring parts many years. I had the honor of his acquaintance, and therefore he had learned from personal knowledge the pains I had taken to gain correct data for my works, the rough drafts of which I submitted to his inspection, and received from him the following attestation, which I copy from the original in his own hand :

"I have examined Mr. Darby's Map of Louis- "iana, and am of the opinion that the delineations "are faithfully drawn, and that it exhibits much "more correct information of the topography of "this country than any map heretofore published, "and I heartily concur in the opinion expressed "by Major O. Winston.

"Given at New Orleans,
"April 2d, 1815.
"EDMUND P. GAINES,
"Major-general by brevet."

The testimony of Major Winston, alluded to by General Gaines, is also now before me, in the original, as follows :

"Mr. William Darby having mentioned to me "his intention to publish a general map of the "State of Louisiana, I have no doubt, from the "industry and capacity of Mr. Darby, his map is "correct. It is drawn principally from actual "survey and the most minute observations. Mr. "Darby having been a surveyor in this country, "and very extensively engaged as such, and pos- "sessing a genius most peculiarly adapted and "directed to geographical studies, I am of opinion "his map will be very full and minute. Having "some acquaintance with the topography of "Louisiana, on examining his map, I find it very "accurate, as far as my observation extends.

"No trouble, expense, or labor have been "spared by Mr. Darby in compiling his map, "and the scale upon which it is proposed to be "published will make it the most full, perfect, "and complete map of Louisiana which has ever "been published.

"The historical notes proposed to be appended "by Mr. Darby, from the extent of his informa- "tion and capacity, I have little doubt will be no "small acquisition, as well to the literature as the "history of the United States.

"WILLIAM O. WINSTON.

"New Orleans, April 1st, 1815."

For remuneration in this case, strictly speaking, I cannot urge a legal claim; but I confidently think I have a very rightful one in equity.

That I was made the victim of a flagrant wrong is susceptible of full proof. Though certainly in no wilful manner, a party to that wrong, the Government by its act contributed to its consummation. Adopting, in the most solemn manner my work, in the name "Melish," gave a character to the map highly *favorable to the publisher* but *ruinous to the original collector* of the material. The case cited was again produced by the Treaty

of Mexico, on the twelfth of January, 1828, Article Third, in which the same terms are used, when describing the same boundary.

Thus, under circumstances I could not control, *another person* received the immediate *profit* and, for nearly one third of a century, *the credit* of my labor. Let a careful and candid comparison be made between my maps of Louisiana and Melish's general map, and, with a knowledge of the fact that mine was published first and that from actual original surveys, and it can need no more to prove, that as far as the Sabine region is particularly concerned, as well as the adjacent country, mine was the original: and I go farther, and assert, that in 1819 there did not exist other material to construct a map of the Sabine river and its valley.

Furnished with these testimonials, and aided by what I could not have advanced without, but which I very generously received, some private assistance, I left Louisiana and arrived in Philadelphia, June, 1815.

When I reach Philadelphia, I found Mr. John Melish in the full possession of the map publishing business, and through him I obtained the publication of my map and statistical volume. But, on what terms? Why, with some other not very moderate terms, to have the privilege of incorporating mine, with other material, on his map of the United States, then in preparation, and soon after published. With these terms I was obliged to comply, and no farther proof need be given to prove that the procedure virtually transferred the real value of my map to Mr. Melish, as his general map contained in a condensed and connected form all my data. But this was not all, nor the worst. Mr. Melish not only secured the profit, but received the credit, and that in a very eminent degree, was the subjoined document will shew.

In the Treaty of Washington, dated the twenty-second of February, 1819, entitled *Treaty of Amity, Settlements and Limits, between the United States of America and His Catholic Majesty*, Article Third, we read:

"The boundary line between the two Governments west of the Mississippi shall begin on the Gulph of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea; continuing north, along the western bank of that river, to the thirty-second degree of latitude; thence, by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or *Red River;* when following the course of the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude one hundred west of London and twenty-three from Washington; then crossing the said river, and running thence, by a line due north, to the river Arkansas; thence, following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas to its source in latitude forty-two north; and thence, by that parallel of latitude, to the South Sea. The whole as being laid down in *Melish's* map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, and improved to the first of January, 1818." Vide Elliott's *Diplomatic Code*, i, p. 417.

Nor were my contributions to the map of the United States, bearing the name of John Melish, confined to the comparatively narrow limits of Louisiana and adjacent country. All that part of the map from the Sabine to the Rio Grande, and including the whole basin of the latter, was supplied by myself. On no map then extant and which I could ever hear of, were the bays and rivers of Texas represented in sequence with any approach to accuracy of either name or position.

Any person who may choose to examine the map in question will find, that all beyond north latitude twenty-three degrees, and all its western extent, so as to include the Pacific coast, were added to the original design. These additions were made at my suggestion, and much of the material came from the same source. Mr. Melish was a compiler and no more; and it is a sense of self justice on my part to say that my materials were original, hardly earned, and when incorporated with its other data formed the most important section of the map.

To conclude, my best days were spent in the collection of what my country has long had the use of, and a small recompense—a trifle to that country—will, if granted, contribute to smoothe the downhill of life, and will be gratefully received by

WILLIAM DARBY.

WASHINGTON, 16th December, 1847.

IX.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

69.—THOMAS NELSON, JR. TO COLONEL AVERY.*

WMSBURG Sept 27—1781—

SIR—

Business of the greatest Importance obliging Colonel Blane, Commissary General of Purchases, to visit your shore, you will be pleased to lend him any assistance in Horses &c which he may require—

I am, Sir,
your Obedt Servt
THOS NELSON JR.

[AT FOOT OF ABOVE AND ON SAME SHEET THE FOLLOWING APPEARS.]

* From the original in the collection of Francis S. Hoffmann Esq., of New York.

The Governor being informed that the Refugees, who accompanied Lord Conwallis to York, are making their Escape across the Bay, begs that you will Strictly examine all Persons, who cross from the Western to the Eastern Shore, & that you will have such confined as cannot render to you a Satisfactory Acct of themselves—

ROBERT ANDREWS. Secy

COL AVERY
COL CROPPER
[*Addressed*]
COLONEL AVERY
favor'd by } Northampton County
COL BLAINE } Eastern Shore

70.—DOCTOR SOLOMON DROWNE TO MR. HOWELL.*

PROVIDENCE, R. I. Novr 4th 1782.

DEAR SIR:

The State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations is still the glorious Seat of undiminished Freedom. On Friday the 1st inst. the important question was put to ye Assembly: Shall this State agree to vest in Congress the power of levying a Duty of five per cent. on import† goods, etc. agreeable to their recommandation and request. *Resolved* unanimously in ye negative, 53 deputies being present. I am happy, that I can hail you the guardian representative of a free and sovereign community, which having ever experienced the sweets of unmixed liberty, is more cautious not to suffer the least infringement of it.—

I am greatly obliged to you for the pamphlet inclosed in your favour of the 16th ult. but confess I was somewhat disappointed that the extolled sovereign remedy was not disclosed.—

It is with heart-felt pleasure I learn our foreign affairs are *en bon train*. Gustavus then, has learnt to respect the rights of freemen. This is a *distant* atonement for having invaded the liberties of his own country.

The benefits of American Commerce have been felt even in his borders. Do you really imagine the British will negotiate in earnest ye ensuing winter? It is true they have long been playing a losing game, and are sinking in the same proportion as this country is rising in the estimation of mankind; but, as you forcibly express it, I believe his Brittanic Majesty most cordially hates us.

If G——l C——l may be compared to a luminary, that luminary has fallen from its orbit. The man whose ostensible principles have for their basis, *Auri sacra fames*, almost deserves 2000 Dollars per annum, as some compensation for ye opprobrium of honest minds.

I was at your house yesterday; and saw your happy family in perfect health. I shall be very glad to see you next month; in the interim, am, with ye greatest esteem:

your very obedt humble Servt.
SOLOMON DROWNE.

HONBL DAVID HOWELL.

71.—CADWALLADER COLDEN TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

I believe that you observed that when your Excelly first laid your Commands on me to inform you of the State of the lands & of the Grants of them in this Country that I receiv'd them with pleasure, but that afterwards I was under some uneasiness & diffidence. Much of my time since I had the Office of Survr Genl of Lands has been imploy'd in acquiring that Knowledge of the State of the Lands which I believ'd would recommend me to the favor of the King's Ministers & I was in hopes that my zeal therein would be an effectual way to secure their Patronage. As it is the thing of the greatest Consequence in which I am capable of distinguishing myself your Excellency's Proposal at first brought into my remembrance the pleasing prospects I had once formed to myself. But afterwards when I began to reflect on what I had already suffered by looking into Secrets which so nearly Concern the interest of many powerful men & that I will likewise for the future have their utmost resentment to struggle with. That the making discoveries & forming schemes upon them tho they never be put in Execution would have all the ill effects, if not worse than they could have if they were actually put in Execution & took effect. That the Kings Ministers have their whole time employed in such weighty affairs is of immediate consequence, that their attention to such remote affairs cannot be expected unless every thing were prepared for them with the most accurate care & followd with a constant application And that a poor Officer at the distance America is unavoidably will be forgot however his services may at any one time be esteemed, but the people here who may imagine that they have received an injury will never forget their resentment. These reflexions may it please your Excelly upon second thoughts staggered my resolution & discomposed me so far that I could not talk to your Excelly with that freedom which my duty requires And when your Excelly considers that I have a numerous family who's welfair depends upon my conduct you will excuse a little diffidence in an affair which may in its con-

* From the original belonging to Henry T. Drowne, Esq, of New York.
† Probably intended for *imported*. ED. HIST. MAG.

* From the original in the Collection of M. M. Jones, Esq., of Utica, N. Y. It has neither date nor endorsement.

sequences so deeply concern them. But after your Excellᵧ was pleased in the kindest manner to assure me of your Patronage & Encouragement I am resolved to do my duty as far as my Capacity enables me. And I shall do this the more cheerfully because I hope thereby not only to recommend my self to your Excellᵧˢ favour but do my Country also a Considerable Service, for I am of opinion that the present State of the lands is of the greatest prejudice to the peopling & improving of this Country and I am persuaded, that this affair will some time or other come under the Consideration of the Legislature here or of the Parliament of Great Brittain—

I herewith send your Excellᵧ a Copy of the Papers you desired, by which your Excellᵧ will in some measure see the importance of this affair, tho' they are very far from containing a compleat state of the lands. I was not then so well informed of many particulars as I have been since. Indeed I find my papers so bulky & indigested more than I imagined, that I have not had time since I received your Excellᵧˢ Commands to read them over. I have been so much discouraged in the prosecution of the Design of them that I had for several years laid aside all thoughts on that subject & the Plan has very much escaped my memory, but I shall do all I can this Winter to satisfy your Excellᵧ after you shall please to let me know of what particulars you desire to be more fully informed. I beg leave of your Excellᵧ to say again that any surmise of an Inquiry into the affairs of Land will be more predgudicial to your Excellᵧˢ affairs with the present Assembly men than the actual Execution of well concerted measures can be and any schemes which I have form'd will require very few in this Country to be privy to them till they are ripe for Execution—

The winter set in so unexpectedly & violently while I was in the County of Albany that I was forced to return home before I could inform my self of the mines which I mentioned to your Excellᵧ. One man has assured me that he has already seen a copper mine, that he has taken out some of the Oar with his own hands, that he has melted the Oar & got good cooper from it, but that it is at a great distance from the River & a bad road to it. He adds that there is a large quantity of fine land near it & has promised to come to my house some time this winter to inform me more fully. I have likewise heard of two other mines one copper & the other lead but I do not find that the Indians have as yet discovered them to any Christian & while I was in that part of the Country all the Indians were gon to hunt at above forty miles distance. These two last mines are thought to be not far from the River & in lands that are not granted, but the first mine & the fine land I am affrayᵈ may be within the bounds of that Tract which in my Memorial to Governʳ Burnet I suppose to be larger than Yorkshire but the Patentees know nothing either of the land or mine.

While I was in that part of the Country I likewise discovered some considerable parcels of valuable land some of them improved & settled by tenants holding under the Corporation of Kingstone. I am well Satisfied however that they have no right to these lands & if the Bounds between the Counties of Albany & Ulster be fixed by a West line from the Mouth of the Sawyer's Kill as was truely the design of the first Act limiting the Counties & proposed in the Bill which passed the Council but stopped with the Assembly last Sessions the claime of Kingstone will be at an end. I have no hopes that this Assembly will pass that Bill, but the Lawyers are of opinion that your Excellᵧ with the Council can pass an Ordinance for that purpose without the concurrance of the Assembly & that it will be effectual & I make no doubt of the Councils consenting to an Ordinance in the terms of that Bill. Some persons, I expect, will pray your Excellᵧ for such an Ordinance without knowing however any thing of this use to be made of it which I now mention.

I beg to be allowed to join with your Excellᵧ in taking up some of these lands. it will be some reward to me & when my interest is so closely united with your Excellᵧ that it is the same, there can be no doubt but that I will promote it to the Outmost of my power. If your Excellᵧ agree to this please to order a Petition to be giv'n into Council for a Grant of 4000. Acres of land in the County of Albany. I suppose your Excellᵧ will use some persons name for your self, but for me please to Order Andrew Mᶜ Dowal to be inserted. I hope to include some of the Mines in these 4000 acres, but in the Petition for the Grant the words uncultivated & *unimproved* usually put into Petitions of that kind must be left out because I expect to include some improved land in the Grant, but it will be proper to have the Ordinance passt before the Petition be put in. It will be Convenient to have both the Ordinance & the Petition passed before Spring because delays may create new difficulties & if this vacant land be discovered so many will put in & expect a share, that a share will be of little value & if the Grant of the land be soon passt your Excellᵧ will avoid perhaps giving a refusal to some of your friends & it may not be proper to let it be known that I am concern'd in it, but that you join with some Countryman, otherwise it may raise a jealousy of its being something extraordinary—

I have trespassed allready upon your Excellency's Patience, but I must beg your Pardon for it proceeds from my endeavouring to be

Your Excellency's Most Obedient and
Most humble Servant
CADWALLADER COLDEN

72.—General John Sullivan to Governor George Clinton.*

Annapolis Jany 15th 1784.

Sir.

As I am informed That, the western Country over which I marched in the year 1779 appertains to New York; and that, the State is about making grants to Officers and Soldiers who served in the Late war: I take the Liberty of mentioning to your Excellency that I shall feel myself under the greatest obligations if your Legislature should think my services and fatigues in that Country worthy of notice.

This Expedition alone was the means of that Loss of health which compelled me to retire from the field; and consequently deprived me of all the Emoluments which as an officer I had a right to expect,

Other officers commanding Expeditions not more dangerous, and much less fatiguing; have have had ample experience of the Bounty of States, never more famed for Generosity than the Inhabitants of the State over which you preside.

I have the honor to be with the most lively Sentiments of Esteem & Attachment, Sir,

your Excellencys

most obedient & very humble Servant

Jno Sullivan,

His Excellency

Governor Clinton.

73.—Henry Clay to Adam Beatty.†

Private Ashland 22 June 1848

My Dear Sir,

I thank you for the friendly feelings and sentiments which you have kindly expressed on the occasion of my failure to obtain the Presidential Nomination at Philadelphia. The event is to be attributed, among other causes, to the conduct of the majorities of the Kentucky delegations in Congress and in the Convention. I yield to it in quiet submission, so far as I am personally concerned.

H. Clay.

Adam Beatty, Esq

Prospect Hill,

near Washington

Ky.

74.—Hon. Wm. J. Duane, formerly Secretary of the Treasury, to John Bickley.‡

Phila Oct. 17, 1833.

Dear Sir,

I have just now rec'd your letter of the 10th instant, expressing your approbation of my course as Secretary of the Treasury. I have always been, and am, opposed to the U. States Bank and all such aristocratic monopolies; but I considered the removal of the deposits, unnecessary, unwise, vindictive, arbitrary, and unjust. I believed that the law gave to the Sec'y of the Treasury, and not to the President, discretion on the question; and I would not act to oblige the President or any one else, when I thought it improper to do so: I never asked office—I accepted it reluctantly—and was removed for an honest discharge of my duty. If to keep office at $6000 a year, I had given up my judgment, I should have brought shame upon the gray hairs of my father, and upon my numerous children; so that I am content to return to humble life with a tranquil mind. If our old worthy friend Neave were alive, he would say, "Well done, William, "I am not disappointed in thee."

With kind wishes, I am

Respectfully Yours

W. J. Duane.

To Mr. John Bickley

Washington,

Kentucky.

75.—Colonel Richard M. Johnson to the Editors of the "Democratic Review."*

27th Augt 1842

Gentlemen,

I have rd the within, and owing to pecuniary embarisment I have not been able to pay my Subscription, which I sincerely regret

I have continued a subscriber till I have found a friend to take it & who will pay you the 10$ upon his arrival at New York for me & please enter S. Hart, Natchez as Subscriber in my Stead —& whenever I am able to be punctual I will again be a Subscriber—your friend & ob. Sert.

Rh: M: Johnson

Mr Harts Father lives in N. York. Send his democratic review to S. Hart. Eqr Natchez. Mississippi RMJ

[*Addressed*] Free

Editors &c D. Vandenlin P. M.

Democratic Revew

City New York

76.—Jared Sparks, LL. D., to S. B. Noyes.†

Cambridge, 15 Feb. 1864

My Dear Sir,

I have received your letter making inquiry

* From the original in the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

† Copied by C. H. Morse, Esq., Washington, D. C.

‡ Copied by C. H. Morse, Esq., Washington, D. C.

* From the original in the collections of the Long Island Historical Society.

† From the original in the collections of the Long Island Historical Society.

about the reception of Franklin at the court of France. All the information, which I have on the subject, is derived from "Franklin's Works." I am persuaded that there was no other ceremony than what was usual on receiving a foreign minister or political agent.

Some of the French artists at the time celebrated the occasion by pictures or little groups of porcelain statuary, but the imagination furnished the designs, making Franklin a prominent object; and there seems no reason why the ladies of Brooklyn should not commemorate the event in the similar manner.

Very truly yours,
JARED SPARKS.

S. B. NOYES, ESQ.

X.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.—CONTINUED.

3.—JOHN WARD DEAN.*

It would be a curious study to attempt to trace the effects of the labors of men who have been content to lay the foundations and fill in the walls of those intellectual structures which are our pride and delight. Whoever enjoys the perfected monuments which the genius of a Macauley, a Prescott, a Motley, or a Palfrey, has raised to departed generations, must feel a tribute due to those who prepared the material now embodied in such glorious form. In this country, the workers have been numerous and indefatigable; and in our just admiration of the great constructors we must pause to give due credit to their assistants. Foremost among these are men like Prince, Belknap, Farmer and Eliot, who have preserved the facts which were hastening to oblivion. Hutchinson, and even Cotton Mather, must be forever respected as being wise beyond their generations, in rescuing invaluable information for the present age.

Of late years the principle of association has received a proper appreciation; and now, in nearly every State in the Union, bodies of students are joined together to mutually aid in the welcome labor. The volumes of this Magazine testify at once to the wide-spread taste for the study of our own history, and to the valuable results which have sprung from comparison of ideas and exchange of knowledge.

Those who are familiar with the workings of such associations will however confess that in most cases the labor falls upon comparatively few members, on whom devolves the daily routine. Especially is this the case where the Society attempts a publication upon any special topic; since the utmost that can be expected is a clean balance-sheet, without affording pay to editors or contributors. The editorial duties are generally heavy, since the writers are often unfamiliar with the rules of publication, and too often are in the highest degree crochetty and captious. To make and maintain a first-class Magazine under the circumstances, necessitates incessant labor somewhere; and from the nature of things it is labor grudgingly acknowledged and rarely appreciated.

We hold, however, that any one who has for years performed this necessary toil, has earned the thanks of the public; and it is with pleasure that we proceed to cite an example from before our eyes.

JOHN WARD DEAN, the subject of this sketch, was born in Wiscasset, Me., on the thirteenth of March, 1815. His youth was spent in that town and in others in his State; and in Portland he learned the book-binder's trade. This trade he pursued in Boston, New York, Andover, and Providence, finally, in 1843, returning to Boston, where he still continues to do business as a leather-stamper and gilder.

In 1850, Mr. Dean was elected a member of the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society, in which he was to find a wide field of usefulness. The Society was then young; and its objects had hardly received public approval. Instead of the numerous family histories which now crowd our shelves, only about fifty volumes had appeared, scattered throughout the United States.

The Historical and Genealogical Register had been established; but few would have ventured to predict that, in 1867, it would complete its twenty-first volume, and still see before it a prospect of continued usefulness. Mr. Dean's official connection with it began in 1854, when he became one of the Publishing Committee—a position he has ever since held by annual election. During this period, and even before, his labor on it has been unremitting. In connection with William B. Trask and William H. Whitmore, he edited the volumes for 1859 and 1860, and alone, the number for October, 1862, the volume for 1863, and the July and October numbers for 1864.

This, however, is but a portion of the work, for in each year that he has belonged to the Publishing Committee, he has aided the acting Editor, preparing copy, reading proofs, verifying dates and quotations, and adding those little items which add so much to the symmetry of the completed essays. The drudgery of this is immense; and as we have before said, these preparations beforehand are unknown to the reader who reaps the full benefit of the watchfulness and care of his assistant.

* We are indebted to our friend, William H. Whitmore, Esq. of Boston, the accomplished author of *The Handbook of American Genealogy*, for this sketch of one of the founders and the first Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

We are sure our readers will feel gratified with the information which we are permitted to communicate, that Mr. Whitmore's carefully prepared articles will hereafter be found more frequently in our pages than they have been in times past; and none will be more welcome. ED. HIST. MAG.

It is probably owing to this cause that so few of Mr. Dean's contributions have been in a form to receive separate publication. The list is as follows:

1. *The Dean Genealogy*, written in connection with Mr. W. R. Deane, in 1849;
2. *Declaration of the Remarkables in the Life of John Dane*, 1854;
3. *The Kingsbury Genealogy*, 1859;
4. *Memoir of Michael Wigglesworth*, 1863;
5. *Brief History of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 1866;
6. *Memoir of Giles Firmin*, 1866;
7. *Embarkation of Cromwell*, 1866.

Mr. Dean's article on Michael Wigglesworth, a most capital Memoir of one of our early divines, has been reprinted in part in the new edition of Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom*. (New York, 1867.)

Mr. Dean has also been an active member of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, having held the offices of Treasurer, Recording Secretary, and Corresponding Secretary. He was also one of the founders of the Prince Society, one of the earliest of the book-publishing Clubs; and has been a member of its Council from the beginning. For this Society, he proposed to edit one of Nathaniel Ward's books, and to prepare a sketch of the author's life. His work, however, increased in size as his materials, new and unused, accumulated; and having at last exceeded the limits of a preface, Mr. Dean has wisely consented to issue it as a distinct volume, of which Mr. Joel Munsell of Albany is to be the publisher. It will without doubt be a most welcome contribution to our literature, since thoroughness and fidelity are the characteristics of Mr. Dean's researches.

In 1858, he was elected a Fellow of the American Statistical Society; and, since 1860, has been its Recording Secretary. He is also a Corresponding Member of many of our Historical Societies.

As we have said, the published works of our author bear but a small proportion to the untraced labors he has performed, and which in another shape would have brought him deserved credit. That their value has not been overstated, is evident when we compare the position of the Genealogical Society to-day with its rank fifteen years ago. Then, everything was accepted for truth; the fables of the Three Brothers Emigrants, of the English Estates, of the Noble Descent, passed without contradiction. Town histories were few in numbers and slight in value. To-day, we see scores, even hundreds, of Genealogies in print; and already the students of Social Science begin to recognize in this agglomeration of facts, the foundation for an investigation into obscure problems of Race, Climatic effects, and habits of Civilization. If man be his own noblest study, then genealogists are co-workers in a noble cause; and despite whatever of foolish personal pride may be at times their incitive, the results will be garnered and sifted by others, who will thence extract the precious grains of Truth.

We find on every hand, the growing recognition of the value of our labors: already our English critics speak in terms of admiration of the extent and precision of our larger volumes. There is something peculiarly republican even in the form adopted, by which no one branch of a family is singled out for distinction, but *all* are traced with equal care to a common ancestor. With this appreciation of our work, we are beginning to receive the benefit of co-operation abroad; and English antiquaries are gradually discovering the extent of their possible audience in America.

In remembering these gains however, let not the claims be forgotten of those who initiated the movement, one of the chief of whom has been described in the preceding pages.

It would be an unpardonable omission not to mention Mr. Dean's connection with the Magazine. In connection with Mr. Charles B. Richardson and William H. Whitmore, he projected and commenced this enterprise, and continued as its Editor until the March number of the second volume, when the publication was transferred to New York. He was a painstaking and industrious Editor; and the form thus given to the new Magazine has been continued ever since.

Mr. Dean was married to Lydia Emerson, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1853, and has no children. He resides in Medford; and his place of business is No. 11 Shoe and Leather Street, Boston.

W. H. W.

XI. THE FERRY BETWEEN NORWALK, CONN. AND LONG ISLAND.

PETITION OF THE TRUSTEES OF HUNTINGTON, L. I., TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NEW YORK.*

To

WILLIAM NICOLL and NATHANIEL WOODHULL, Esquires, Members in the General Assembly of ths Colony of New York, for the County of Suffolk

GENTLM

As the Trustees of the Town of Huntington in Suffolk County have for a number of years past hired out the Ferry from Huntington Harbour to Norwalk to some particularpersons for the Publick good of the inhabitance of the said Town with-

* Communicated for publication in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, by Edward Holland Nicoll, Esquire, of New York City

out much trouble or interruption untill of late some other persons for mercenary ends have frequently from time to time carryed sundry passengers and horses to the damage of those that hire said Ferry.

Therefore We Your most Humble Petitioners the Trustees of the said Town of Huntington in behalf of the said Town do Most Humbly Intreat that you would use your uttermost endeavours to have an Act passed by the Honourable Assembly that the Trustees of said Town for the time being and their successors shall have full liberty to hire out the said Ferry for the publick good of the said Town.

The said Ferry when so stated will doubtless be of extensive advantage not only to the Town of Huntington in general, but also to many persons in other Towns both in Suffolk and Queens County who have frequently gone over said Ferry in times lately past.

It is desired that in said Act all persons shall be prohibited from carrying any passengers over said Ferry except those to whom the Trustees shall hire out the said Ferry.

As to the prices to be stated and conditions of said Ferry for Passengers and horses, the Honourable Legislature may either insert the same or refer it to their Petitioners which they shall see most proper.

Your complyance will much Oblige your Most Humble Servants

NATHANIEL KETCHAM, P.T.
SOLOMON KETCHAM
JOHN WOOD
TIMOTHY CONKLING
MATTHEW BUNCE
HENRY SCUDDER
JONAS WILLIAMS

XII.—MEMORANDA.

COMMUNICATED BY JOSEPH COMSTOCK, M. D.*

LIBERTY HILL, CONN., October 3d, 1867.

DEAR SIR:

I receive your Journal with much pleasure and thank you for your politeness. I send you what follows, hoping they may please you as articles worthy of insertion in the same.

Your most obedient,
JOSEPH COMSTOCK.

1.—PETER THE GREAT,

as an Anatomist, Surgeon, and Medical Man.

In the year 1698, Peter commenced the study of anatomy at Leyden, in the Netherlands; and afterwards pursued it at Amsterdam, under the great anatomist, Ruysch. He seems to have had peculiar pleasure in witnessing human dissections. At Moscow, he was, at one time, punctual in his attendance on the anatomical lectures of M. Bidloo.

It is told of the Czar, as an evidence of his zeal in this kind of knowledge, that he directed the dissection of a half-witted page, who had died of intoxication, should be postponed till he could be present.

He ordered that all monstrosities produced in the Empire should be brought to St. Petersburgh, for preservation. This accounts for the enormous collection of these freaks of nature, in the Imperial Museum, still in good condition and to be seen at this time.

He always carried a case of surgical instruments in his pocket, in which were lancets, tooth drawers, a saw-knife, spatula, scissors, a sound, and catheter.

He was extremely ambitious to be thought a first-rate operator. He required that notice should be given him of all important operations; and he attended as many of them as the nature of his multifarious concerns, as Emperor of the greatest Empire, geographically considered, on the globe, would allow. Tooth-drawing, bleeding, etc., he was continually engaged in.

A merchant had an abcess on his foot opened by his *terrific* majesty, which proved so successful, that the Royal Surgeon became enamored with his own professional abilities. People began to fear their Monarch's love of the art of healing; and therefore governed themselves accordingly.

When the news reached a certain lady of high rank, who had a similar disease on her foot, she left her abode, post-haste, lest assistance should be tendered from the palace.

A merchant's wife, who was laboring under a dropsy of the abdomen, utterly refused to be governed by the advice of her medical attendants. Such was the singularity of the case, that, like everything of the kind, the Czar heard of it. He immediately waited upon the lady, and partly by persuasion, but probably more through the danger apprehended from refusing the chirurgical services of the Royal operator, in the presence of the faculty, he actually, with his own hands, performed the nice operation of *paracentecis abdominis*, and drew off twenty-four pounds of water. Unfortunately the patient died.

He had a remarkable giant, and a dwarf, equally remarkable. Both died, and by his expres command they were both flayed and their skins

* With the livliest pleasure we find room for this article, from the pen of one who is probably our most venerable reader.

Doctor Comstock was old enough, *nearly sixty-eight years ago*, to be selected by his townsmen to pronounce a Eulogy on General Washington, immediately after the decease of that great and good man; and to-day, our venerable friend and correspondent is enjoying excellent health, walks with much of the activity of his early manhood, and hardly seems to be aware of the extent of his years.

With the most earnest wishes for his continued health and activity, we welcome him to our pages. ED. HIST. MAG.

stuffed for the future wonder and admiration of the curious.

2.—Longevity.

By the census of the United States in 1850, there were two thousand, five hundred, and fifty-five persons of one hundred years old and upward —a greater number than are to be found of that age, in any other country, kingdom or empire, in the known world.

A late number of the *London Lancet* states that a man of that age is very rare in England, and that a single centenarian was then unknown.

Ireland, on the contrary, in 1853, presented the following singular instance: "Owen Duffy, of "Monaghan County, Ireland, is one hundred and "twenty-two years old. When he was one hun- "dred and sixteen he lost his second wife, and "subsequently married a third, by whom he had "a son and daughter. His youngest son is two "years old, and his eldest ninety. He still retains "in much vigor his mental and corporeal facul- "ties; and frequently walks to the county town, "a distance of eight miles."

China, by a modern census, which we have seen, had only four centenarians, in a population of four hundred and seventy millions.

It is possible that Russia exceeds any other country in very aged people. An instance which we have seen related, of a man, who married at the age of one hundred and two, had two daughters by that marriage, and lived to see them both married before his own decease. He died at the age of one hundred and twenty-eight.

XIII.—THE BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

An important letter from General Joseph E. Johnson.

Selma, March 21.

Editors of Selma Daily Messenger.

Gentlemen: The life of Lieutenant-general (Stonewall) Jackson, by a member of his staff, will, evidently, be generally read in the South. It is, therefore, important to me to endeavor to correct the errors relating to myself, which I observed in glancing over that part of the work preceeding and referring to the battle of Manassas. On that account, I respectfully ask the publication of what follows, in your paper:

Pages 196-7: "When General Johnston, however, "arrived at Harper's Ferry, and claimed to relieve "Colonel Jackson of his command, the latter had "received no directions from the State government "to surrender his trust. And here arose a tempo- "rary collision between the two authorities, which "displayed the inflexibility of Jackson's character. "He replied that he had been intrusted by Major- "general Lee, at the command of the State of "Virginia, with this charge; and he could only re- "linquish it by his orders. In this position he was "while respectful, immovable; and as the Confede- "rate commander was equally firm, a mischievous "strife was anxiously feared. But very soon, the "mails brought an application from some person "pertaining to Colonel Jackson's command, upon "which was indorsed in the handwriting of Major- "general Lee, a reference to the authority of Gene- "ral Johnston, as commanding at Harper's Ferry. "This furnished Colonel Jackson all the evidence "which he desired, to justify his surrender of his "trust" * * * * * *

I think that this statement magnifies the circumstance in question, and does injustice to General Jackson's character. The State of Virginia had joined the Confederacy and transferred the control of its military affairs to the President, several weeks before my arrival at Harper's Ferry, on the twenty-third of May, 1861. Within an hour after my arrival, General (then Colonel) Jackson came to see me; and the order assigning me to the command he had been exercising was shown to him. On the following morning, my order assuming the command was sent to him, with a request, in writing, that he would have the necessary number of copies made and distributed to the troops. After acknowledging my note and order, he wrote: "Until I receive further instructions "from Governor Letcher or General Lee I do not "feel at liberty to transfer my command to "another, and must, therefore, decline publish- "ing the order. Meanwhile, I beg you to be "assured that it will give me pleasure to afford "yourself and the other officers named, every "facility in my power for obtaining appropriate "information relating to the post, and depart- "ments of the service connected with it." Major Whiting, who fell in defence of Fort Fisher, as Major-general, a West Point associate of General Jackson, at my request, represented to him that the authority of the Confederate Government was paramount in the case, and the manner of transferring the command in accordance with military rule. He soon reported General Jackson convinced. The whole affair occupied little more time than was consumed in going twice and back from my Quarters to General Jackson's. There was no display of inflexibility on his part; nor exhibition of firmness on mine. There was nothing in the affair to call forth those qualities. If there was any "collision between the two authorities" I was not conscious of it, as well as of the danger of "mischievous strife."

Page 201: "On this expedition, Colonel Jack- "son was ordered by General Johnston to destroy "the locomotives and cars of the Baltimore Rail- "road, at Martinsburg. At this village there were "vast workshops for the construction and repair of "those cars; and more than forty of the finest

"locomotives, with three hundred burden cars, were "now destroyed. Concerning this, he writes: 'It "'was a sad work; but I had my orders, my duty "'was to obey. If the cost of the property could "'only have been expended in dissiminating the "'Gospel of the Prince of Peace, how much might "'have been expected.'

"That this invaluable property should have "been withdrawn to Winchester, by the way of "Harper's Ferry, before this point was evacuated, "is too plain to be argued. Whose was the "blunder cannot be ascertained; that it was not "Colonel Jackson's appears from the extract of "his letter just inserted."

The letter quoted does not refer to the removal of the property, and therefore furnishes no evidence on the subject. It only expresses the natural regret of a good man, at a great destruction of property, rendered necessary by a state of war. If Colonel Jackson had thought the suggested removal right, he would have attempted it while in command at Harper's Ferry, between the twenty-ninth of April and twenty-fourth of May, as I should have done, between the last date and fifteenth of June. Colonel Jackson's course was probably prompted by the consideration that directed mine; and gives the authority of his great character to my course. It would not have been right, on our part, to seize the property of that road before the evacuation of Harper's Ferry; nor politic to commit such an act of war against citizens of Maryland, when we were receiving so much aid from that State and hoping for much more. The seizure or destruction of that property by us, could have been justified only by the probability of its military use by the enemy. That probability did not appear until about the time when Colonel Jackson received the order in question: then, being unabled to remove, we were compelled to destroy it.

But the most valuable part of this property, the engines, could not have been removed in the manner pointed out. Up to the time of evacuating Harper's Ferry, we were removing the machinery for manufacturing small arms, as fast it could be transported on the railroad, to Winchester. To expedite this work, I proposed to borrow engines from the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, but was assured by the engineers of both roads, that that to Winchester, especially near Harper's Ferry, where it was supported on trestles, was not strong enough to bear those engines, which were much heavier than those for which it was constructed; and that if brought upon that road they would inevitably crush it. This would have stopped the removal of the machinery from Harper's Ferry, which was far more valuable to the Confederacy than all the rolling stock of the Baltimore and Ohio Road.

Page 211: "Accordingly, on the forenoon of "Thursday, the eighteenth, the Army of the "Valley, numbering about eleven thousand men, "was ordered under arms."

Pages 212–13: "The forced march of thirty "miles brought the army to Piedmont Station, at "the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, whence they "hoped to reach their destination more easily by "railroad. General Jackson's infantry was placed "upon trains, there, on the forenoon of Friday, (the "nineteenth day of July), while the artillery and "cavalry continued their march by the country "roads.

"The President of the Railroad Company pro-"mised that the whole army should be transported "on successive trains to Manassas Junction, by the "morning of Saturday; but by a collision, which "was, with great appearance of reason, attributed "to treachery, the track was obstructed, and all "the remaining troops detained without any provi-"sion for their subsistence, for two precious days. "Had they been provided with food and ordered "to continue their forced march, their zeal would "have brought the whole to the field long before "the commencement of the battle."

It is twenty-three, not thirty, miles from Winchester to Piedmont, and thirty-four thence to Manassas. Jackson's brigade reached Piedmont early on Friday; but the other troops arrived at the usual time of ending a day's march—making two marches of this distance of twenty-three miles. At that rate, the thirty-four miles remaining would have consumed nearly three days; and the troops, if they had marched on with the least practicable delay, would have arrived at the scene of action the day after the battle. Jackson's might have reached it Sunday night. The author said his army amounted to eleven thousand men. More than eight thousand of them were in the battle, conveyed on trains, the first of which arrived at Manassas on Friday evening, and the last about noon, on Sunday. The detention of the remainder was due to the wretched mismanagement of the railroad trains. The only collision occurred on Saturday night, of a train bearing the Sixth North Carolina regiment and an empty one returning. The regiment was carried on, reached Manassas Station on Sunday morning, and took part in the battle. Elzey's brigade, on another train, passed over the place of of collision soon after the occurrence, and reached Manassas Station soon after noon on Sunday. The facts prove that the track was not obstructed, at least not seriously. None of the troops were left without any provisions for their subsistence. If any of them suffered for want of food, it was in consequence of throwing away their rations—then not unusual on a march. We left Winchester with as much provisions as we had the means of transporting; and had enough for two days after the arrival of the troops at Manassas, on Monday. The author asserts that

all the remaining troops (Jackson's infantry being placed on trains), were detained at Piedmont two days, without food. These troops got to Piedmont on Friday afternoon, and the battle began on Sunday morning, not much more than one marching day after the arrival at Piedmont. About eight thousand, three hundred of the eleven thousand, at which he estimates the army of the Shenandoah, were engaged in the battle; therefore, but two thousand, seven hundred could have been detained at Piedmont. The fact that these troops were two days in marching twenty-three miles from Winchester to Piedmont, shows that they could not have marched thirty-four miles, from Piedmont to the scene of action, in *less* than two days; and that the only hope of getting them into the battle was by the railroad.

PAGES 215–16: "The plan of battle which "was adopted, after the designs of the enemy were "fully disclosed, was worthy of the genius of "Beauregard, who suggested, and of Johnston, "who accepted it. This was to send the two re- "serve brigades, which were at hand, to sustain "the shock upon the left, and to enable that wing "of the army to hold its ground for a time, while "the centre and right were advanced across Bull "Run, and swung around into a position parallel "to the enemy's line of march, toward the Stone "Bridge, with the view of assailing their rear- "guard and their line of communication at Cen- "treville."

"The plan of battle," so extolled by the author, was made impracticable by McDowell's turning movement and therefore was abandoned, when the "designs of the enemy were fully disclosed." The movements of Bee and Jackson to the left, so far from being the consequence of the disclosure of the enemy's plans, preceded that discovery; indeed, it was Bee's encounter with the Federal army which revealed to me its designs, and "such reinforcements as could be spared "from the centre and right" were then ordered to hasten to the firing. The plan the author supposes and admires, would have kept our centre and right (six brigades,) out of action, and enabled the Federal army to crush the other three. Centreville was three and a half miles north of our centre on Bull Run, and the field of battle was a mile and a half south of our original left on Bull Run; so that it is clear that the troops which might have moved to Centreville in the beginning of the action could by no possibility have reached the field in time to take part in it, but would have assisted McDowell in his turning operation, and made it impossible to prevent his seizure of our depot at Manassas.

PAGES 216–17: "The two generals despatched "the order for this movement to the commanders "of the right and centre, and then galloped for "the scene of action." * * *

Not orders for the movement supposed, but countermanding it, and directing troops from the centre and right to march rapidly to the fight.

PAGE 217: "* * and Beauregard, after listening in anxious suspense to hear his guns open upon the heights of Centreville, until the day and the battle were too far advanced for any other resort, relinquished the movement. * * "The only tactics which remained for the Confederate Generals were to bring up such reinforcements as could be spared from the centre and right successively." * * *

General Beauregard could not have listened for the opening of guns on the heights of Centreville, for none had been sent there. McDowell's turning movement was revealed by Bee not earlier than half-past ten o'clock, A. M. If the centre and right had then been ordered to Centreville, as the author states, they could not have reached it much, if at all, before two o'clock P. M. If those troops had then been ordered into the action, they could not have joined in it: it would have been too late. As it was, of the three and a half brigades ordered up, two were too late although those orders were despatched at least as early as eleven o'clock, A.M.

This account of the battle does great injustice to General Beauregard and to Bee's and Early's brigades and their commanders. General Jackson's great fame is in no degree enhanced by such disparagement of his associates.

PAGE 230: "The pursuit of the enemy was not "continued beyond Centreville, and this was "the first error which made the laurels of the "Confederate army, so fair to the eye, barren of "substantial fruit. It was accounted for, in part "by the paucity of cavalry; but this excuse was "no justification, because the cavalry in hand, or "which only two companies had been engaged "in the actual combat, was not pertinaciously "pressed after the fugitives, but paused ever "before it met with any solid resistance from "them."

The "substantial fruit" of this victory was the preservation of the Confederacy. No more could have been hoped for. The pursuit of the enemy was not continued, because our cavalry (a very small force) was *driven back* by the "solid resistance" of the United States infantry. Its rear guard was an entire division, which had not been engaged, and was twelve or fifteen times more numerous than our two little bodies of cavalry. The infantry was not required to continue the pursuit, because it would have been harrassing it to no purpose. It is well known that infantry unencumbered by baggage trains, can easily escape pursuing infantry. Napoleon's victories of Lutzen and Bautzen are strong instances. I maintain that, considering the relative strength of the belligerents, the Southern people could not have

hoped for more "substantial fruits" of this victory. The defeat of the Confederate army would have involved the immediate overthrow of the Confederacy.

PAGE 230: "Another cause of the interrupted "pursuit was a rumor brought at sunset to the "commanding Generals, by some alarmed scout, "who had seen some bewildered picket of the "enemy wandering through the country, that a "powerful Federal force was about to attack the "lines of Bull Run, near Union Mills, where they "were now denuded of defenders. This caused "them to recall the fresher regiments from the "chase, and send them upon a forced march of "seven or eight miles, to meet an imaginary "enemy, and to return next morning to the field "of battle."

We had, of course, but one commanding General —myself. The story of the "alarmed scout" and "bewildered picket" is doubtless intended for sarcastic surmise—not fact. It is out of place in a Biography of Jackson. No troops were "re-"called from the chase and sent seven or eight "miles by night" or day "to meet an imaginary "enemy." Holmes's brigade, which arrived too late to join in the battle or pursuit, and Ewell's, reported by its commander to be four miles off after the fight was over, were ordered to return to their camps, for the comfort of the men and to spare Ewell's a needless march. The latter, in his conversation with me, said that the Federal troops which had been facing our centre and right during the day, were reported to be advancing. He agreed with me, however, that if this were true, they would soon be recalled to serve as a rear guard. Still, he and Holmes were cautioned to be on their guard. No soldier was ordered by me to march in consequence of this report, or exposed to discomfort or fatigue. No troops were ordered to the "field of battle" next day, except those detailed to collect the arms, etc. Our infantry, which pursued the enemy from the field, finding their pursuit ineffectual, soon abandoned it.

PAGE 231: "It was expected that the Confed-"erate commanders would at least pursue the "enemy to the gates of their intrenchments be-"fore Alexandria and Washington; and it was "hoped that it might not be impracticable, in the "agony of their confusion, to recover the Virgin-"ian city, to conquer the hostile capital, with its "immense spoils, and to emancipate oppressed "Maryland by one happy blow."

These expectations and hopes were expressed at the time, not by military men who understood the state of affairs, but by the same military critics of the Press who had but a little while before heaped denunciation on me for the measure which averted the capture of our army in the Valley, and enabled it to preserve the Confederacy at Manassas,—the abandonment of Harper's Ferry. Such a pursuit would have been fruitless. We could not have carried the intrenchments named by assault, and had none of the means to besiege them. Our assault would have been repulsed, and the enemy, then become the victorious party, would have resumed their march to Richmond. But if we had captured the intrenchments, a river a mile wide lay between them and Washington, commanded by the heavy guns of a Federal fleet. If we had taken Alexandria, which stand on low and level ground, those guns would have driven us out of it in a few hours, at the same time killing our friends, the inhabitants. We could not cross the Potomac, and therefore it was impracticable to "conquer the hostile capi-"tal" or "emancipate oppressed Maryland." The failure of our invasions in 1862 and 1863, with far greater means, might convince the Southern people, I think, that the author's expectations extravagant.

PAGE 231: "The toiling army, which had "marched and fought along the hills of Bull "Run through the long July day, demanded "with enthusiasm, to be led after the flying foe, "and declared that they would march the soles "off their feet in so glorious an errand, without a "murmer."

My information of the disposition of the army was very different. According to it, the troops believed that their victory had established the independence of the South—that all their country required of them had been accomplished—the war ended, and their military obligations fulfilled. They therefore left the army in crowds, to return to their homes. Such was the report of the Generals, Colonels, staff-officers, and railroad officials. The exultation of victory cost us more than the Federal army lost by defeat.

PAGES 231. "But more than this; the morning "after the battle saw an aggregate of ten thou-"sand fresh men, composed of the remainder of "the Army of the Valley, who had at length "reached the scene, and of reinforcements from "Richmond, arrive within the intrenchments at "Manassas Junction, who were burning with en-"thusiasm, and expected nothing else than to be "led against the enemy at once."

I have no records; but according to my recollection, the Sixth South Carolina Regiment constituted the only reinforcements from Richmond at the time referred to. On Page 211, the Army of the Valley is estimated at eleven thousand. So that less than two thousand, seven hundred men of that army must have arrived the day after the battle, as more than eight thousand, three hundred were engaged in it. I am confident that, if we had marched a few days after the battle to "con-"quer Washington," and "emancipate Mary-"land," we should not have brought twenty thou-

sand men to the banks of the Potomac. Our men, as has been already said, believed the contest decided—their objects achieved—and were more disposed to go home and enjoy the independence and glory they had won, than to renew the war on Northern soil.

Pages 231—32. "In a few days the patriotic "citizens of Alexandria sent authentic intelli- "gence of the condition of the beaten rabble, "there and in Washington, which a true military "sagacity would have anticipated, as Jackson "did, without actual testimony."

No such intelligence was sent to me. Nor were the Federal troops south of the Potomac, a rabble. Mansfield's, Miles's, and Runyon's divisions, a larger force than we could have brought against them, had not been beaten nor engaged; and the reports of the commanders of the brigades engaged, show that they entered the intrenchments organized, except those who fled individually from the field. These latter undoubtedly gave an exaggerated idea of the rout, to the people of Washington; as those from our ranks, met by the President, before he reached Manassas on his way to the field, convinced him that our army had been defeated.

Page 232: "For days there was neither organ- "ization, nor obedience, nor thought of resistance "on the south side of the Potomac."

This assertion is unfounded. It is disproved by the reports of the Federal general officers, and the fact that General Scott, who had near twenty-five thousand men idle within twenty-four hours of Washington, brought up none of them; and that the President, Cabinet and members of Congress seem to have been unconscious of danger—or such a state of things as that describes.

Page 233: "Now, then, said the more reflect- "ing, was the time for vigorous audacity. Now "a Napoleonic genius, were he present, would "make this another Jena in its splendid fruits. * * * "He would firmly press upon the dis- "organized masses; he would thunder at the "gates of Washington; and replenishing his ex- "hauste d equipments with the mighty spoils, rush "blazing, like the lightning that shineth from "one part under the heaven to the other, through "the affrightened North." * * *

The author surely does not expect rational readers to believe that this bombast was really uttered in the army, or that our soldiers condemned their General for not being a "Napoleonic "genius," when but one is found in all history. The "splendid fruits" of the battle of Jena were due to the fact that Napoleon with about equal force, turned the Prussian army before defeating it. Had it been able to take refuge in intrenchments covering the passage of a river a mile wide, those "fruits" would have been les than ours—which were, the preservation of the Confederacy, for the time.

The masses referred to were less disorganized by defeat than our army by triumph. By "gates "of Washington" is meant, I suppose, the fortifications upon which skilful engineers, commanding the resources of the United States, were engaged for several months—manned by double our numbers, half of whom had not seen the battle—and a river a mile wide commanded by the guns of the United States fleet. We attempted invasion in 1862, and again in 1863. First, after General Lee's victories over McClellan and Pope, and Jackson's over Banks, Fremont, and Shields. The second time, when the way was supposed to have been opened by the effects of the battles of Fredericksburgh and Chancellorsville.

On these occasions, the forces defeated were ten times as great as those repulsed on the twenty-first day of July, 1861, and their losses twenty times as great. Yet those defeated armies met us at Sharpsburg and Gettysburg, so strengthened in numbers and spirit as to send back the war into Virginia. These events show how far, in July, 1861, our army could have "rushed blazing" through the North (and it could have crossed the Potomac), and how much the North would have been "frightened." The failure of invasions conducted by Lee, aided by Longstreet and Jackson, and attempted under such circumstances, proves that the Confederacy was too weak for offensive war, and is a conclusive argument in favor of the course against which the author declaims so vehemently.

Page 234: "He (General Jackson) was then "compelled to sit silent and see the noble army, "with its enthusiastic recruits, withering away in "inaction on the plains of Bull Run, now doubly "pestilential from the miasma of the August "heats and the stench of the battle-field; under "camp fevers ten-fold more fatal than all the "bullets of the enemy. Regiments dwindled, "under the scourge, to skeletons; and the rude, "temporary hospitals acquired trains of graves, "far more numerous and extensive than those "upon the hills around the Stone Bridge."

If General Jackson had seen the state of things described above he *could not* have been compelled to "sit silent." He *would have* done his duty by protecting his brigade from the effects of such wretched incompetence, by remonstrance to the General, and if that proved ineffective, by appeal to the Government. His silence proves that he did not see the evils his biographer describes.

It is well known that large bodies of new troops are sickly in all climates. Our sick reports were larger in the healthy climate of the Valley than at the time referred to. No troops were then encamped in the valley of Bull Run, or nearer to the "battle-field" than four or five

miles. The dead had been buried so that the ladies visited the field without inconvenience. The writer's own estimate and General Beauregard's, very strongly contradict this account of our great losses by disease. He estimates the army of the Valley at eleven thousand when it left Winchester. General Beauregard reported his to be about twenty-one thousand, including one thousand five hundred mounted men, and the garrison of Manassas (two thousand soldiers and seamen), in all about thirty-two thousand; deducting one thousand, eight hundred, and ninety-three lost in battle, leaves thirty thousand, one hundred, and seven—not estimating the thousands who went home in the belief that their victory had terminated the war. On page 239, the author says, after their "forces had grown to about "sixty thousand men," the Confederate Generals "pushed their lines forward to Munson's and "Mason's Hills." This was early in September. According to this, the army had then been increased by the difference between sixty thousand and thirty thousand, one hundred, and seven—twenty-nine thousand, eight hundred, and ninety-three. If my recollection is correct, it had received since the battle ten regiments—one from South Carolina, one from North Carolina, one from Texas, one from Alabama, two from Mississippi, and four from Georgia, averaging less than six hundred men. So that these reinforcements amounted to not more than six thousand, leaving twenty-three thousand, eight hundred, and ninety-three, as the growth of the regiments represented to have "dwindled under the scourge to "skeletons." But these assertions—that our regiments dwindled to skeletons during August, and that the army had grown to about sixty thousand men early in September,—are altogether incorrect. I have contrasted them to show the carelessness of the author's accusations. The battle and its consequences reduced our army to about twenty-seven thousand men. When its advanced guard occupied Munson's and Mason's Hills early in September, it had received, since the battle, not more than six thousand. So that its strength was little more than half of the biographer's estimate.

Page 236: "The wearied Confederate soldiers "did not find the rain any the less dreary on the "next day, because they were either countermarched up and down Bull Run, or left to "crouch on the battle-field in fence corners, without tents, instead of engaging in the inspiring "pursuit of the enemy."

None of our troops were countermarched up and down Bull Run the next day. None were on the battle-field but those detailed to collect arms, &c. Beauregard's troops had a full supply of tents, and those from the Valley a partial one. Pursuit would have been fruitless, and therefore anything but inspiring.

Page 236: "The country was then teeming "with supplies; herds of bullocks were feeding "in the pastures around Centreville; and the "barns of the farmers were loaded with grain."

The country between Bull Run and Washington is poor and thinly peopled, and never teemed with supplies. If there were ever herds of bullocks in the pastures around Centreville; any Southern man can tell how many would have been left by a Federal army of four divisions (near forty thousand men), encamped there from the seventeenth to the twenty-first of July; and if there was ever abundance between that place and Washington, those who have seen a country through which a Federal army had marched once, can judge of the abundance left where it had passed twice.

Page 236: "A march of twenty-five miles "could surely have been accomplished without "baggage or rations, especially when the short "effort might lead them to the spoils of a wealthy "capital."

It is about forty miles from the field of battle to Washington by the main road, through Alexandria—perhaps four less by Munson's Hill. At the end of that march a broad navigable river would have separated our army from "the spoils "of a wealthy capital."

J. E. Johnston.

Note.—The numbers given above express effective force.

XIV.—PATENT OF THE TOWN OF QUEENSBURY, NEW YORK.

Communicated by A. W. Holden, M. D.

[The following document copied verbatim from the original Patent, was written upon two large sheets of Parchment in the old English character, and engrossed with great precision and elegance. It is the property now of the family of Richard Wing, deceased, to whom it has descended as an heir-loom—it having been confided to the keeping of his grandfather, Abraham Wing, by the original grantees, and remained in the possession of the family ever since. I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Asahel Wing, Richard Wing's son), Cashier of the Fort Edward National Bank, for the perusal and opportunity of copying this and other parchments and documents. A. W. H.]

GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, TO all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. WHEREAS our loving subjects, Daniel Prindle, Elihu Marsh, Thomas Hungerford, Samuel Hungerford, John Buck, Daniel Tryon, Amos Leach, Benjamin Seeley, Anthony Wanser, Jonathan Weeks, John Page, Elihu Marsh, Junior, Abraham Wanzer, Benjamin Elliot, John Seeley, Aaron Prindle, Thomas Northorp, Ezekiel Pain, Jedediah Graves, David Commins, Ebenezer Preston, David Preston, and Joshua Agard, did by their humble petition presented unto our trusty

and well beloved Cadwallader Colden, Esquire, our Lieutenant Governor and Commander in chief of our Province of New York and the territories thereon depending, in America, in Council, on the thirty-first day of March, now last past, humbly pray our Letters Patent granting to each of the said Petitioners especially and to their respective heirs, the quantity of One Thousand Acres of a certain Tract of Land, in the said Province, vested in the Crown that had been surveyed and laid out for the said Daniel Prindle and his associates above named of the contents of six miles square adjoining to the lands intended to be granted to James Bradshaw and others between Fort Edward aud Lake George under the Quit Rent provisoes, Limitations and restrictions directed and prescribed by Our Royal Instructions together with the like privileges of a Township (as were lately granted to Isaac Sawyer and others) by the name of Queensbury Township, WHICH PETITION having been then and there read and considered of, our said Council did afterwards, on the fifteenth day of April now last past, humbly advise our said Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief to grant the prayer thereof. WHEREFORE, in obedience to our said Royal Instructions our Commissioners appointed for the setting out all lands to be granted within our said Province have set out for the petitioners above named ALL that certain Tract or Parcel of Land situate lying and being in the County of Albany on the north side of Hudson's river between Ft. Edward and Lake George BEGINNING at the north west corner of a certain Tract of land surveyed for James Bradshaw and his associates and running from the said northwest corner, north twenty-seven chains, then west, five hundred and thirty-five chains, then south, five hundred and thirty-six chains to Hudson's River, then down the stream of said River as it runs to the west Bounds of the said Tract surveyed for James Bradshaw and his associates, then along the said West Bounds North to the place where this tract first began, containing after deducting for sundry ponds of water lying within the above mentioned Bounds Twenty-three thousand acres of land and the usual allowances for Highways. AND in setting out the said Tract of Land the said Commissioners have had regard to the profitable and unprofitable acres, and have taken care that the length thereof doth not extend along the Banks of any other River otherwise than is conformable to our said Royal Instructions for that purpose as by a certificate thereof under their hand bearing Date the Twenty-first Day of April now last past and entered on Record in our Secretary's Office in our City of New York may more fully appear. Which said Tract of Land set out as aforesaid according to our said Royal Instructions, We being willing to grant to the said

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knowledge granted ratified and confirmed and DO by these Presents for us our Heirs and Survivors give, grant, ratify, and confirm unto them the said Daniel Prindle, Elihu Marsh, Thomas Hungerford, Samuel Hungerford, John Buck, Daniel Tryon, Amos Leach, Benjamin Seely, Anthony Wansar, Jonathan Weeks, John Page, Elihu Marsh, Junior, Abraham Wanser, Benjamin Elliot, John Seeley, Aaron Prindle, Thomas Northorp, Ezekiel Pain, Jedediath Graves, David Commins, Ebenezer Preston, Daniel Preston and Joshua Agard their Heirs and Assignees for ever ALL THAT the aforesaid Tract or parcel of Land set out abutted bounded and described in Manner and Form above mentioned together with all and singular the Tenements and Appurtenances thereunto belonging or appertaining, and also all our Estate, Right, Title, Interest, Possession, Claim and Demand Whatsoever of, in and to the same Lands and Premises and every part and parcel thereof and the Reversion and Reversions Remainder and Remainders, Rents, Issues and Profits thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof, EXCEPT and always reserved out of this our present Grant, unto us, our Heirs and Succeessors for ever, all mines of Gold and Silver and also all White and other sorts of Pine Trees fit for masts of the Growth of Twenty-four Inches Diameter and upwards at twelve Inches from the Earth, for Masts for the Royal Navy of us our Heirs and Successors. TO HAVE AND TO HOLD one full and equal Three and Twentieth part (the whole into Twenty three equal parts to be divided) of the said Tract or parcel of Land, Tenements, Hereditaments and Premises by these Presents granted, ratified and confirmed, and every part and parcel thereof with their and every of their appurtenances, (except as is herein before excepted) unto each of them our Grantees above mentioned their Heirs and Assignees respectively, TO their only proper and separate use and Behoof respectively for ever as Tenants in common and not as joint Tenants. TO BE HOLDEN of us, our Heirs and Successors in fee and common socage as of our Manor of East Greenwich in our County of Kent within our Kingdom of Great Britain; YIELDING, rendering, and paying therefore yearly and every year forever unto us our Heirs and Successors at our Custom House in our City of New York, unto our or their Collector or Receiver

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the yearly rent of two shillings and six pence Sterling for each and every Hundred Acres of the above granted lands and so in proportion for any less in quantity thereof saving and except for such part of the said Lands allowed for Highways as above mentioned

in Lieu and stead of all other Rents, Services, Dues, Duties, and Demands whatsoever for the hereby granted Lands and Premises, or any part thereof. AND WE DO, of our especial Grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, create, erect and constitute the said Tract or parcel of Land hereby granted and every part and parcel thereof a Township for ever hereafter to be, continue, and remain, and by the name of QUEENSBURY Township for ever hereafter to be called and known. AND for the better and more easily carrying on and managing the public affairs and Business of the said Township our Royal will and pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us our Heirs and Successors, give and grant to the inhabitants of said Township all the Powers, Authority, Privileges and Advantages heretofore given and granted to or legally enjoyed by all, any, or either our other Townships within our said Province. AND we also ordain and establish that there shall be forever hereafter in the said Township, One Supervisor, Two Assessors, One Treasurer, Two Overseers of the Highways, Two Overseers of the Poor, One Collector and four Constables elected and chosen out of the Inhabitants of the said Township yearly and every year on the first Tuesday in May at the most publick place in the said Township, by the majority of Freeholders thereof,

[*End of contents of first piece of parchment.*]

THEN and there met and assembled for that purpose, hereby declaring that wheresoever the first Election in the said Township shall be held the future Elections shall forever thereafter be held in the same place as near as may be, and giving and Granting unto the said officers so chosen, power and authority to exercise their said several and respective officers have or legally may use or exercise their offices in our said Province. (*sic*) AND in case any or either of the officers of the said Township should die or remove from said Township before the Time of their Annual service shall be expired or refuse to act in the Offices for which they shall

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of the said Township to meet at the place where the annual election shall be held for the said Township and chuse other or others of the said Inhabitants of the said Township in the place or stead of him or them so dying removing or refusing to act within Forty days next after such contingency. AND to prevent any undue election in this case, We do hereby ordain and require, That upon every vacancy in the office of Supervisor, the Assessors and in either of the other offices, the Supervisor of the said Township shall within ten days next after any such vacancy first happens appoint the Day for such Election and give public Notice thereof in Writing under his or their Hands by affixing such Notice on the Church Door, or other most public place in the said Township, at the least Ten days before the Day appointed for such Election, and in Default thereof we do hereby require the Officer or Officers of the said Township or the Survivor of them, who in the order they are hereinbefore mentioned, shall next succeed him or them so making Default, within ten days next after such default to appoint the day for such election, and give notice thereof as aforesaid, HEREBY Giving and Granting that such person or persons as shall be so chosen by the majority of such of the Freeholders of the said Township as shall meet in manner hereby directed, shall have, hold, exercise and enjoy the Office or Offices, to which he or they shall be so elected and chosen from the Time of such Election, until the first Tuesday in May then next following, and until other or others be legally chosen in his or their place and stead as fully as the person or persons in whose place he or they shall be chosen might or would have done by virtue of these presents. AND WE do hereby will and direct that this method shall for ever hereafter, be used for the filling up all vacancies that shall happen in any or either of the said Offices between the annual Elections above directed, PROVIDED always and upon condition nevertheless, that if our said Grantees, their heirs or assignes, or some or one of them, shall not, within three years next after the conclusion of our present war with France, settle on the said Tract of Land hereby granted so many families as shall amount to one Family for every thousand acres thereof, OR if they, our said Grantees, or one of them, their or one of their heirs or assigns, shall not also within three years, to be computed as aforesaid, plant and effectually cultivate at the least three acres for every thousand acres of such of the hereby granted Lands as are capable of cultivation, OR if they our said Grantees or any of them, or any of their heirs or assignes

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person or persons by their or any of their privity, consent, or procurement, shall fell, cut down or otherwise destroy any of the Pine Trees by these Presents reserved to us, our heirs and successors, or hereby intended so to be, without the Royal License of us, our heirs or successors for so doing first had and obtained, that then and in any of these cases, this, our present Grant and every Thing therein contained, shall cease and be absolutely void, and the Lands and Premises hereby granted shall revert to and vest in us, our heirs and successors, as if this our present Grant had not been made, anything hereinbefore contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding, PROVIDED further, and upon condition also nevertheless, and we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors direct and appoint that this our present Grant shall be

registered and entered on Record within six months from the date thereof, in our Secretary's Office, in our City of New York, in our said Province, in one of the Books of Patents there remaining and that a Docquet thereof shall be also entered in our Auditor's Office there, for our said Province, and that in default thereof this our present Grant shall be void and of none effect any Thing before in these Presents contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. AND WE DO moreover, of our Grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, consent, and agree that this our present Grant being registered, recorded and a Docquet thereof made as before directed and appointed, shall be good and effectual in the Law, to all Intents, Constructions and Purposes whatsoever against us, our heirs and Successors, notwithstanding any Misreciting, Misbounding, Misnaming, or other Imperfection or Omission of, in, or in any wise concerning the above granted or hereby mentioned or intended to be granted Lands, Tenements, hereditaments and premises, or any part thereof. IN TESTIMONY whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patent and the Great Seal of our said Province to be hereunto affixed. WITNESS our said trusty and well beloved Cadwallader Colden, Esquire, our Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of our Province of New-York and Territories depending thereon in America. At our Fort, in our City of New-York, the Twentieth day of May, in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven hundred and Sixty-two and of our Reign the sceeond. (First Skin, Line 31, the word "of" interlined; line 47, the words "any or" wrote on an erasure; and Line 49, the word "the" interlined.)

CLARKE.

[*Endorsements on the back of the Parchment Skin No.* 1]

Secretary's Office 25th May 1762 The Within Letters Patent are Recorded in Lib Patents No 13 Pages 478 to 483.

Gow. Banyar D Sec'y

New York Auditor Genetal's Office 1st June, 1762. The within Letters Patent to Daniel Prindle and others are Docqueted in this office.

Gow. Banyar Dept Auditor.

XV.—DESCRIPTION OF AN ANCIENT SEPULCHRAL MOUND NEAR NEWARK, OHIO.*

By O. C. Marsh, F.G.S.

In the first volume of the *Smithsonian Contributions*, Messrs. Squier and Davis have ably described the most important of those ancient monuments of the Mississippi Valley, which render that region so interesting to the student of American archæology. By discarding vague speculation, which had been the prominent fault of most previous investigators, and adopting that rigid method of research inaugurated so successfully by Scandinavian antiquaries, these authors were enabled to embody in their work all that was valuable in previous accounts, and to add much new and important information concerning that ancient population of this country, who have left behind them so many imposing structures. The subsequent researches of Squire, Latham, and others, have thrown additional light upon this interesting subject, so that at the present time the "Mound-builders" can no longer be regarded as an unknown people, although both tradition and history are silent in regard to them.

Few of these ancient monuments of the West have attracted more attention than the group of "Enclosures," or "Forts," near Newark, Ohio, which have long been celebrated on account of their great extent, and remarkable regularity. They consist mainly of elaborate earthworks, in the form of a circle, octagon, and square; and enclose an area of about four square miles, on the upper terrace, between two branches of the Licking River. They were well described by Atwater, in 1820, who regarded them as works of defense; and subsequently by Squier and Davis, who, however, considered them sacred enclosures. Scattered over the same plain, and crowning the neighboring hills, are numerous tumuli, or mounds, evidently erected by the same people who built the larger works.

While on a geological excursion through the West, during the last autumn, the writer spent several days at Newark, examining these various monuments, in company with George P. Russell, Esq., of Salem, Mass., who is well versed in everything relating to American antiquities. In the course of our investigations, a sepulchral mound was opened, which proved to be in many respects the most interesting one of the kind yet examined. Mounds of this class received from Squire and Davis much less attention that the smaller "Altar Mounds," as the latter usually contain more relics of ancient art. These authors, moreover, examined none of those belonging to the Newark group of works, although the mounds in that vicinity appear to present some points of difference from those of other localities. For these reasons a more detailed account of our explorations will be given than would otherwise be necessary. The mound selected for examination was about two and a half miles south of Newark, on the farm of Mr. Thomas Taylor, and was known in the neighborhood as the "Taylor Mound." It was conical in form, about ten feet in height, and eighty in diameter at the base, these being about the average

* From the American *Journal of Science.*

dimensions of the burial mounds in that vicinity. It was situated on the summit of a ridge, in the midst of a stately forest. On the mound itself several oak trees, two and a half to three feet in diameter, were growing, and near them were stumps of others, evidently of greater age. The mound stood quite alone, nearly half a mile from its nearest neighbor, and about three miles from the large earthworks already mentioned. In our explorations we were greatly assisted by Dr. J. N. Wilson, and Messrs. Dennis and Shrock, of Newark, and Charles W. Chandler, Esq., of Zanesville, who are all much interested in the local antiquities of that region.

An excavation about eight feet in diameter was first made from the apex of the mound, and after the surface soil was removed the earth was found to be remarkably compact, probably owing to its having been firmly trodden down when deposited. This earth was a light loam, quite different from the soil of the ridge itself, and its peculiar mottled appearance indicated that it had been brought to the spot in small quantities. In excavating the first five feet, which was a slow and very laborious undertaking, nothing worthy of notice was observed except some traces of ashes and pieces of charcoal and flint, scattered about at various depths. At five and a half feet below the surface, where the earth became less difficult to remove, a broken stone pipe was found, which had evidently been long in use. It was made of a very soft limestone, containing fragments of small fossil shells, apparently Cretaceous species. No rock of precisely this kind is known to exist in Ohio. Pieces of a tube of the same material, and about an inch in diameter, were found near the pipe. The cavity was about two-thirds of an inch in diameter, and had been bored out with great regularity. Similar tubes have occasionally been found in mounds, but their use is not definitely known.

About seven feet from the top of the mound a thin white layer was observed, which extended over a horizontal surface of several square yards. Near the centre of this space, and directly under the apex of the mound, a string of more than one hundred beads of native copper was found, and with it a few small bones of a child, about three years of age. The beads were strung on a twisted cord of coarse vegetable fibre, apparently the inner bark of a tree, and this had been preserved by salts of the copper, the antiseptic properties of which are well known. The position of the beads showed clearly that they had been wound two or three times around the neck of the child; and the bones themselves, (the neural arches of the cervical vetebræ, a clavicle, and a first rib), were precisely those which the beads would naturally come in contact with, when decomposition of the body ensued. The remains evidently owe their preservation to this fact, as they are all colored with carbonate of copper, and the other parts of the skeleton had entirely decayed. The position the body had occupied, however, was still clearly indicated by the darker color of the earth. The beads were about one-fourth of an inch long, and one-third in diameter, and no little skill had been displayed in their construction. They were evidently made, without the aid of fire, by hammering the metal in its original state; but the joints were so neatly fitted that in most cases it was very difficult to detect them. On the same cord, and arranged at regular intervals, were five shell beads, of the same diameter, but about twice as long as those of copper. All had apparently been well polished, and the necklace, when worn, must have formed a tasteful and striking ornament.*

About a foot below the remains just described, and a little east of the centre of the mound, were two adult human skeletons, lying one above the other, and remarkably well preserved. The interment had evidently been performed with great care. The heads were toward the east, slightly higher than the feet, and the arms were carefully composed at the sides. A white stratum, similar in every respect to the one already mentioned, was here very distinct, and extended horizontally over a space of five or six yards, in the center of which the remains had been laid. The earth separated readily though this stratum, and an examination of the exposed surfaces showed that they were formed from two decayed layers of bark, on one of which the bodies had been placed, and the other covered over them. The smooth sides of the bark had thus come together, and the decomposition of the inner lavers had produced the peculiar white substance, as a subsequent microscopic examination clearly indicated.† Directly above these skeletons was a layer of reddish earth, apparently a mixture of ashes and burned clay, which covered a surface of about a square yard. Near the middle of this space was a small pile of charred human bones, the remains of a skeleton which had been burned immediately over those just described. The fire had evidently been continued for some time, and then allowed to go out; when the fragments of bone and cinders that remained were scraped together, and covered with earth. All the bones were in small pieces, and most of them distorted by heat; but among them were found the lower extremity of a humerus, and

* Native copper seems to have been the favorite material for ornaments among the mound-builders. The metal was, without doubt, derived originally from the Lake Superior deposits, although it may have been found in the drift. It was more probably taken directly from the deposits themselves, as they exhibit abundant evidence of ancient mining operations, which no one familiar with such matters would attribute to the more recent Indians.

† This white layer, which was thought by Squier and Davis to be the remains of matting, is a characteristic feature in burial mounds. It has only been found where the interments were unquestionably those of mound builders.

some fragments of a fibula, which showed them to be human, and indicated an adult rather below the medium size. The two skeletons found beneath these remains were well formed, and of opposite sex. The ossification of the bones indicated that the female was about thirty years of age, and the male somewhat older. It is not impossible that these were husband and wife—and latter put to death and buried above the remains of her consort; and the charred bones may have been those of a human sacrifice, slain at the funeral ceremonies.* Near these skeletons was a small quantity of reddish brown powder, which proven on examination to be hematite. It was probably used as a paint.†

On continuing our excavations about a foot lower, and somewhat more to the eastward, a second pile of charred human bones was found resting on a layer of ashes, charcoal and burned clay. But one or two fragments of these remains could be identified as human, and these also indicated a small-sized adult. The incremation had apparently been performed in the same manner as in the previous instance. Immediately beneath the clay deposit a third white layer was observed, quite similar to that just described. In this layer was a male skeleton, not in so good a state of preservation as those already mentioned, although evidently belonging to an individual considerably older. In this case also the head was toward the east, and the burial had been carefully performed. Near this skeleton about a pint of white chaff was found, which appeared to belong to some of the native grasses. The form was still quite distinct, although nearly all the organic substance had disappeared. A few inches deeper, near the surface of the natural earth, several skeletons of various ages were met with, which had evidently been buried in a hurried manner. All were nearly or quite horizontal, but no layer of bark had been spread for their reception, and no care taken in regard to arrangement of limbs. These skeletons were in a tolerable state of preservation, some parts being quite perfect. A tibia and fibula, with most of the corresponding bones of a foot, were found quite by themselves, and well preserved.

Our excavations had now reached the original surface of the ridge on which the mound was erected, and we were about to discontinue further researches, when the dark color of the earth at one point attracted attention and an examination soon showed that a cist, or grave, had first been excavated in the soil, before the mound itself was commenced. This grave was under the eastern part of the elevation, about four feet from the center. It consisted of a simple excavation, in an east and west direction, about six feet long, three wide, and nearly two deep. In this grave were found parts of at least eight skeletons, which had evidently been thrown in carelessly,—most of them soon after death, but one or two not until the bones had become detached and weathered. Some of the bones were very well preserved, and indicated individuals of various ages. Two infants, about a year and eighteen months old respectively, were each represented by a single os illium, and bones of several other small children were found. One skull, apparently that of a boy about twelve years of age, was recovered in fragments, and this was the best preserved of any obtained in the mound. The skeleton of an aged woman of small stature was found resting on its side. It was bent together, and lay across the grave with its head towards the north. Some of the loose, human bones, exhumed from the bottom of the grave were evidently imperfect when thrown in. Among these was part of a large femur, which had been gnawed by some carnivorous animal. The marks of the teeth were sharply defined, and corresponded to those made by a dog or a wolf.

Quite a number of implements of various kinds were found with the human remains in this grave. Near its eastern end, where the detached bones had been buried, were nine lance and arrow heads, nearly all of the same form, and somewhat rudely made of flint and chert. The material was probably obtained from "Flint ridge," a siliceous deposit of Carboniferous age, which crops out a few miles distant. These weapons are of peculiar interest, as it appears they are the first that have been discovered in a sepulchral mound, although many such have been carefully examined. They show that the custom—so common among the Indians of this country—of burying with the dead their implements of war or the chase, obtained occasionally, at least, among the mound-builders. Not far from these weapons six small hand-axes were found, one of which was made of hematite, and the rest of compact greenstone, or diorite, the material often used by the Indians for similar articles. Two of these corresponded closely in form with the stone hand-axe figured by Squier and Davis as the only one then known from the mounds. With these axes were found a small hatchet of hematite, a flint chisel, and a peculiar flint instrument, apparently used for scraping wood.

In the central part of the grave, near the aged female skeleton already alluded to, were a large number of bone implements, all exceedingly well

* Among the ancient Mexicians and Peruvians, when a ruler or other person of high rank died, his wives and domestics were often put to death at the tomb, and in some instances the remains were burned.

† A large quantity of the same substance was found in another mound near Newark. May not the "iron rust" discovered in the mound at Marietta, and regarded by some as a proof that the mound-builders were acquainted with that metal, have been merely this substance? Implements of hematite were, indeed, found in the same mound.—*Transactions American Antiquarian Society*, i. 168.

preserved. Among these were five needles, or bodkins, from three to six inches in length, neatly made from the metatarsal bones of the common deer; and also a spatula, cut from an ulna, and probably used for moulding pottery. With these were found about a dozen peculiar implements formed from the antlers of the deer and elk. They are cylindrical in form, from three to eight inches in length, and an inch to an inch and a half in diameter. Most of these had both ends somewhat rounded, and perfectly smooth, as if they had either been long in use or carefully polished. It is possible these implements were used for smoothing down the seams of skins or leather: they would, at least, be well adapted to such a purpose. A "whistle," made from a tooth of a young black bear, and several spoons, cut out of the shells of river mussels, were also obtained, near the same spot.

A vessel of coarse pottery was found near the western end of the grave, but, unfortunately, was broken in removing it. It was about five inches in its greatest diameter, six in height, and one-third of an inch in thickness. It was without ornament and rudely made of clay containing some sand and powdered quartz. It was filled with soft, black earth, the color being probably due to some animal or vegetable substance, which it contained when deposited in the grave. Fragments of a vase of similar material, but having the top ornamented, were found in another part of the mound. Neither of these vessels were superior, in any respect, to the pottery manufactured by the Indians.

Near the bottom of the mound, and especially in the grave, were various animal bones, most of them in an excellent state of preservation. Many of these belonged to the common deer, and nearly all the hollow bones had been skilfully split open lengthwise,—probably for the purpose of extracting the marrow,—a common custom among rude nations. Some of these remains of the deer indicated individuals of a size seldom attained by the species at the present time. Beside one of the skeletons in the grave, and evidently deposited with it, were several bones of the gray rabbit. This renders it not unlikely that the mound-builders used this animal for food, —a point of some interest, as the inhabitants of Europe in the stone age are supposed to have been prevented from eating the hare, by the same superstition that prevailed among the ancient Britons, and is still observed among the Laplanders.

Some of the animal remains in the mound, although well preserved, were in too small fragments to admit of accurate determination. Characteristic specimens, however, were obtained of those in the following list:

Cervus Canadensis, Erlx., (elk).
Cervus Virginianus, Bodd., (common deer).
Ursus Americanus, Pallas, (black bear).
Canis Latrans? Say, (prairie wolf).
Lepus sylvaticus, Bach., (gray rabbit).
Arctomys monax, Gm, (woodchuck).
Unio alatus, Say, (river mussel).

It will be observed that these are all existing species, and, with one or two exceptions, are still living in Ohio—a fact of some importance in its relation to the antiquity of the mounds. The discovery of these remains under such circumstances shows, moreover, that the mound-builders depended, to some extent, at least, on the chase for subsistence. If, however, they were a stationary and agricultural people, as is generally supposed, we should expect to find in the mounds, the remains of domestic, rather than of wild, animals, but none of these have yet been discovered. This may be owing to the fact that comparatively little attention his hitherto been paid to the animal remains, and other objects of natural history found in the mounds, although a careful study of these would undoubtedly throw much light upon the mode of life of the mound-builders.*

The excellent state of preservation of the various skeletons in this mound is remarkable, and has probably never been equalled in the hundreds that have hitherto been examined. The remains of undoubted mound-builders have almost invariably been found so much decayed that it was impossible to recover a single bone entire.† The preservation in this case was doubtless due in part to the excessive compactness of the earth above the remains, but mainly to the fact that the mound stood on an elevation, where moisture could not accumulate. The skeletons in the lower part of the mound were not so well preserved as those higher up, probably because the original soil of the ridge naturally retained more moisture than the earth above it. There may have been, moreover, a considerable interval between the irregular burials and those that followed, and thussome of the skeletons commenced to decay before the mound was completed. The interval, however, could not have been of very long duration, as no perceptible deposit of vegetable matter was formed over the small mound then existing. The same may be said of the intervals between the regular interments, and

* The animal remains found near the Swiss lake habitations, show conclusively that the earliest inhabitants of those settlements were hunters, who subsisted chiefly on wild animals: at a later period, however, during the change to a pastoral state, domestic animals were gradually substituted as an article of food.—*Ruitmeyer Fauna der Pfahlbauten der Schweitz.* Basel. 1861.

† Squier and Davis regard this fact as evidence of the great antiquity of the mounds, as in England, where the moist climate is much less favorable for preserving such remains, perfect skeletons of the ancient Britons have been found, although known to have been buried at least 1800 years.—*Smithsonian Contributions*, i. 168.

also of the subsequent period preceding the final completion of the mound. It should, perhaps, be remarked before proceeding further, that this mound had evidently never been disturbed by the Indians, and that all the human remains and other objects found in it were undoubtedly deposited there by its builders. This will readily be admitted by every one familiar with the subject, as the last interment was at least seven feet below the surface, directly under the apex of the mound, and the white layers—infallible indications of regular burials of the mound-builders—all extended over the grave, and remained undisturbed.*

The skeletons found in this mound were of medium size, somewhat smaller than the average of those of the Indians still living in this country. The bones were certainly not stouter than those of Indians of the same size, although this has been regarded as a characteristic of the remains of the mound-builders. All the skulls in the mound were broken—in one instance apparently before burial—and most of them so much decayed that no attempt was made to preserve them. Two, however, were recovered with the more important parts but little injured. Both were of small size, and showed the vertical occiput, prominent vertex, and large interparietal diameter, so characteristic of crania belonging to the American race. In other respects there was nothing of special interest in their conformation. With a single exception, all the human teeth observed were perfectly sound. The teeth of all the adult skeletons were much worn, those of aged individuals usually to a remarkable degree. The manner in which these were worn away is peculiarly interesting, as it indicates that the mound-builders, like the ancient Egyptians and the Danes of the stone age, did not, in eating, use the incisive teeth for cutting, as modern nations do. This is evident from the fact that the worn incisors are all truncated in the same plane with the coronal surfaces of the molars, showing that the upper front teeth impinge directly on the summits of those below, instead of lapping over them. This peculiarity may be seen in the teeth of Egyptian mummies, as was first pointed out by Cuvier.

All the bones in this mound, animal as well as human, were very light, and many of them exceedingly brittle. They adhere strongly to the tongue, but application of hydrochloric acid shows that they still retain a considerable portion of the cartilage. Some of the more fragile bones, which showed a tendency to crumble on exposure to the air, were readily preserved by immersing them in spermaceti melted in boiling water, a new method, used by Professor Lartet and other French paleontologists, and admirably adapted to such purpose.

There are several points connected with this mound which deserve especial notice, as they appear to throw some additional light upon the customs of the mound-builders, particularly their modes of burial and funeral ceremonies. One of the most remarkable features in this mound was the large number of skeletons it contained. With one or two exceptions, none of the burial-mounds hitherto examined have contained more than a single skeleton which unquestionably belonged to the mound-builders, while in this instance parts of at least seventeen were exhumed. The number of small children represented among these remains is also worthy of notice, as it indicates for this particular case a rate of infant mortality (about thirty-three per cent) which is much higher than some have supposed ever existed among rude nations. Another point of special interest in this mound is the evidence it affords that the regular method of burial among the mound-builders was sometimes omitted, and the remains interred in a hurried and careless manner. This was the case with eleven skeletons exhumed in the course of our explorations, a remarkable fact, which appears to be without a precedent in the experience of previous investigators. It should be mentioned in this connection that nearly all of these remains were those of women and children. Their hurried and careless burial might seem to indicate a want of respect on the part of their surviving friends, were there not ample evidence to prove that reverence for the dead was a prominent characteristic of the mound-builders. It is not unlikely that in this instance some unusual cause, such as pestilence or war, may have made a hasty interment necessary. The various implements and remains of animals found with these skeletons also deserve notice, as they far exceed in number and variety any hitherto discovered in a single mound. They prove, moreover, that, if in this instance the rites of regular burial were denied the departed, their supposed future wants were amply provided for. The contents of one part of the cist (which is itself a very unusual accompaniment of a mound) appears to indicate that the remains of those who died at a distance from home were collected for burial, sometimes long after death, The interesting discovery of weapons, which were found with these detached bones, would seem to imply that in this case the remains and weapons of a hunter or warrior of distinction, recovered after long exposure, had been buried together.*

* It is well known that the modern Indians occasionally buried their dead in the mounds, but invariably near the surface; the postition of such remains, and especially the manner of their interment, clearly distinguished them from the original deposits of the mound-builders.

* A similar custom still prevails among some tribes of western Indians.

The last three interments in this mound were performed with great care, as already stated, and in strict accordance with the usual custom of the mound-builders. The only point of particular interest in regard to them is the connection which appears to exist between some of the skeletons and the charred human bones found above them. Similar deposits of partially burned bones, supposed to be human, have in one or two instances been observed on the altars of sacrificial mounds, and occasionally in mounds devoted to sepulture, but their connection with the human remains buried in the latter, if indeed any existed, appears to have been overlooked. Our explorations, which were very carefully and systematically conducted, clearly demonstrated that in these instances the incremation had taken place directly over the tomb, and evidently before the regular interment was completed: taking these facts in connection with what the researches of other investigators have made known concerning the superstitious rites of this mysterious people, it seems natural to conclude that in each of these cases a human victim was sacrificed as part of the funeral ceremonies, doubtless as a special tribute of respect to a person of distinction.

All the skeletons in this mound, except one, appeared to have been buried in a horizontal position with the face upwards. The exception was the skeleton of the aged female found in the grave, which lay on its side; but this may have been owing to the fact that the body had been bent together, perhaps in consequence of age. The skeletons which had received a regular interment all had their heads toward the east, but no such definite position has been noticed in the remains found in other mounds. As the grave had the same direction, this can hardly have been unintentional, although it may have been determined by the position of the ridge on which the mound stood. The layer of charcoal, not unfrequently found in sepulchral mounds, was wanting in this instance, as was also the evidence, usually afforded by the same substance, that the fire, which consumed the human remains, had been suddenly extinguished by a covering of earth. Possibly the former, as well as other objects of interest, were contained in the outer portion of the mound, which was not examined, although usually everything deposited by the mound-builders was placed near the center; and hence our explorations were chiefly confined to that part.

Such is a brief and incomplete description of one of the ancient mounds of the West, of which at least ten thousand are known to exist in the single State of Ohio, and countless numbers elsewhere in the valleys of the Mississippi and its tributaries. These structures are the only remaining memorials of a race whose history has been buried with them, and from these alone can we hope to learn who this people were and whence they came. The Indians of this couniry, although retaining no tradition of this more ancient population, regarded their works with great veneration; but the present possessors of the soil have, in general, little of this feeling, and hence hundreds of these monuments of the past are annually swept away by the plow, and their contents irretrievably lost. A few pioneers in American archæology have, indeed, rescued much that is valuable, but the work is hardly commenced; and a careful and systematic investigation of these various monuments would not only add greatly to our knowledge of this interesting people, but doubtless also help to solve the question of the antiquity of man on this continent, and, perhaps, that more important one of the unity of the human race.

New Haven, Conn., Feb. 1866.

XVI.—SONG OF McDONOUGH.

[The following Song was written by N. H. Wright* soon after McDonough's victory on Champlain. It is to good to be lost, and having the only copy I have seen in more than forty years, I trascribe it for you.
Vermont Record. T.]

The banner of freedom triumphantly waving,
Displayed in bright colors the stripe and the star,
While the light-curling billows the war ships were laving
And the foeman was seen on the water afar.

In his bosom the heart of each freeman beat high,
He thought of his country, his love and his honor;
And he swore by the blood of his fathers to die,
Or conquer and share in the fame of McDonough.

And now the dire conflict with fury was raging,
And many an Hero lay panting for breath;
Whilst the genius of war forbade pity assuaging
The pains which could only be ended by death.

Yet no pang pierced the hearts of those freemen so brave,
For they knew they had fallen in glory and honor;
And their last parting sigh as it fled o'er the wave,
Was a prayer for their country, their friends, and McDonough.

Mid the blaze of the battle their spirits ascended,
And hovered aloft till the thunders were o'er,
Then to regions of glory, by angels attended,
The tidings of victory triumphantly bore.

* A native of Cornwall, Vt., and author of a poetic volume the *Fall of Palmyra*, a work now exceedingly rare. It was published at Middlebury, in 1817.

The banner of England was lowered from its height—
That flag that was wont to have floated in honor;
While the stripes and the stars beam'd more brilliantly bright
As they gracefully wav'd o'er the head of McDonough.

For the brows of the brave let the fair hand of beauty
The laurel of victory and honor entwine;
And the heroes whose ardor kept pace with their duty,
Like the stars in a bright constellation shall shine.

Their country shall cherish their glory and fame,
Their deeds be enrolled on the records of honor:
And mem'ry shall cherish with fondness the name
Of each warrior who fought by the side of McDonough.

XVII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. Hist. Mag.]

Red River Territory—Its Resources and Capabilities.—The first attempt to found a colony in that part of Rupert's Land now occupied by the Red River Settlements, was made in the year 1812, under the patronage of Lord Selkirk. In giving a brief sketch of the early history of the settlement, we cannot do better than give a curtailed quotation from the *Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Red River Settlement*, by the late Alexander Ross, published in London, 1856, whose long and intimate connection with the country gave him ample opportunity for collecting reliable information. He says: "The "colonists consisted of several Scotch families, "who after they had reached the spot which was "to be their future home, they were met by a large "party of half-breeds and Indians, in the service "of the North West Company, and warned not to "attempt to establish a permanent settlement. "They were conducted by a number of those wild "and reckless children of the prairie to Fort "Pembina, a post of the Hudson Bay Company, "where they passed the winter in buffalo skin "tents, and soon adopted the habits of life be"longing to the savage and half savage natives "by whom they were surrounded.

"In May, 1812, the emigrants returned to the "neighborhood of Fort Douglas, about two miles "below the present site of Fort Garry, and here "commenced their agricultural labors. In the "fall of the year they again sought refuge at Fort "Pembina, and after a winter of much suffering, "revisited in the spring of 1814, the scene of the "previous year's attempt to plant themselves on "the banks of Red River, with a determination to "make it a permanent residence. His Lordship had "established a general store of goods, implements, "ammunition, clothing and food, at Fort Douglas, "from which the empoverished emigrants were "supplied on credit. In July, 1818, several French "Canadian families, under the guidance of two "Priests, arrived in the Colony. In 1820, the "foundation of a Roman Catholic Church was laid "near the present site of the Cathedral of St. Boni"face; and in the fall of that year, a minister of "the Church of England visited that country, en"couraged by the Church Missionary Society. In "1821, the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Compa"nies united, and from that time the condition "and prospects of the Red River Settlement be"came more encouraging and their progress slow "but sure. In 1823, the population of the Colony "was about six hundred; twenty years afterwards "it had increased to five thousand, one hundred, "and forty-three, and thus assumed an important, "though not a prominent, position among Chris"tian communities, in the midst of barbarous and "savage races."

It is now well known that, Northwest of Minnesota, the country reaching from the Selkirk Settlement to the Rocky Mountains, and from latitude forty-nine degrees to fifty-four degrees, is as favorable to grain and animal productions as any of the Northern States; that the mean temperature for spring, summer, and autumn observed in the forty-second and forty-third parallels, in New York, Michigan and Wisconsin, has been accurately traced through Fort Snelling and the valley of the Saskatchewan to latitude fifty-five degrees on the Pacific coast. Of the present community of the Settlement, numbering over ten thousand, about five thousand are competent to assume any civil or social responsibility which may be imposed upon them. The accumulations from the fur trade during fifty years, with few excitements or opportunities of expenditure, have secured general prosperity, with frequent instances of affluence; while the numerous churches and schools sustain a high standard of morality and intelligence. The present agriculture of the Settlement confirms the evidence from a varicty of sources, to which we shall afterwards refer, that the districts west and north-west of the Red River valley are well adapted to settlement. For the production of wheat, barley, rye, oats, peas, potatoes, vegetables, etc., the region in question will be unsurpassed by any other area of similar extent on the continent, and capable, it is estimated, of feeding forty millions of people. A writer elo-

quently remarks:—"Are these innumerable fields "of hay for ever destined to be consumed by fire "or perish in the autumnal snows? How long "shall these superb forests be the haunts of wild "beasts? And these inexhaustible quarries,— "these abundant mines of coal, gold, silver, "lead, sulphur, iron, copper, salt and saltpetre,— "can it be that they are doomed to remain "for ever inactive? Not so: the day will come "when some laboring hand will give them value; "a strong, active and enterprising people are de- "stined to fill this void. The wild beasts will, "ere long, give place to our domestic animals; "flocks and herds will graze in the beautiful "meadows that border the numberless mountains, "hills, valleys and plains, of this extensive re "gion."

There are three religious denominations here, which are divided as follows:

FAMILIES AND CHURCHES.

Roman Catholics,	554 families,	3	Churches,
Episcopalian,	383 "	4	"
Presbyterian,	60 "	2	"

exclusive of the settlement of Prairie Portage and the Indian Missionary village. Education is in a far more advanced state in the Colony than its isolation and brief career might claim for it under the peculiar circumstances in which the country has been so long placed. There are seventeen schools in the settlement, generally under the supervision of the ministers of the denomination to which they belong. One of the Episcopalian clergymen remarks, "On the ground of "education let none fear to make trial of the "country. The parochial school connected with "my own chapel is equal to most parochial schools "which I have known in England, in range of "subjects superior to most, though in method and "the apparatus of the school necessarily a little "inferior."

At present there is a great want of good tradesmen in the settlement, especially blacksmiths, carpenters and masons; also a good tanner, and one or two boot and shoemakers, and a tailor, would also do well to save the importation of this bulky and necessary article. There are among the principal merchants several who would no doubt be glad to assist in giving a start to such tradesmen coming to settle among us. Our next article will commence with our resources and their means of development, beginning with Agricultural Industry.—*Nor'-wester*.

REMARKABLE DISCOVERIES — RESEARCHES AMONG THE BONES OF DEAD CENTURIES.—It may not be generally known that the ground on which the City of Nashville now stands was once the site of an ancient and populous town, yet such is supposed to be the fact. Some of the most interesting antiquities of our State are found along the lower course of Stone River, but a few miles from Nashville. A wide area of country there is covered thickly with thousands of graves of a now forgotten people.

But a few days ago several gentlemen made some researches in this region and found their labors richly rewarded by some striking discoveries. At a place known as Schell's Spring they found a mound of considerable height and perhaps forty feet in diameter, which proved upon examination to be nothing less than a vast mausoleum of the dead. The graves were found to be made of flat rocks, symmetrically joined together, and three tiers deep from the base of the mound to its apex. Bones were found in a remarkable state of preservation, together with pottery and shells. Very large ornaments have been dug out in this locality, made from shells found only in the Gulf of Mexico.

A gentleman of acknowledged skill and authority in antiquarian matters who conducted the researches made a few days ago, estimated that the remains which they unearthed could not have less age than six or seven hundred years. What is remarkable, no warlike implements are found in this locality, from which it is inferred that they were a peaceable race, and were probably exterminated or driven away by the Indians. In one of the graves was found a beautiful little vase, which had been placed in the hand of the inmate at the time of the burial. Upon this little bit of earthenware was the model of a diminutive animal. The care which these people took of their dead shows a high degree of humanity. We learn that other investigations in this section are to be made ere long. The field is certainly a rich one for the antiquarian.—*Nashville* (Tenn.) *Press and Times*.

CAPTAIN WADDELL AND HIS SLANDERER.—Our readers will remember that in an article published several weeks since we reviewed a work purporting to be a history of the cruise of the Confederate steamer *Shenandoah* written by one Cornelius E. Hunt, who claimed to have been an officer of the ship. In our previous notice of the book we asked a suspension of judgment by the public as to the charges against the Commander of the *Shenandoah* contained therein, until we could gather the facts necessary to a complete refutation of the slanders promulgated against one of the noblest sons of the South. We have not yet received, though expecting daily, the reply of Captain Waddell to the miserable libel upon his character as an officer and a gentleman; but Dr. McNulty, a fellow officer with Captain Waddell,

on the *Shenandoah*, writes us from Paris the following communication with regard to Hunt's book. It may be necessary, to a full understanding of its purport, to say that it is thought that from the Doctor's manuscript alluded to below, Hunt obtained the data for that portion of his narrative referring to the ship's cruise, captures, &c.:

PARIS, May 4, 1867.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PETERSBURG INDEX:

SIR.—Having seen several extracts from a book recently published in the United States, of which Cornelius E. Hunt—lately an Acting Master's mate on board the Confederate States ship *Shenandoah*—claims to be the author, I consider that, in justice to myself (having written a history of the cruise of the *Shenandoah*, the manuscript of which I have either lost or had purloined from me,) I am bound to disclaim any connection with the book entitled *The Cruise of the Shenandoah, or the Last Confederate Cruiser*. I am forced thus to obtrude my name upon the public, in consequence of it having been surmised by several of Captain Waddell's professed friends that I was the real author of Mr. Hunt's book.

From the extracts before me, I do not hesitate to assert that none of the language contained therein was written by me; and if Mr. Hunt obtained possession of my manuscript, he did so without my knowledge or consent, and has had the language altered to gratify his malice in publishing the grossest falsehoods in regard to his late commander.

On page 223 of Mr. Hunt's book, it is stated that when we received intelligence of the defeat of our cause from the Captain of the English barque *Barracouta*, Captain Waddell, in an address to the crew, promised "to run the *Shenandoah* into Sidney, and then without their cognizance steered for another and more distant port." Captain Waddell never made any such promise to the crew. Of this I am positive, as I was an attentive listener to every word that Captain Waddell uttered on that occasion.

It is stated in Mr. Hunt's book that the reasons why Captain Waddell deceived his crew, in promising to run for Sidney, and soon after altering the course of the ship, was for the purpose "of securing a considerable sum of money which he (Captain Waddell) knew to be lodged in the hands of one of our secret agents at Liverpool." How was the Captain to know of such a deposit, when he had no means of receiving any communication from Liverpool for thirteen months? The absurdity of such a statement will readily be perceived.

On page 229, it is stated that a petition was signed by all the officers, with the exception of five, of which five Mr. Hunt claims to have been one. Mr. Hunt is well aware that such is not the fact. Not being a commissioned officer, he was not called upon at any time for his opinion.

In regard to the allusion, on page 232, to extracts from a private letter which was published in some of the American newspapers, in which Captain Waddell is represented as denouncing all his officers, without discrimination, I, as one of the five who supported the Captain in his determination to proceed to Liverpool, and who naturally felt aggrieved at such wholesale denunciation, was perfectly satisfied after hearing his explanation. The letter was addressed to a friend in the United States; and he, without the knowledge, and much to the surprise, of the Captain, submitted it to the Editor of a newspaper, who by typographical distortion so rendered the language of it as to seriously reflect upon the character of all the officers of the ship. The letter, if published as sent by Captain Waddell, could not have given offence to any of the officers.

Mr. Hunt charges Captain Waddell, on page 261, with dishonesty, in having appropriated to himself funds set apart for the payment of the officers and crew. Mr. Hunt received, over and above what was due him upon the ship's books, fifty pounds sterling, as did each of the other steerage officers. I have heard him acknowledge this fact, both in Liverpool and London.

There are many other misrepresentions in Mr. Hunt's book, which, after the statement above, it is needless to notice.

Respectfully, &c.,
FRED. J. MCNULTY, M.D.
Late Act'g Ass't Surgeon,
C. S. S. Shenandoah.

[*Petersburg* (Va.) *Index.*]

HISTORICAL REFERENCES TO OLD CANADA.—In looking over an old map entitled the English Empire in North America, published in 1755, Canada, then belonging to the French, was bounded on the West by the River Outaouais (Ottawa), on the East by the River Bustard (Outard), near the present Manicouagon Point, about forty miles westward of Point des Monts, on the North by the Hudson Bay Company's territory, and on the South by the river St. Lawrence. The country west, till lately Upper Canada, now by the Act of Confederation, Ontario, was then called Northern Iroquois, and inhabited by Indians bearing that name, and extended to the present Sarnia. From thence westward to the river Mississippi, the country now comprising Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, &c., was chiefly inhabited by the Outagamis, Mascoutens, and the Sioux or Nadonessian Indians. Here and there scattered over these large tracts of country, from the Ottawa to the Mississippi, were a few French Forts and settlements.

Now look at the present map of the Dominion of Canada, from the Strait of Canso, N. S., to the Straits of St. Clair, having its Parliament buildings at Ottawa (worthy in point of architecture for any country) a place not then in existence.

Go a step further back, to 1659, when the Royal Government in Canada was first established, and Mgr. de Laval arrived as Vicar-Apostolic of the See of Rome, and afterwards, in 1674, was named first Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec. Again to 1672, when De Courville obtained permission from the Iroquois to erect a trading fort at Cataraqui (Kingston). Let our imaginations picture the state and condition of Canada then, continually at war with the Iroquois Indians, and conjure up its march of civilization under the French rule, till 1760, when Canada was solemnly transferred to the British Crown. In one hundred years we have, by means of the Victoria Bridge, made an uninterrupted line of railway, from Sarnia to the Atlantic, and along its length there have arisen flourishing towns and cities, where there was then nothing but the primeval forest. We have history since 1760, showing forth our valor and unity in the defence of our country. Instance our war medal bearing on its clasps, "Detroit," "Fort Erie," "Chateauguay," &c., &c. The population of Upper and Lower Canada, has increased from about one hundred thousand (less than the present inhabitants of Montreal) to more than three millions or an increase of thirty-fold. Our commerce has increased in a great proportion, the revenue amounting to twelve millions of dollars. It palls the imagination to conjure what we shall be in another fifty or a hundred years under a prosperous, peaceful and united Confederation.—*Montreal News.*

"Thirty Years Ago" in Canada. — Mr. Hector Fabre states that thirty years ago, when Parliament sat during the summer, the gulf members came up to Quebec in schooners, and lodged in them all through the session. He also says that at about the same period a *traineau*, loaded with trunks and parcels, arrived at the Parliament House, one fine day, just previous to the opening of the session, and from it descended a stout countryman and his wife, who carefuily examined the twenty-four windows of the building, and finally decided to rap at the door, which was immediately opened by one of the messengers. The countryman thereupon presented his compliments, stated that he was the member elect for the County of Berthier; that he had come with his wife to take his seat; and that he had brought his winter's provisions with him. He was consequently fully provided, but only wanted a cooking stove, and hoped there was one in his room. The messenger immediately saw through the primitive simplicity of his visitor, and gradually "drew him" out. He ascertained that the member for Berthier expected to find a room already prepared for him in the Parliament House, in which he and his wife could live throughout the winter, and subsist on the provisions he had brought from his native village. The messenger grinned, you may be certain, and was finally forced to avow that there were no bedrooms in the Parliament House for members. "The member for Berthier" thereupon gave his horse a smart lash with the whip and indignantly and forever turned his back upon the legislative halls of the Province.

The Campaign of 1760 in Canada.—Under the auspices of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, the *Gazette* of that city published recently, the first part of an interesting sketch of this campaign. The following introduction to the paper, from the pen of Mr. Lemoine, fully explains its character, and will be perused with pleasure by historical readers:—

"The original of this manuscript is deposited "in the French war archives, in Paris: a copy "was, with the leave of the French Government, "taken by P. L. Morin, Esq., Draughtsman to "the Crown Lands Department of Canada, about "1855, and deposited in the Legislative Assembly "of Canada. The Literary and Historical Society "of Quebec, through the kindness of Mr. Todd, "the Librarian, was permitted to have communi- "cation thereof. This document is supposed to "have been written some years after the return to "France from Canada of the writer, the Chevalier "Johnstone, a Scotch Jacobite, who had fled to "France after the defeat at Culloden, and had "obtained from the French monarch, with several "other Scotchmen, commissions in the French ar- "mies. In 1748, says *Francisque Michel*, he "sailed from Rochefort as an Ensign with troops "going to Cape Breton: he continued to serve in "America until he returned to France, in Decem- "ber, 1760, heving acted during the campaign of "1759, in Canada, as aide-de-camp to Chevalier "De Levis. On De Levis being ordered to Mon- "treal, Johnstone was detached and retained by "General Montcalm on his staff, on account of "his thorough knowledge of the environs of "Quebec, and particularly of Beauport, where "the principal works of defence stood, and "where the whole army, some eleven thousand "men, were entrenched, leaving in Quebec, "merely a garrison of one thousand, five hundred. "The journal is written in English, and is not "remarkable for othography or purity of diction: "either Johnstone had forgotten, or had never "thoroughly known, the language. The style is "prolix, sententious, abounding in quotations "from writers;—one would be inclined to think "at times, that it had originally been written in

"French, and then literally translated into Eng-
"lish.

"This document had first attracted the atten-
"tion of one of the late historians of Canada,
"the Abbe Ferland, who attached much import-
"ance to it, as calculated to supply matters of
"details and incidents unrecorded elsewhere.
"Mr. Margry in charge of the French records,
"had permitted the venerable writer, then on a
"visit to Paris, to make extracts from it; some of
"which extracts the Abbe published at the time of
"the laying of the St. Foy Monument, in 1862.
"The Chevalier Johnstone differs, *in toto*, from the
"opinions expressed by several French officers
"of regulars, respecting the conduct of the Ca-
"nadian Militia, in 1759, ascribing to their valour
"on the thirteenth of September, the salvation
"of a large portion of the French army."

XVIII.—NOTES.

Tom Paine.—A recent publication in England says that this notorious person was an officer of excise at Lewes, in Sussex, where he resided with a tobacconist named Ollive; that, after the decease of the latter, he succeeded him in business and soon after was married to his only daughter; that, in 1774, Paine was dismissed from office and, soon after, his goods were sold to pay his debts, his wife was separated from him, and he left for America.

We learn also that the deed of separation from his wife was signed "Pain"—without the final e, as we are accustomed to see it;—that his wife subsequently lived with her brother, Thomas Ollive, silversmith, Cranbrook, in the Weald of Kent, where she died in 1808, and was buried by his side, opposite the western door of the parish church, a stone marking the spot at the present day.

Hackensack, N. J. Day.

Cookhouse.—Few would suspect this to be an Indian name. It is a locality laid down in De Witt's *Map af the State of New York*, 1802, and is opposite Deposit, on the Erie Railroad, and in the town of Tompkins, Delaware County. Peter Helm, who "spoke the Indian language from "being a boy," stated in an affidavit, on the fifteenth of September, 1785, in the controversy respecting the Great Hardenburgh Patent, "that "the West branch of the Delaware river was "called *Cookhurse Hacka Sepus*, that *Cookhurse* "is in English, an owl; *Hacka*, land; and *Sepus* a "river; and means in English, 'Owl Land River.'" —*Land Papers, Sec's Office, Albany*, xl. 128.

Albany, N. Y. O'C.

Cookquago.—This is the Iroquois name for the west branch of the Delaware river, and has the same meaning as the above, being derived from the Onondaga word, *Kekoa*, an Owl, which in Mohawk is *Ohosa*.

Albany, N. Y. O'C.

The Gulf of Maine.—The deep bay comprised within Cape Sable and Cape Cod was first designated the "Gulf or Bay of Maine" by the projectors of the European and North American Railway Company, in 1850. The name has since been recognised by the Coast Survey, and is so given on a recent chart from that office.

Belfast, Maine. J. W.

An Ancient Button.—The Brunswick (Maine) *Telegraph* says that a metal button was recently ploughed up in that town bearing the inscription, "*Massachusetts Artillery*," in a circle round the rim. There is a very excellent representation of a gun with its rammer and sponger attached; and to the rear of the piece, stands the British flag. Upon the reverse of the button, is the inscription —"Gilt, London." It may have belonged to one of the soldiers of Major Church, who in 1690, at the head of three hundred men made an expedition from Massachusetts against the Eastern Indians, and destroyed a fort on the spot where Brunswick is situated.

Belfast, Maine. J. W.

Interesting Autograph Letters of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.

Elliot Danforth, of Middleburgh, New York, recently found in his antiquarian researches, the following autograph letters of Jefferson and Adams, among the papers and documents of Isaac Hall Tiffany, Esq., deceased, who was a student of Aaron Burr, and a man of considerable learning. The letters were addressed to Mr. Tiffany while residing at what was then called Schoharie Bridge.

"Monticello, April 4, 1819.

"Sir:—After thanking you for your compre-
"hensive tabular chart of the governments of the
"United States, I must give you the answer
"which I am obliged to give to all who pro-
"pose to me to replunge myself iuto political
"speculations, '*Senex sum, et levissimis curis*
"'*impar.*' I abandon politics, and accomodate
"myself cheerfully to things as they go, confident
"in the wisdom of those who direct them, and
"that they will be better and better directed in
"the progressive course of knowledge and experi-
"ence. Our successors start on our shoulders.
"They know all that we know, and will add to

"that stock the discoveries of the next fifty years; "and what will be their amount we may estimate "from what the last fifty years have added to the "science of human concerns. The thoughts of "others, as I find them on paper, are my amuse- "ment and delight; but the labors of the mind "in abstruse investigations are irksome and writ- "ing itself is become a slow and painful opera- "tion, occasioned by a stiffened wrist, the con- "sequence of a former dislocation. I will how- "ever, essay the two definitions which you say are "more particularly interesting at present: I mean "those of the terms Liberty and Republic, aware, "however, that they have been so multifariously "applied as to convey no precise idea to the mind.

"Of Liberty, then, I would say, that in the whole "plenitude of its extent, it is unobstructed action "according to our will; but rightful liberty is "unobstructed action according to our will with- "in the limits drawn around us by the equal "rights of others. I do not add 'within the "'limits of the law,' because law is often but "the tyrant's will, and always so when it violates "the rights of an individual.

"I will add, secondly, that a pure Republic is "a state of society in which every member of "mature and sound mind, has an equal right of "participation, personally, in the direction of the "affairs of the Society. Such a regimen is ob- "viously impracticable beyond the limits of an "encampment, or of a very small village. When "numbers, distance, or force, oblige them to act "by deputy, then their government continues "republican in proportion only as the functions "they still exercise in person are more or fewer, "and as in those exercised by deputy the right of "appointing their deputy is *pro hac vice* only, or "for more or fewer purposes, or for shorter or "longer terms.

"If by the word *Government* you mean a class- "ification of its forms, I must refer you for the "soundest which has ever been given, to Tra- "cey's *Review of Montesquieu*, the ablest political "work which the last century of years has given "us. It was translated from the original MS., "and published by Duane, a few years ago, and "is since published in the original French at "Paris. With my thanks for your chart accept "the assurance of my great respect.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

"QUINCY, April 30th, 1819.

"DEAR SIR:—Of Republics the varieties are "infinite, or at least as numerous as the tunes and "changes that can be rung upon a complete set of "bells. Of all the varieties, a Democracy is the "most national, the most ancient, and the most "fundamental and essential of all others. In "some writing or other of mine I happened, '*con-* "'*ventecalome*,' to drop the phrase. 'The word "'Republic, as it is used, may signify anything, "'everything, or nothing.' For this escape I "have been pelted for the last twenty or thirty "years with as many stones as ever were thrown "at St. Stephen when St. Paul held the clothes "of the stoners; but the aphorism is literal, strict, "solemn truth, to speak technically, or scien- "tifically, if you will.

"There are Monarchical, Aristocratical, and "Democratical Republics. The Government of "Great Britain and that of Poland are as strictly "Republics as that of Rhode Island, or Connecti- "cut, under their old Charters. If mankind have "a right to the voice of experience, they ought "to furnish that experience with pen, ink, and "paper to write it, and an amanuensis to copy it.

"I should have been extremely obliged to you "if you had favored me with Mr. Jefferson's "sentiments upon the subject. As I see you have "an inquiring mind, I sincerely wish you much "pleasure, profit, and success in your investiga- "tions. I have had some pleasure in them; but "no profit, and very little, if any, success.

"In some of your letters you say that my *De-* "*fence* has become rare. This is strange. Mr. "Dilly published an edition of it in London; an "edition of it was published in Boston; another "in New York: another in Philadelphia, before "the adoption of the present Constitution of the "National Government, and before one line of "the *Federalist* was printed. Since that, Mr. Cob- "bet, alias Porcupine, printed a large edition of "the whole work in Philadelphia, and Mr. Stack- "dale of Piccadilly, has published another large "edition in London. It has been translated into "the French and German languages; and what "has become of all these copies?

"I am, Sir, with much esteem, your humble "servant,

"JOHN ADAMS."

XIX.—QUERIES.

THE AZTECS.—Can any of the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE inform me, through its columns, where I may learn something of this ancient people? Also where I may learn something of the two Aztec children who were in New York, a few years since. DICK.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

COLUMBUS AND THE EGG.—What authority is there for the old story of Columbus making the egg stand on one of its ends?

Where did Columbus die?

BROOKLYN, N. Y. WAAL BOGT.

JUNIUS.—In a letter from London, dated May 12, 1862, Mr. Thurlow Weed promised that "before the present year expires, all doubt or question as to the authorship of the JUNIUS letters "will be removed." Allow me to enquire, in view of the promised disclosure of a long kept secret, who was JUNIUS? S. A. S.

ITHACA, N. Y.

XX.—REPLIES.

METHODIST HYMN BOOK.—(*H. M.* I. i. 42) "A CLASSLEADER" is respectfully informed that Coke and Asbury's hymn-book was entitled *A Pocket Companion; designed as a companion to the Pious;* but when it was *first* printed is unknown to me. The *twenty-first* edition was issued in 1797. DICK.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

FIRST-BORN IN NEW NETHERLAND.—(*H. M.* I. i. 42). The first-born white male in this region was JAN VINGE (*Collections of Long Island Historical Society*, i. 114); the first-born white female was Sarah,' daughter of George Rapelje and wife of Hans Hansen, a Norwegian carpenter, (*Dutch Manuscripts*—Secretary of State's Office—vi. 353.)

BROOKLYN, N. Y. WAAL BOGT.

WILLIAM HUTCHINSON, (*H. M.* I. i. 42). Doctor Shurtleff was evidently in error in the instances referred to by T. Mr. Hutchinson was not "banished" from Massachusetts, if I read history correctly, but removed to Rhode Island *volutarily*, and was there an *Assistant*, not the Governor of that Colony. FRANCISCO.

NEWPORT, R.I.

XXI.—BOOKS.

1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Speeches, Correspondence, etc., of the late Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York.* Including: Addresses on important public topics; Speeches in the State and United States Senate, and in support of the Government during the Rebellion; Correspondence, private and political, (collected and arranged by Mrs. Dickinson) Poems (collected and arranged by Mrs. Mygatt), etc. Edited with a Biography, by his brother, John R. Dickinson. In two volumes. New York: George P. Putnam & Son. 1867. Octavo, Pp. xi. 743; xvi. 719. Price $10.

Daniel S. Dickenson was a well-known politician of this State, although a native of Connecticut. The son of a plain, working farmer, he was carried by his parents, when he was only six years old, to Chenango County, in this State—then a new country—and there he worked on the farm, and picked up a scanty fund of information, which was added to, as he had opportunity, by subsequent reading.

He was not, by any means, even a well-read scholar on any branch of knowledge, at any period of his life; and but for his remarkable memory, which enabled him to command at will everything which he had garnered in his not over-burdened mind, his brother would have been spared the effort which, beyond the limits of propriety, on page 2 of the first volume, he has made to invest him with thoroughness of scholarship.

He learned the trade of a cloth-dresser, taught school, became a practical country land-surveyor, and studied law. He was a country politician from early life; and, as a reward for his fidelity, he became a country Postmaster. As a showy, but superficial, country lawyer, he gradually acquired a standing in the little country village, and among the country politicians, which, in the city he could never have secured; and his advent at Binghamton, thirty-six years ago, when Binghampton was not what it now is, was only an extension of the area of his arena and an increase of the *number* rather than an improvement of the *quality* of his auditors.

He was a lawyer, but not such an one as Ben Johnson or Charles Spencer, of Ithaca, Charles P. Kirkland, of Utica, or John A. Collier of Binghampton was; and he was indebted for his success more to the readiness of his resources, the glitter of his quotations from the Bible or the poets, and his perfect self-control, than to the *quality* of his argument, the authorities *in law* which he cited, or the dignified consciousness of his manner, which indicated his own respect for the Truth.

He was sent to the Senate, where he was known as a most faithful and unyielding partizan; and his aspirations for still higher rank were gratified in 1840, by a nomination for Lieutenant-governor, and chilled by a disastrous defeat. He was more successful in 1842; and in 1844, he was sent to the Federal Senate, by Governor Bouck.

He was one of the most ultra of the "Hunkers," during the great contest for freedom in the territories; and in every stage of the conflict of parties, he was found among the most violent of those who, concurring with the Southern sentiment, hoped by the assistance of that potential political power, to rise still further into office. Nothing was too extreme to receive his earnest support—if the South approved it;—and, although he appeared to reject the Presidency in 1852, when General Pierce received it, it is not quite certain that the Editor of this work with the greatest propriety has said all about it that he could have said,

He subsequently engaged in his profession with great diligence; and his practice was extensive and profitable.

When the South attempted to dissolve the Federal Union, Mr. Dickinson abandoned his loudly-proclaimed principles, his well-known and well-understood candidate for the Presidency, and those who had most earnestly maintained the doctrines of his creed and on whom he had never failed to depend for support; and he threw himself bodily into the hands of those whom, before, he had most earnestly resisted. As a reward for this change of base, he was made Attorney-general of the State; and, subsequently District Attorney of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

The volumes before us are filled, as will be seen by the title, with *every thing*, regardless of quality, which does not bear testimony against Mr. Dickinson—even unimportant remarks on the presentation of a watch to a railway superintendent, and those which were introductory of Edward Everett to a Binghampton auditory, are thrust among his "Speeches;" and letters to his wife and children, and family connections, possessing no earthly interest outside the family circle into which they were cast, serve to swell the covers of the work.

There has been no good judgment whatever exercised in preparing these volumes for the press; and what was never great has been made to appear still more insignificant by the parade in print of hundreds of pages of matter which, as it would have brought no credit to any intelligent adult in the country, ought to have remained, undisturbed, in the hands of those who had received them.

The volumes are neatly printed; and the first volume is illustrated with a shabby *photograph* of the deceased Senator.

2.—*Annual Report of the Metropolitan Board of Health.* 1866. Albany: Van Benthuysen & Sons, 1867. Octavo. pp. 800.

In this extended Report, the new Board of Health lays before the public it proceedings during the year 1866, as far as the public is supposed to have anything to do with them; and in an Appendix, it publishes a mass of statistics which are important principally to students of medicine.

We suppose all these are useful, although, to us, they possess no other interest than that which attaches to them as portions of the material relating to the History of the City of New York. As such they are very important to every collector of works concerning the City.

3.—*Memorial on Personal Representation*, addressed to the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York, by the Personal Representation Society. New York: A. Simpson & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 9.

"The right of Minorities" are often heard of, in theory, but never recognized in practise; and we have many doubts if any minority of the body politic has any *right* to a voice in the expression of "the major will."

If the individual, when he becomes a member of a body politic, becomes subject for all the purposes of that body, to the expressed will of the majority of its membership, he possesses no such Right of special Representation in the councils of the Body, as this pamphlet seems to assume; and as we are decidedly of the opinion that no portion of the actually delegated authority with which the State is clothed by such of its members, can at the same time be reserved to the Constituent, for his *individual* employment, we are unable to find the remotest reason for the claim which is here set up of a *Right* in the minority to "*Personal* Representation."

4.—*Reform in Railroad Management, by securing Equal Rights and Cheap Transportation.* Statement of the views and objects of the National Anti-Monopoly, Cheap, Freight Railway League: New York, 1867. Octavo. pp. 24.

The object of this League—of which our valued friend, Henry O'Rielly, Esq., is the General Secretary—is for the purpose of diminishing the cost of travel and transportation by Railroad, and it proposes to do this by the construction of a grand Trunk road which "shall be open to "free Competition for all persons, Companies, "or other corporations who may desire to put "passenger, mail, or freight trains thereon, or "to engage in transporting on or over said rail-"way and branches;" the speed to be "mode-"rate and uniform;" and the Company owning the road-way to be paid for their use of its rails by those who shall travel or carry freight over them.

We see no objection to such a system; and if it can afford cheaper provisions than we now enjoy, it is to be hoped that the effort will be successful.

5.—*The Curate's Discipline.* A Novel. By Mrs. Elioart NewYork: Harper & Bros. 1867. Octavo, pp. 159. Price 50c.

This is No. 298 of the widely-circulated *Library of Select Novels*, which the Harpers have gathered from the various fields of fiction, and the neatness of style in which it is dressed, and its cheapness, will undoubtedly command for it an extended circulation.

6.—*Unification of North America.* A Law, a Business, a Duty. A plan of Continental Construction, presented through George Batchelor, Citizen of Unitiz.d America. N. Y., January 1, 1867. Small octavo, pp. 16.

The author of this tract is a Professor of French, in "the Free Evening High School," in New York, and an associate with Mr. Andrews in the authorship of some text-books of the French

language. He is, also, if we may credit this tract, a volunteer "re-constructor" of nations which need no re-construction and have asked for none of his advice, much less of his assistance, in such a work.

It is a Frenchman's plea for a consolidation of all the territories within *North* America, into one confederacy; and although it is urged with a great variety of words—some of which are not often seen outside of a dictionary—and with as ornate a display of ideas, many of which would have been ridiculed a twelvemonth since, we are not prepared to deny that Mr. Batchelor is a more accurate observer, a more influental adviser of the Government of the United States, than some others whom we know.

Thus, last January, he advised *the purchase of Russian America*, and it has been done: he advised *the acceptance of British Columbia as a compensation for depredations on our commerce*, and it is said to have been proposed by Mr. Seward: he "guessed" that Denmark would "*gladly exchange Danish America for dollars and cents;* and who does not know how truly he thus "guessed"—may not we also reasonably "guess" that when, in the beginning he said "All ends in Unity," he knew what he was talking about? and when he told us "these firma-"ments [are] secured by starry nails"—to the floor-timbers of heaven, we suppose—he was equally well informed?

We do not think any less of the Author because of his thirst for "Unity," notwithstanding the evils which have ever attended consolidation of authority: we only regret that we have no more able statesman at the head of affairs at Washington, than those who are willing to follow the lead of a visionary foreigner, who knows nothing of our History nor of the temper of our countrymen; and whose chief ambition seems to be to secure what he calls a "Unification of North "America."

As one of the Tracts of the Times, we commend it to collectors of such literature.

XXII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

New England Numismatic and Archæological Society.—The regular monthly meeting of the Society was held on Thursday evening, Mr. C. S. Fellows, Vice-President for Massachusetts, in the chair.

After the reading of the records of the last meeting, reports of committees were received, and other business relating to the welfare of the Society was transacted.

A number of silver pieces were exhibited by one of the members, including a very fine dollar of 1795, nearly proof, a fine proof dollar of 1842, a fine half dollar of 1794, etc. Another lot was presented for inspection, including several rare types of the Connecticut Colonial cents (among them a rare variety of the "African head"); one of the "Castorland" pieces in copper, struck from the unbroken die; also a "Fugio," or Franklin cent, which was considered by the members a very rare variety, having a *raised*, eight-pointed star on the reverse, instead of the usual *depressed* star.

Donations of coins and medals were received and handed to the Curator.

The interest taken in the pursuit of this instructive science is steadily increasing among the members of this Society; and in studying the history and origin of the various coins and medals with which we meet, we learn how closely the subject of Numismatics is connected with the ancient and modern history of the world. This is the true object of the study. Let one, for instance, take up an ancient coin; to the casual observer it is but a lump of metal, but to the Numismatist it may unfold a volume—the history of past events which then made even nations tremble, or the character of men, the greatest of the age in which they lived.

The forthcoming sale of the well-known "Mickley" collection was spoken of with interest by the members, several of them expressing their intention to attend the sale when it takes place in New York.

After an informal discussion of various topics of interest, the meeting adjourned for one month. —*Boston Transcript*, Oct. 19.

A Centennial Celebration.—On Wednesday the twenty-eighth of September, the Reformed Dutch Church, at Claverack, New York, celebrated its centenary. One hundred years ago that day, the edifice was completed. A very large audience was present at the celebration. In the morning, Doctor Porter of the *Christian Intelligencer*, delivered an able historic address. In the afternoon, the former Pastors delivered addresses. At noon, in the adjoining oak grove, tables were spread free and in abundance for the crowds of visitors. The occasion will be long remembered in old Claverack, the Dutch region of the Van Burens, Van Rensselaers, Livingstons, Van Wycks, etc., etc., as it had much of the "olden time" about it.

American Antiquarian Society.—The semi-annual meeting of this Society was held at their rooms, Worcester, yesterday morning, the President, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, of Worcester, in the chair. The report of the Council, read by Samuel F. Haven, the Librarian of the Society, states that the present most imperative need is for more space; and the report congratulates the Society that its President has given to his continued

liberality that particular direction, he having purchased the land in the rear of the Society's building for two thousand, six hundred, and thirty-six dollars and twenty five cents, and donated it to the Society, thus allowing the extension of the present building, and also presented the sum of eight thousand dollars as the foundation of a building fund.

The Council acknowledges the donation of beautiful marble busts of Washington and Franklin, with marble pedestals for each, from the widow of the late Ira M. Barton, for many years an active member and a Councillor of the Society.

The children of the late Samuel Johnson, long the Treasurer and a Councillor of the Society, have, at the same time, made a large and most valuable donation of forty-one volumes of bound, and seventy-nine of unbound newspapers, eight hundred and ninety-three pamphlets and other articles. Some of the papers are very choice and rare.

The report included brief biographical notices of Hon. Ira M. Barton of Worcester, Hon. Charles G. Loring of Boston, and Caleb Atwater of Circleville, Ohio.

The Treasurer, Nathaniel Paine, Esq., read his report, showing an aggregate of funds belonging to the Society of sixty thousand, five hundred, and thirty-four dollars and twenty-nine cents, which sum is securely invested in bank and railroad stocks and in bonds and United States securities.

The Librarian's report showed that eight hundred and sixty-three books have been received during the past six months, together with one hundred and four volumes of newspapers.

Remarks on various historical subjects were made by Rev. E. E. Hale, Charles Folsom of Cambridge, Dr. Green of Boston, Charles Deane of Cambridge and Rev. George Ellis of Charlestown. *Transcript*, October 22.

Another "Relic" Hunter.—A private note from the Pastor of the old church at Tarrytown, N. Y., informs us that on Saturday evening, the last of August, "some thief broke all the "corners he could off the Andre monument and its "base in this place. He must have secured ten or "twelve pieces of the stone in all. Yesterday "morning, on my way to church, I discovered "the vandalism, the marks of which were yet "fresh. The fellow even left a bit of candle still "standing upon a ledge of the monument, which "he used to light him in his robbery.

"I trust that any gentleman who may receive "the offer of specimens of this monument, either "by sale or exchange, whether soon or late, will "make it known that justice may not be cheated "of her due."

The Popham Celebration.—The twenty-ninth of August, the aniversary of the founding of the first English Colony, under charterd occupation on the shores of New England, was a day of fog, clouds and constant rain. A goodly number of persons from the interior of the State, strengthened by a valued delegation from Massachusetts, assembled at Bath, to take steam transportation, for a dozen miles, down the Kennebec to the place of the ancient settlement. But the wise leaders on the Committee, and the practiced sagacity of the river-men, decided on the utter inexpediency of risking the navigation in such a storm, and the discomforts of its incessant cold and dampness. A correspondent of the *Boston Daily Advertiser* gives the following account of the day and its results.

"The people of Maine, with whom these Pop-"ham celebrations have become very popular, "awoke this morning to disappointment. Mam-"moth tents have been pitched near Fort Pop-"ham, a huge oven constructed, and a stock of "bivalves and a vegetables laid in for a big clam "bake. Extra trains from Portland, Augusta and "Lewiston had been arranged, besides a steam-"boat excursion from Portland. Two steamers "and a flotilla of barges covered with awnings "lay at the railroad wharf at Bath, to take the "guests and visitors to the Fort. Preparations "have been made for transporting and feeding "five thousand people, and this number would "have been present if the weather had been fav-"orable. But Pluvius rains supreme, and we, "the guests of the Sagadahoc House, are meta-"phorically afloat on a sea of uncertainty as to "the plans and issue of the day, with no com-"pass nor member of the Committee to give us a "word of information. In the meantime we "gaze into the flooded streets, and wait for some-"thing to appear besides water.

"A gleam of intelligence arrives. The Com-"mittee in Bath are in consultation by telegraph "with the Committee in Portland, as to whether "the celebration shall be posponed till to-morrow, "or for one year. Hon. B. C. Bailey, Chairman "of the Committee, at length appears, and an-"nounce that the railroad arrangements are so "complicated and the company expected so num-"erous, that it will not be possible so to readjust "the plans as to have the celebration on the "morrow. Therefore it is postponed till next "year."

Scraps.—Mr. Ralph I. Ingersoll has presented the New Haven Historical Society with several papers of peculiar interest. Among them is an autograph letter from Benjamin Franklin to Jared Ingersoll, in which Franklin criticises the strictness of the Sunday law in Connecticut; an inventory of the property of Benedict Arnold, in his own writing, in 1767, acknowledged before Roger Sherman, etc.

—The Department of State has received the following communication from our Consul at Naples, dated August nineteenth:

On Saturday the seventeenth. Mrs. Caroline Gould Hildreth, relict of Richard Hildreth, late Consul at Trieste, historian, etc., accompanied by her son Arthur, aged nineteen years, arrived in this city from Rome. She was attacked by cholera about noon, and died about one o'clock, A. M. Sunday morning, the eighteenth instant, in one of the Neapolitan hospitals, whither she was sent by the landlord of the hotel where they stopped. The son was not allowed to remain in the hospital with his mother. I knew nothing of their being in the city until seven or eight hours after she died. I immediately sent my Secretary to see about having her remains properly interred, which was finally accomplished; and she was buried in a separate grave in one of the cemeteries, at half past seven o'clock this morning. I have the honor to be your obedient servant.

ALFRED D. GREEN, U. S. Vice-Consul.

—In the neighborhood of New Haven, a faithful and capable minister, who is in the decline of life, having preached more than a quarter of a century, has been obliged to leave his congregation and the work of the ministry, because his salary was so pitifully small, and to labor at the bench of a carpenter. He never learned the trade, yet his natural ingenuity enables him to obtain wages which amount to three hundred dollars more per annum than the total amount of his salary while a preacher. He graduated at a college by the most indomitable efforts, sawing wood and laboring out of study hours, to obtain means with which to support himself at the university.

—We learn that the Harvard College Library has recently received from Hon. Charles Sumner a collection of pamphlets and more than four hundred valuable volumes. For a long series of years Mr. Sumner has been a benefactor of the library; and within five years he has given to it more than seven thousand pamphlets and one thousand volumes, among which are many of great value, which could not have been otherwise procured. These include many sent to him from the authors in Europe, besides a large collection belonging, during his life, to his brother, the late George Sumner, and containing the autographs of the authors. Mr. Sumner's example is worthy of being followed.—*Advertiser.*

—The oldest couple in Ohio are Mr. and Mrs. Boyd, at Ironton. He is one hundred and ten, and she one hundred and seven. They get mad at each other every little while and threaten to obtain divorces. The other day the dame refused to sew on a shirt button for her spouse, when he indignantly inquired "if he had got to live so all "his life?"

—The oldest person in the State of Connecticut is Mrs. Lord of East Lynne. She is one hundred and seven years old, and retains her mental faculties wonderfully. Her pet theme of conversation is of the Revolution, which she distinctly remembers. Her eyesight is somewhat faded, but she easily recognises friends, and accomplishes a wonderful amount of knitting.

—Ex-Governor Throop, celebrated his eighty-third birthday a few days ago. He is yet hale and hearty, and as sprightly, apparently, as he was ten years ago. He resides on his farm near the Owasco Lake, Cayuga County, and continues to take great interest in public affairs.

—Two veteran printers—Charles McDevitt and Thurlow Weed—met recently at New York, for the first time in fifty years. In 1816 they were journeymen together. Mr. McDevitt was a compositor and Mr. Weed a pressman upon the first tracts published by the American Tract Society.

—Mrs. Hill, of New York, has drawn in a raffle, the splendid snuff-box which Louis XVI. gave to Colonel Laurens, our first minister to France, and which destitution, caused by the war, had forced his descendant, a lady of South Carolina to part with.

—A Bust of Lamartine, by Adam Solomon, has been presented to the New York Historical Society by Doctor G. L. Ditson, formerly of Boston, in behalf of the family of the late Commander Washington Bartlett.

—Mr. James Farmer, a revolutionary veteran, died on Saturday last, in Campbell county. He was one hundred and seven years old, and served in the two last campaigns of the revolution. *Richmond Examiner*, August 21.

—The "Swamp Angel" is now lying at a Trenton (N. J.) machine shop awaiting its turn to be broken up and fashioned into more peaceful and useful implements. A large number of people daily visit the factory to see this historic cannon.

—A portrait of Washington, painted by Stuart, in 1788, inherited by a descendant of the first President of the United States, now living at Fredericksburgh, Va., in reduced circumstances, is on exhibition and sale in Baltimore.

—A lot on Lake street, Chicago, forty by one hundred and ten feet, sold last week for one hundred thousand dollars. This is the highest price ever paid in Chicago.

—Mr. Jackson Marr, of Fauquier, died a few days since. He was the brother of Captain J. Q. Marr, the first Confederate soldier who was killed during the war.

THE

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I.—REMINISCENCES OF "OLD BROOKLYN."

Read before the Long Island Historical Society, May 16, 1867, by Colonel Thomas F. De Voe.

In accordance with the invitation of your Committee, I have the honor of presenting myself this evening, not merely as a voluntary contributor but as a debtor, anxious, as far as I can do so, to repay you for many favors which I have received and for many pleasant hours agreeably spent in your well-filled halls. I am sensible that you entertain no claim on me or my services in return for the honors which you have conferred on me or the facilities for study which you have afforded; but I consider it incumbent upon each and every one who makes use of such collections as yours to offer some return for the advantages for study which are so freely offered; and in accordance with that conviction, after my own style, I respectfully present myself to discharge a portion, at least, of my own obligation.

No one can witness your collections without becoming satisfied that the labor of gathering and arranging them for exhibition has been very great; yet few can understand the study which has been requisite to make them available to the student or useful to the casual observer.

The proper classification of such materials is a work which very few can properly perform: of the labor of gathering them together, from nooks and corners, from cellars and garrets, from at home and abroad, from the mountain-top and the depths of the sea, no one can give a faithful description or convey to you a correct idea of its extent or its burdens.

I may, with justice, say that the zealous labors of your officers and members have secured for you a most valuable apparatus for the student, in more than one branch of knowledge; that you are capable of offering rare opportunities, to all who shall seek information within your halls; and that the world is indebted to you, far more than it will probably recompense. For myself, I can do little more than recognise the debt which I owe to you and other similar Societies; and with my heartfelt thanks, for the friendly co-operation which I have enjoyed, I turn to the duty which has been assigned to me.

In collecting the materials for a part of the second volume of *The Market Book*, Brooklyn, your rapidly growing city, demanded from me a place on the record, for a portion of her history, which I promised when I sent forth to the world the title page of the first volume of that work, now lying upon your shelves. When this promise was made, I had prepared only a short sketch of the subject, which I concluded would occupy the portion of the second volume assigned to it; but the great rebellion stopped its progress, and, now, instead of two volumes, I fear it will develope itself into a third. With these few remarks, let us glance back to the settlement of New Amsterdam, now New York.

The first Dutch settlers began at an early day, to trade with the Indians for their products, which were composed principally of peltries or furs, game, fish, and a few species of grain and vegetables. This trade brought many of the various tribes of Indians from different localities about the Island of Manhattan; and, no doubt, those from Long Island furnished a great deal of the food which was required, since around its shores were found wild fowl and fish, in abundance; while the prolific lands, back from the shores, were easily cultivated and brought forth a surplus, which, at that early period, was in demand by these early settlers, who had not yet made much progress in its cultivation.

These prolific and attractive lands, found so near the Town of Manhattan, engaged the attention of the Governor, who closed a purchase with the then friendly Indians; and thus, under his protection, a strong inducement was held out to some of the early traders and agriculturists, who became the first European settlers on Long Island.

In favorable localities, they erected their low wooden buildings, roofed with reeds and straw; and built their huge fire-places with stones and mud, on the tops of which they added wooden chimney-flues, which protruded several feet above the combustible roofs. Then, in consequence of the want of proper farming materials, but little land was at first cultivated; their chief depend-

ance for food being yet upon the abundance of game and fish.

Other settlers, however, soon followed with farm stock—Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs and implements of husbandry; these, with an increased trade and the necessary travel of crossing and recrossing the East River, led the Indians and others to enter into private ferrying. The Indians, no doubt, many years before this settlement had selected the shortest route or passage across, as well as the best landing place on each side of the river; and thus these original thoroughfares were early established.

The one on the eastern, or Long Island, shore, perhaps, was chosen as being the nearest to their main path which led from the river, through and over the rough or broken hills into their cultivated lands or hunting grounds, in the interior.

These broken hills, probably, originated the first name of BREUCKELEN by the Dutch settlers, unless it was thus called after an ancient Dutch village of that name, in the Province of Utrecht, in Holland.

This name, Breuckelen, continued with it many years, but with different ways of spelling; however, we find in 1683, when the several towns were organized, the name appears changed to BROOKLAND; afterwards, and during the Revolution, it was known as BROOKLYNE; and, finally, it ended in its present mode of spelling and pronunciation, BROOKLYN.

The Ferry-landing, on the Brooklyn shore, early became an attractive place for the erection of small trading stores and public houses, which were occasionally much patronised, especially when violent storms or very severe weather detained the private ferrymen as well as the anxious passengers, who were then obliged either to make the best bargain in a trade at the stores, or put up with such accommodations as were offered in these public houses.

These early ferrymen, being under no regulations or restrictions, were often found guilty of extortion or neglect; and it became so onerous to travellers, that they complained to the authorities, who, in 1654, established certain Rules and Regulations, which were thus proclaimed:

"Daily confusion occuring among the Ferrymen "on Manhattan Island, so that the inhabitants are "wasting whole days before they can obtain a "passage, and then not without danger, and at "an exhorbitant price, it is ordered, That no per-"son shall ferry from one side of the river to the "other without a License from the Magistrates, "under a penalty."

The Ferry charge for each person was three stuyvers, but double for an Indian; for a wagon, or cart, with horses or oxen, two florins, ten stuyvers; for a hog, sheep, buck, or goat, three stuyvers; for a horse, or four-footed horned beast, one florin, ten stuyvers; and for a keg of butter, or *any thing else*, six stuyvers; and the Ferrymen were not obliged to ferry any thing over until they were paid; nor during a tempest; nor when they carried sail; nor after the regular hours; unless they was allowed double ferriage. But all persons invested with authority, were exempt from the toll.

The year following, 1655, the Ferry privilege came into the possession of Egbert Van Borsum, who, in the month of April, contracted to build a Ferry-house, which is thus described: "We, Car-"penters, Jan Corneilesen, Abraham Jacobsen, and "Jan Hendricksen, have contracted to construct a "house over at the Ferry of Egbert Van Borsum, "Ferryman, thirty feet long and eighteen feet "wide, with an outlet of four feet, to place in "it seven girders, with three transom windows "and one door in the front, the front to be "planed and grooved, and the rear front to have "boards overlapped in order to be tight, with "door and windows therein; and a floor and "garret grooved and planed beneath (on the "under side); to saw the roof thereon; and, more-"over, to set a window-frame with a glass light in "the front side; to make chimney-mantel, and to "wainscot the fore-room below, and divide it in "the centre across with a door in the partition; "to set a window-frame with two glass lights "therein; further, to wainscot the east side the "whole length of the house, and in the recess "two bedsteads, one in the front room and one in "the inside room, with a pantry at the end of "the bedstead; a winding staircase in the fore-"room.

"Furthermore, we, the Carpenters, are bound "to deliver all the square timber—to wit—beams, "posts, and frame timber, with the pillar for the "winding staircase, spars, and worm, and girders, "and foundation timber required for the work; "also the spikes and nails for the interior work; "also rails for the wainscot are to be delivered "by us.

"For which work Egbert Van Borsum is to pay "five hundred and fifty guilders" (*two hundred and twenty dollars,*) "one third in *Beavers*, one "third in good merchantable *wampum*, one third "in good silver coin, and free passage over the "Ferry, so long as the work continues, and *small "beer* to be drunk during work."

There was also a cellar kitchen built under the house, which appears to have cost "One hundred "guilders, together with one whole *good otter "skin*."

This building was finished, and, soon afterwards became a Tavern of some importance, as well as a Ferry-house. The records of the Burgomasters and Schepens, show this fact in the following entry, made in 1658:—"EGBERT VAN BORSUM "sues Captain Beaulieu, Nicholas Bout, Jacob

"Huger, and Simon Felle; demanding from Beau-"lieu three hundred and ten Florins, for an enter-"tainment given by the Captain at Van Borsum's. "To this complaint the Captain answers, that the "other defendants should pay their share. Jacob "Huger says, he was invited by the Captain. Felle "declares the same. Beaulieu says, there were "fourteen of them, and he was to pay one half, "the others, the remaining portion of the ex-"penses. Annetje Van Borsum says, the Captain "alone made the agreement, and she looks to "him. Whereupon the Court condemns him to "pay the same," or the whole amount.

After the death of old Van Borsum, his widow, Annetje, continued the business of Tavern-keeper and mistress of the Ferry, for several years—the latter being under the direction of her son *Hermanus;* which fact is further proved by a suit brought against her, in 1660, by Paulus van der Beeck, a sworn butcher, who complains of the *Ferry-mistress*, Mrs. Anneken Van Borsum, that "she took too much ferriage from him." In her answer, she says—"That her son, HERMANUS, who "is without, has better knowledge thereof; and "being called in, he says, that the Heer Fiscal told "him, he may take six stuyvers ferriage from "each person when ice is going."

The parties were recommended to settle their disputes among themselves.

Among the early residents at the ferry were two other butchers, named THOMAS WILLET and WILLIAM HARCK, who occasionally brought meat across the river to supply the *Manhattanese*; but in consequence of their not paying the lawful excise, Harck was called before the Court, in 1656, when he stated, "That he killed four cattle for "Mr. Thomas Willet o'er at the ferry, and he is "ignorant if he must pay excise for them." He was ordered to pay, "either himself or by Mr. "Willet."

These Ferry residents were considered a part of Brooklyn, or so it would appear from Dominie Selyns letter, dated "4 October, 1660," in which he said—"To Breuckelen appertans also the "*Ferry*, the *Walebocht* and *Gujanus*. I found "at Breuckelen 1 Elder; 2 Deacons; 24 mem-"bers; 31 Householders and 134 persons:—We "do not preach in any Church, but in a barn "and shall God willing erect a church in the "winter, by the co-operation of the people."

Governor Nichols' Map of 1664, shows about a half-a-dozen houses near the Ferry; while on the hill, back, a short mile, were a few more buildings, which then constituted the principal settlement called BREUCKELEN.

These early settlers, and those more particularly who were agriculturists, found much of the land on Long Island excellent for grazing purposes, and many soon turned their attention to stock raising. The breed of cattle which they had brought with them from Holland appeared to do very well, and those, as Vanderdonk says, "Which are kept in the highlands at Amersfoort, [*Flatlands*] "where they thrive as well as in "Holland: the increase is not quite as large, "but the stock give milk enough, thrive well in "pasture, and yield much tallow." Thus it appears that the Dutch cattle answered very well for the early settlers; but, as soon as the English breeds were introduced, the difference between them was so marked, that the Dutch Cattle "were "held in small esteem, and were not so valuable "as they had heretofore been." The latter were generally coarse-boned, heavy figured, slow to work, and not hardy; while the English breeds were quick in movement, with a handsome figure, more easily acclimated, and, withal, required less care and provender.

The introduction of the English cattle by the New Englanders, was looked upon, by some of the Dutch authorities, in 1642, as being "near-"sighted and destructive to the improvement of "their own stock; and that the English should "not be permitted hereafter to sell either Cows "or Goats within the Dutch jurisdiction." The Governor thought so too, and acceded to their wishes; but this order was afterwards rescinded by Governor Stuyvesant; and soon after a great improvement was perceptible in the breed of cattle.

In 1675, the agricultural products, besides those of cattle, had so much increased that a Yearly Fair was "established in Breuckelen near "the Ferry, for all Grayne, Cattle, or other pro-"duce of the Countrey, to be held the first Mun-"day, Tuesday, and Wednesday in November, "and in the City of New York, the Thursday, "Friday, and Saturday following."

Near the Ferry-house, on the southerly side of the road, about where the present Elizabeth-street is located, a yard, or large pen, was enclosed to keep the fat and lean cattle, besides other live stock, which were brought to these exhibitions, usually for sale or barter; at other times, this enclosure was used for the yarding of cattle and other animals which had been purchased about the country by the butchers of New York and others, driven down to the Ferry, and if that was not ready for them to cross, placed in this pen, where they were sometimes kept there several days, or until suitable weather or opportunity offered for their passage to the city. In fact, a very large portion of the cattle, sheep, goats, and hogs consumed in New York, prior to 1750, were furnished by Long Island, or rather the *Island of Nassau*, as we find the latter name was officially given to it in the year 1692.

In the month of March, of that year, Governor Fletcher thus introduces the latter subject to the Council:

"Gentl. There is one small request to you "which I hope will meet with noe opposition, "and that is, that the *King's* name may live for- "ever amongst you. I would have a Bill passe "for the calling Long Island the Island of Nas- "sau." The Bill was read three times when it was assented to by the Council, and the Governor acknowledged it as follows: "As for the Bill to "call Long Island the Island of Nassau, it mett "with some opposition amongst you: but I be- "leive it proceeded merely from ignorance: "for the calling of that Island by a new name "for the time to come, can noe wayes hurt or in- "jure any former grants or conveyances of lands: "I had no other design in proposing it unto you, "than that we might put some marke of respect "upon the best of kings which you have grant- "ed."

In the proceedings of the General Assembly, on the sixth of September, following.—"The Bill for "calling Long Island, the Island of Nassau, read "the second time and ordered to be engrossed;" and by this name it was long after known, in the proceedings and other documents, but it never became otherwise popular.

The increase of population in the town appeared quite slow up to the year 1700; in the settlement on the hill, however, there were several buildings added to it, some of which were large enough to accommodate the Councils, who many years after, met in them; but the main increase was in the several residences, stores, and other erections for business purposes, which rapidly grew up near the ferry-landing, and on the main road between the two settlements. This rapid growth, no doubt, was caused by the increased business there, and travel on the ferry.

In 1699, a new brick ferry-house was ordered to be built at the ferry on Long Island side, the size to be—"Front, twenty-four feet; depth, forty "feet; cellar of stone; two stories above ground; "first story, eight and one half feet high; second "story, seven and one half feet high; five "chimnies, with jambs, and the whole to cost four hundred and thirty-five pounds." This building and the ferry were leased to Rip Van Dam, for seven years, at one hundred and sixty-five pounds per annum. The next lease was taken by a Butcher named James Harding, who, in the agreement, was authorized to keep a House of Entertainment.

In 1717, the ferry business had so much increased that two ferries were established, both however running from the old landing place on the Long Island side: the old route was known as "The Nassau Ferry;" and the new one, which landed at Burger's path, (*Old Slip, New York,*) and also at the Great Dock, (*foot of the present Broad-street, New York,*) was called "The New "York Ferry."

The main road leading from the Ferry at Brookland, then known as the "King's Highway," was publicly laid out in 1704; but in the erection of new residences through the course of many years, some had trespassed upon the highway, and thus created much contention. The Records inform us that at the April term of the General Session of the Peace of King's County, in 1721, indictments were found for encroaching on the common highway of the King, leading from the Ferry to the Church, at Brookland, against John Rapelje, Hans Bergen, James Harding, and others. By this indictment it appears that the road should have been *four rods wide;* some of the old inhabitants, however, in giving their evidence, some three years after, said: "The said road, "as it now is, has been so for at least these *sixty* "*years past*, without any complaint, either of the "inhabitants or travellers." A law was then passed, establishing the road *forever* as it then was, from the Ferry upward to the town of *Breuckland*, as far as the swinging gate of John Rapelje, just above the house and land belonging to James Harding.

These proceedings readily account for Fulton-street, being so narrow and crooked in many places. No doubt, when this highway was first opened, it was made to conform to the easiest mode of rising the hill, and so it continued on back, through its winding way, following either the Indian paths or seeking the most favorable surface of the original grounds throughout the country.

There must have been a good deal of wild and uncultivated country, even as lately as 1717; for we find in that year, an Act passed "to encourage "the destroying of ffoxes and Wild Catts in- "King's" and Queens Counties.

Up to this period, several butchers have been noticed as living on Long Island, but there were many others who came afterwards, or rather were driven out, of the City of New York, by an onerous law, passed in the year 1676, which at various periods, had forced them into several unsuitable buildings, called "Public Slaughter "Houses." For a period of one hundred and thirteen years, into some five different wooden erections, located at as many different places, all the butchers of the city of New York, who lived within certain limits, were crowded; and there they found the honest and dishonest, the gentleman and ruffian, with the waiting and watching, the mixing of cattle and their products, the various kinds of imposition practiced, and the miserable regulations established in them, as well as the high rates charged by the various lessees, several of the decendants of whom now grace some of the first families of our ill-governed city across the river.

Many of these old butchers of New York, were among the best classes of her citizens, being not

only men of substance, but enterprizing and intelligent, which no doubt, gave them an inward feeling that they were freemen, and wished to conduct their business as other good citizens and tradesmen were doing; and rather than submit to imposition they moved to Brooklyn, where many of them became prominent and among the most useful inhabitants in the place, and, without question, tended much to accelerate its early growth. Several of them for many years, were placed in the highest offices, both civil and religious, in the town, village, and city.

I beg leave to introduce to you several of the early Dutch butchers of Breuckelen, as well as some of those of a more modern type, at the time when they first became known in the records: although there is little doubt that some of them were engaged in business, many years before they were known in the various documents left to us.

In the year 1645, Paulus van der Beeck appears; in 1654, Roelef Jansen; in 1656, William Harck and Thomas Willet; in 1660, Pieter Jansen; in 1707, James Harding; in 1715, Evardus Brower; in 1720, the brothers, Israel and Timothy Horsfield; followed by the sons of Israel; in 1735, Samuel Hopson; in 1743, John and Benjamin Carpenter; in 1755, Whitehead Cornall and his sons, John, William, Whitehead, Junior, and Benjamin; also the brothers Sedam or Suydam; in 1756, Thomas Everit and his sons, William, Thomas. Junior, and Richard; together with Matthew Gleaves; in 1760, John Doughty and his son, John, Junior: in 1774, George Powers and Jotham Post; in 1780, John Garrison and his three sons, John F., Jacob, and Thomas; together with Gersham Ludlow; in 1790, Burdet Stryker and his sons; after whom came Abiel Titus and his sons; David Seaman, Jacob Patchen, Ralph Patchen, Jesse Coope, Israel Reynolds, John Raynor, William Foster, Michael Trappel, and many others of whom no doubt, there are those present who yet remember some who were quite prominent and worthy men.

Perhaps a few incidents, or short sketches, of some of these old residents, will be acceptable to my hearers.

As early as 1645, we find Paulus van der Beeck, in a slander suit with Catalyn Trico, which appears was settled by a withdrawal of the complaint. In 1653, van der Beeck was selected one of the Delegates from Brooklyn, to meet in convention at New York, to advance the interests of the Town of Brooklyn; in 1657, he agreed to pay good stringed Wampum for the Excise rent; three years after, he was found in possession of some twenty morgens of land in the Town of Breuckelen; and, in the same year, was appointed a sworn butcher in the City in New York; in 1661, he farmed the Excise of Licenses for Tavern-keepers; and was also ordered to collect one-tenth of all the farmers products in Breuckelen. In 1663, he is found the ferry-master; and two years after, he appealed from the judgment of the Court of Breuckelen, which was reversed; and in 1676, he was found possessed of property, consisting of live-stock, land, &c., valued at one hundred and forty pounds, and considered "*well-off*"—in fact, there were only six others in the entire town who returned more than that amount, and the most wealthy of the residents was found with a property valued at only three hundred and thirty-one pounds.

We now turn to Roelef Jansen, who, in 1654, obtained a Patent for twenty-five morgens of Land at Maspeth, Long Island: four years after, he was appointed a sworn butcher, and began his business on Long Island, in or near the Town of Breuckelen.

The trading operations of that day were sometimes very curious; and Jansen appears to have been a troublesome one, especially with the farmers for their stock. In the Court proceedings of 1673, it is said that "Thomas Walton brings "action against Roelef Jansen, butcher, for "sheep sold him." Walton claimed "the quan- "tity of three ankers of Rum." The Court condemned Jansen to pay the same. Again, in the next year, Jansen was sued by David de Four, who demanded from him "the sum of ff 200, "(Florins) for an ox sold about two years ago, to "the defendant, and offers to deliver to defendant "a certain cow, which he bartered with defendant "whenever he is paid." Jansen says "that *De* "*Four* did not deliver him the cow according to "agreement, notwithstanding he sent his child- "ren for her divers times." The Court ordered— "that Jansen shall pay *De Four* the demanded "sum within eight days' time, provided the Cow "be delivered to the plaintiff, at the time the "same is paid, and that said cow shall mean- "while run at defendant's risk."

In 1656, appeared William Harck and Thomas Willet, who were engaged in slaughtering cattle at Brooklyn, and when bringing their carcasses over to the city of New York, refused to pay the excise; these, no doubt, were the first brought over by them. Harck, however, was summoned to appear before the Court, where, in answer to the charge, he said—"That he killed four cattle "for Mr. Thomas Willet, o'er at the Ferry— "and he is ignorant if he must pay excise for "them." The Court, after due deliberation, and, no doubt, under the influence of their long wisdom-pipes, rendered the decision that he must pay, "either himself or by Mr. Willet."

Thomas Willet afterwards became a heavy contractor for furnishing meat to the Government, and he also held many high Civil and Military offices under the same.

In 1660, Pieter Jansen, of Breuckelen, was appointed a sworn butcher, and at the same time owned some twenty-five morgens of land in that place, which he had obtained a Patent for, three years before. In 1676, the valuation of this property, including his live stock, was assessed at one hundred and forty-eight pounds, ten shillings; and seven years after, we find the price of live stock had somewhat increased in its valuation; but, at the same time, Jansen returned seven morgens of land less; after which we lose him from the Records.

James Harding, in 1707, is found a lessee of the ferry at Breuckelen, which he held many years. He had purchased property near the swinging or toll-gate, on which he had erected a house so near the King's highway, that it was complained of, in 1721.

At this period he attended the New York markets with meat, which he slaughtered at Brookland; and in 1725, he is again found in possession of the ferry, and residing in "Edward "Willet's large well-finished brick house, near "New York ferry, on Long Island, with a large "barn, well covered with cedar, a large, hand-"some garden, and about ten acres of good land, "in a fine young orchard, finely situated, either "for a gentleman's country seat or a public house," which he vacated in 1732, and removed to his own premises, where, in 1738, he is found with eight in family. His name is occasionally found spelled Harden, and afterwards it was changed to Arden—the latter of which was adopted by some of the family, who removed to New York, where at least two were engaged in the profession of their forefather.

We turn next to Evardus Brower, who, in 1715, is found attached to the Seventh Company of the Militia of King's County; in 1738, he was returned from the Town of Brookland, with eight in family —all white persons. Two years after, a Committee on Markets, in the City of New York, informed the authorities—"That one Evardus Brower, and "many others living on Nassau Island, who make "it their chief business to buy, kill, and sell "cattle, do daily come and take up stalls or "standings in the said Market house, without "paying any thing for the same. These butchers "were all ordered to pay the usual and proper "fees."

In 1759, 60, and 61, Brower with several other prominent townsmen from Brookland, were found among the Grand Juries in the City of New York; and so particular and exacting was the Court in carrying out its stringent rules, that for the least delinquency among either its officers, jurors, or witnesses, the fines appear to have been enforced without fear or favor. Brower is shown to have thus suffered on several occasions.

By 1769, Brower made an assignment of his property to Thomas Everit, butcher, on Long Island, and asks to be discharged, and thus we leave him.

The next in succession are the brothers, Israel and Timothy Horsfield, the sons of Timothy Horsfield of Liverpool, England, where they were born; Israel, on the fourth of January, 1696, and Timothy, on the nineteenth of April, 1706—old style—so they are found recorded in an old family Bible.

Israel came to this country, in 1720; and on the thirteenth of December, of that year, he became a freeman of New York. About three years after, his brother Timothy arrived, and entered into business with him, as a butcher. In a few years their trade, which was principally with the shipping, had increased so much that proper accommodations could not be obtained in the City of New York, and consequently they were obliged to secure the next most convenient place for slaughtering as well as for their residences. Long Island had furnished them, principally, with all their live stock; and thus, with a favorable lease offered by the Corporation, in 1734, of a portion of its land, lying on the Brooklyn shore, near the ferry they were induced to remove there, where they built a wharf, large slaughtering place, and the necessary buildings for residences. The next year, they leased the two best stands (numbers One and Two) in the Old Slip Market, then located at the lower end of the present Hanover Square, in the City of New York, where, daily, their slaves brought over their dressed meats, in their row-boats, directly to the "Old Slip," where it was placed in wheelbarrows and conveyed to their stands.

In 1738, Israel Horsfield returned ten in family from the Township of Brookland; of which three were colored men—slaves. Three years after, the brothers, with several other butchers, were unfortunate in having some of their slaves put to death, for being engaged in the "Great Negro Plot" of 1741. The brothers, however, were very successful in business, and purchased a large plot of ground on the hill, on the South side of the present Fulton street, Brooklyn, where they erected fine residences, somewhat after the English style of building.

Timothy, afterwards, became a Moravian; and in the year 1750, he removed from Brooklyn: we shall, however, refer to him again.

Israel continued to extend his business after his brother left. His son, Israel, Junior, having arrived at manhood, took charge of his father's business, when the father erected a brew-house near the ferry, and engaged in brewing ale and beer. In 1755, Israel, Senior, returned but one slave, named *Tight*; and in 1767, he advertised—"Two "negro men to be sold at the brew-house at Brook-"land Ferry;" and in the same year he had for

sale, "several lots of ground, bounding on the "river, convenient for store-houses or slaughter "houses; also several dwelling houses, with their "lots adjoining, and two slaughter houses; likewise "several up-lots of very excellent ground, fit for "pasture or garden, with a small, pleasant summer-"house, commanding a most agreeable and ex-"tensive prospect." In 1772, we find the death of Israel Horsfield, Senior; and his real estate, consisting of a well built brew-house, malt-house, with a very convenient dwelling house, built and constructed after the English plan, with much other property, "to be sold by his son, Thomas "Horsfield, near the premises."

Israel Horsfield, Senior, left three sons, Israel, Junior, Thomas, and William. Israel, Junior, followed the footsteps of his father, as a butcher, but not with the same enterprise and success.

In 1755, he was returned as the owner of one slave, called Chalsey; and, two years after, he supplied Jacob Brewerton, living at the ferry, with beef, to the amount of three pounds, eighteen shillings, and six pence, which was used for the French neutrals then staying at the house of Brewerton, at Brookland.

In 1769, the property of Israel, Junior, was advertised to be sold at the ferry, "which con-"sisted of a house and lot of ground, slaughter-"house and barn;" and two years after, there appeared for sale, "five lots or parcels of ground, "at Brooklyn ferry, adjoining the house of Israel "Horsfield, Junior, situated on a rising ground "which commands a prospect of the City of "New York, and very commodious for gentle-"men to build small *seats* on, or for gardeners or "butchers."

The next year, 1772, there appeared, "To let, "The large, new brick house, in which Israel "Horsfield, Junior, now lives, at the ferry; is "very convenient for a butcher." Soon after, we find Israel, Junior, engaged in brewing, with his brother Thomas; but I think he discontinued business before or during the Revolution, as we do not find him until 1783, when he appeared among the inhabitants of Brooklyn. In 1790, he joined St. Ann's Church; and in the month of October, 1805, his death was noticed in the Records of that Church.

In 1764, his brother Thomas formed a partnership with James Leadbetter, when they advertised for Barley and Oak-bark. The next year, they have for sale at their brewery, English Ale, Table, and Ship Beer; but soon after they dissolved, when Thomas, again had "Excellent Ship and Table "Beer, from the *Long Island Brewery*," which was kept at the store of his brother, William, opposite to Lot & Son's, in the City of New York; and, in 1778, Captain Thomas Horsfield had about three thousand weight of excellent fresh ship-bread, for sale at Brooklyne ferry. The present Middagh-street was, at an early period, known as Horsfield-street.

Returning to Timothy Horsfield, we find, during the French and Indian war, in 1745, he was appointed Colonel of the Brookland Militia; but this appointment causing much envy he resigned his commission. The next year, he advertised a horse lost, of a dark bay color, marked on the buttock, S. I.; and soon after, by the death of one of his friends, Thomas Noble, a merchant, and a zealous Moravian, Colonel Horsfield was left to settle his estate. The effects of Noble were sold at vendue; and one of the original receipts for goods bought at that sale, signed by Timothy Horsfield, is now in my possession; it will give you some idea of the man. In 1749, he announced, through the Press, a wish to settle his accounts, as "he designs, in a few weeks to "leave the Province;" and the next year, he left Brooklyn for Pennsylvania.

William C. Reichel, Esq., a historian of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, has kindly furnished me with the following sketch of Colonel Timothy Horsfield's life, which is well worthy of record, as the example of a truly good man. He says of him: "In his seventeenth year, he came to Amer-"ica, to his brother Israel, where he learned his "profession. His residence was at the Old York "Ferry, Long Island. In 1731, he married "Mary Doughty. In 1739, he was awakened "by the preaching of Whitfield, who was then "in America. In 1741, he became acquainted "with the Brethren, (*Moravians*,) who came from "Georgia with their Pastor, Peter Boehler, when "he joined the Brethren's Church. In 1750, he "removed to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, with his "family, and there occupied the *stone house*, "built for him by the Brethren, which stood op-"posite the *grave-yard*, now (1860) owned by "John Outer.

"A few years after Mr. Horsfield removed to "Bethlehem, he was appointed a Justice of the "Peace, an office which he held for a period of "twelve years.

"After leaving Long Island, in 1750, his house "remained in the occupancy of the Brethren, "who kept up a kind of housekeeping there for "the accommodation of our ministers who la-"bored in New England and in Long and Staten "Islands, in their frequent journies from place "to place.

"Mr. Horsfield must have been a man of con "siderable property, living upon his means and "educating all his children in our schools before "he moved here. He never, while here, followed "any business except his judicial office, which "was then considered a high post of honor, but "not of profit, to the incumbent. He stood "deservedly high in this community; and was a

"man of unblemished character, and of great "use to our Brethren in their intercourse with the "Provincial Government, as well as with the "wild Indian tribes then inhabiting that section "of Pennsylvania.

"Being conversant with business matters, he "became a kind of public character and legal "adviser to the Brethren, who, in those days, "were mostly colonists from Germany, unac- "quainted with the mode of transacting business "here."

We next turn to Captain SAMUEL HOPSON, who became a freeman, in 1735. The same year he leased Stand Number Four, in the Old Slip Market, New York; and, about the same period, he moved to Brooklyn, near the ferry, from which place he attended the New York markets daily.

A house and lot of ground, facing the Old Market, was advertised for sale, in 1752, and the applicants were referred to "Samuel Hopson, "Butcher, who may be spoke with every week- "day morning, in said market."

Three years after, the Records show him as the Captain of the "West Company of Brookland;" and, at the same time, he returned the ownership of two negro men, named Dick and Prince, also one wench, called Dine. In the same year, he also advertised for sale, "a very good lot of land, "with a well-finished, commodious brick house "thereon, situated at the ferry on Long Island, "opposite New York, fit for a merchant or trades- "man; also a small timber house and lot. Like- "wise a good, honest negro wench, about twenty- "two years of age. Apply to Samuel Hopson, "living at the said ferry. All persons who have "any demands on Samuel Hopson, at the ferry, "butcher, are desired to bring in their accounts."

Captain Hopson appears to have died soon after, as we find his estate ordered to be sold in 1757.

Back to the year 1743, we find JOHN CARPENTER, of New York City, butcher, had leased for one year all the stands and standings in the public markets, for the sum of Ninety-eight pounds.

Previous to this, he had been engaged in business with his mother, who was a very successful butcheress; but in the great Negro Plot of 1741, she lost two of her most valuable butcher slaves; one of whom was transported and the other burnt at the stake. In 1756, she lost another slave by running away; and another in 1759.

JOHN CARPENTER, (CARPENDER, it is sometimes found), continued the practice of his profession, and probably assisted his mother, in the purchase and slaughter of live stock, which were usually brought from Long Island; but the inconvenience and danger of crossing the river with cattle, added to the many objections found in the public slaughter-house, in the City of New York, induced Carpenter to move to Brooklyn, near the Ferry; from which place he was several times returned as one of the Grand Jurors, in the year 1748, '50, and '51.

In 1755, he was noticed in the Brookland Records as the owner of three slaves; and, in the same year, he had to let "A house within half of a "quarter of a mile of the Ferry, on Long Island." Two years after (1757), he had also for sale "A "good dwelling house and lot of ground at the "Ferry, opposite Mr. John Rapelje's."

A few years after, the Assize Law of 1763 came into existence, which created much feeling among all who supplied the New York markets. Several of the butchers defied the authorities; of these, Carpenter was one. A complaint was entered against him—"That John Carpenter, "Butcher, hath openly and contemptuously de- "clared, that he would sell his beef for four "pence half-penny per pound, in spite of all the "*wise heads* that made the law could do." The law assized the price of beef at four pence, that is, proportions of the prime and coarse parts. Carpenter was ordered to appear before the Board the next day; and the Mayor was requested to remove him out of the market, until he should have obtained the Freedom of the City. Carpenter appeared the next day, and claimed the Freedom of the City; the charge, however, was proven, when the Board "Ordered his License taken from "him; turned out of the market, and also dis- "franchised." Two years after, 1765, "Jacob "Brewerton had a convenient dwelling house, "close by the river, on Long Island, at New York "Ferry, joining Captain John Carpenter's." In 1769, Carpenter had also to let, "the house "wherein Captain Francis Kofiler now lives, suit- "able for a merchant or tradesman;" then, in 1770, he announced that the Jamaica stage would set out to and from Jamaica, every Monday, Thursday, and Saturday, or oftener, if required. Passages one shilling and six pence each way. The next year, he wished the passengers from New York to apply at Mrs. Fish's, at the Ferry stairs, in New York.

In March, 1776, he advertised a run away negro, named TOM, "about twenty-two years of "age, five feet eight inches high: had on when "he went away, a blue jacket, buckskin breeches, "blue and white spotted stockings, a tow shirt, "an old beaver hat, cut small, a half-worn pair "of shoes, with odd buckles. Understands "butchering very well; and speaks Dutch and "English tolerably well."

In the month of June following, we find John Carpenter, Senior, supplying the Continental Troops; and in consequence of the scarcity of live stock, which the preparation for the Revolution had caused, from coming to the City, he was obliged to send a drover to Duchess County to purchase and bring from there several cattle, which were

driven to the Bull's Head, in the Bowery Lane.

Unknown to Carpenter, these cattle were taken by another butcher, who would not give them up; so Carpenter appealed to the Continental Congress, who ordered them to be restored to him

During the Revolution, I think Carpenter remained on Long Island, being then about sixty years old, though occasionally he attended the New York Markets, when he could obtain stock. We find, however, the Sheriff of Duchess county, through the press, notified "John Carpenter, late "of Brooklyn Township, in King's County, "Butcher, of his being indicted for adhering to "the enemies of the People of this State." When the trial was ordered, no witnesses appeared against him, and so it ended.

In 1785, an Independent Meeting House was incorporated in the Town of Brooklyn; and among its officers, we find John Carpenter, Treasurer; and, in 1788, '90, and '91, he was a lay delegate from what afterwards became St. Ann's Church. At this period he, with others, petitioned to raise two hundred pounds to repair the highway; and, in 1795, when the summer residence of Alexander Colden was ordered to be sold, it appears as lying "south of the land of "John Carpenter." I think about that period he died.

We now take up Benjamin Carpenter, who seems to have removed to Brooklyn with his brother, John, or a short period after him, as we find a house to let, in 1755, "Wherein Benjamin "Carpenter now lives, on Long Island, within a "quarter of a mile of the Ferry, and a very good "situation for a schoolmaster." However, he could not have remained a great while in Brooklyn, as his name appears in 1761, among other members and professors of the Church of England, who petitioned for a Charter, as they wished to repair their church, in Jamaica.

This change of residence carried him a greater distance from the New York markets, yet he attended them at least once or twice a week, or whenever he found such animals as were suitable for his purpose, around the neighboring country; and occasionally some were found worthy of notice. In 1770, "A cow raised by John Aspin- "wall, of Flushing, weighing one thousand eight "hundred and eighteen pounds, was killed at "Jamaica, by Benjamin Carpenter, Butcher."

Seven years after, he was found placed in such a position, that he was obliged to promise to perform—"What he will pay into the hands of the "Church Wardens, the sum of five pounds for violently assaulting one of the loyal Justices of the Peace.

After the Revolution, Carpenter again removed to Brooklyn, where he continued his profession, but changed it somewhat by dealing altogether in the smaller animals, which were invariably dressed with much taste and cleanliness; and these, some two or three times a week, he carried to the Fly market.

He appears to have retained considerable interest in the town affairs of Jamaica, as, in 1792, we find he subscribed three pounds, four shillings to assist in the erection of a school house in that place.

Mr. Carpenter continued in business until quite an old man; and although obliged to walk with a crutch from youth, I am told he was an active and most driving business man.

As lately as 1808, a document, dated "September, 28," reads: "I, Benjamin Carpenter, of "Brooklyn, in the County of Kings, Butcher, "do hereby manumit and set free a certain negro "woman named *Isabella Dimand*, held by me as "a slave, and do hereby release all claim or de- "mand which I have to her person or her services.

"Benjn. Carpenter.

"Witnessed by John Doughty."

John and Benjamin Carpenter, I think, were the sons of George and Elizabeth Carpenter, who came from Long Island, about the year 1718, when the father became a freeman, and entered into business as a butcher, which he continued until his death, about 1730. His widow, Elizabeth Carpenter, then appeared to have stepped into his professional shoes; and with the assistance of her sons, conducted the business profitably for many years. She died in April, 1776, aged eighty-five years; and the press says: "she had been a very "respectable inhabitant."

In the year 1755, we introduce Whitehead Cornell, Senior, of Brookland, who was returned as the owner of two slaves—one negro man called Tobey, and a wench called Flora.

About this period, he was found an attendant at the Old Fly Market, as a Butcher; and, no doubt, a very successful one, early in life. At a later period, he became much interested in the raising of fine stock, and more particularly in racing horses. In 1770, he advertised, "A water "lot, with slaughter house thereon, situate at the "Brooklyn Ferry, lying below and opposite to "the said premises of Israel Horsfield, Junior. "Apply to Whitehead Cornell, Butcher, near the "said Ferry."

The next year, at the Powles Hook Races, "nine horses started for a purse of Fifty pounds, "when Mr. Whitehead Cornell's black horse, "Booby, won the purse." In less than one month after, another great race took place at Flatbush, when it was stated—"There was good running "for the purse of fifty pounds, which was won by "Mr. Whitehead Cornell's black horse, Steady, "(got by Old England,) beating William Cor- "nell's mare, Dove, Mr. Waters' horse, Vitriol, "Mr. Armstrong's horse, Hero, and Mr. El- "worth's horse, Quicksilver."

In November, 1776, Mr. Whitehead Cornell's name is found among the signers who swore allegiance to King George; and it is again found, in December, 1782, with many others, in an Address, lamenting the departure for England of Captain David Scott, Commissary of Artillery-horses, who was previously posted at Brooklyn. With the King's troops, went one of the sons of Cornell, while he and his family left for Nova Scotia; or so it would appear from his petition, dated "November 6, 1784," which states that "Whitehead Cornell, formerly of Brooklyn, in Kings "County, Butcher, and John Cornell and William "Cornell, two of hrs sons; that the said Whitehead and William have lately returned from "Nova Scotia to New Jersey; and that the said "John has lately returned from England, praying "a law to receive them as subjects of this State." They appear to have obtained their wishes, as we find Whitehead Cornell, Senior, a Representative from Queens County, in the House of Assembly of this State, for the years 1788, '89, '92 and '93, and again in '98 and '99.

John, the eldest son, in 1764, advertised a "Run away from John Cornell of Long Island, "Butcher, an Irish servant man, named John "Smith, 20 years old, five feet six inches high, "short black hair, and stutters. Had on a red "coat and a pair of old red velvet breeches."

John Cornell, however, appeared to have but little taste for his father's profession, and consequently was not a successful Butcher. In 1770, he advertised for sale, "The house of John Cor"nell's at Brooklyn Ferry, near Philip Living"ston's, Esquire," which appears, however, was not then sold. Perhaps with the expectation of a new Ferry landing-place being located near his property, his price was not acceptable.

The subject of a new landing place had been before the authorities, in various petitions, from time to time, but was not decided until the early part of the year 1774, when the Corporation of New York resolved to have "A Ferry from "Coenties Market to the landing place of Philip "Livingston, Esquire."

Three months later, "John Cornell gives no"tice that he has opened a Tavern at his house on "Tower Hill, Long Island, near the new Ferry, "called "*St. George's Ferry*," where all kinds of "liquors, entertainment, tea and coffee of the "most excellent qualities included, will be pro"vided for such gentlemen and ladies as may "favor him with their company. Companies "will be entertained if they bring their own "liquor, and may dress turtle at said house, on "the very lowest terms."

Cornell's tastes for these kind of entertainments, were changed soon after, for those of a more brutal character, for in less than three months, we find announced—"John Cornell, near St. George's "Ferry, gives public notice that there will be a "Bull baited on Tower Hill, at three o'clock in "the afternoon, every Thursday, during the sea"son. Said Cornell also attends the Fly Mar"ket with sweet milk every night and morning, "and it is to be found on his stall near Alderman Lefferts's." At the head of this advertisement appears the figure of a ferocious looking bull in the act of whirling through the air a dog, while another is rushing on the enraged beast, who stands prepared to favor him with a similar aerial flight.

During the Revolution, the St. George's Ferry stopped; and at its close, Cornell sold out and left with the British troops, but returned in 1784, when with his father, he petitioned the State to receive them back as citizens. Furman said of John Cornell, that he returned "as strong a King "and Churchman as ever;" and that the supposition is that he again returned to the King's dominions.

Whitehead, Junior, and Benjamin, two younger sons of Whitehead Cornell, Senior, began business with their father, and served a full apprenticeship; but not being able to obtain a regular stall, they attended the markets with small meats, until the year 1796, when some fourteen stands were placed in the lower Fly Market, and sold at public auction. Whitehead, Junior, purchased Number Sixty-seven, for which he paid One hundred and seventy pounds; and Benjamin paid one hundred and sixty-five pounds for Number Sixty-five.

In this market they continued business, while both resided at Brooklyn. Benjamin had some of his property destroyed by a fire which took place in Brooklyn, in 1806; when two boys were taken up as the supposed incendiaries.

Before the war of 1812 began, both sold out their stands and discontinued business.

William, another son, became a successful merchant in New York; purchased the old Sebring Mill, at Red Hook, which he converted into a distillery; and erected a long dock in front of it where grain and other material were landed. He afterwards sold this property to Ralph Patchen, another old Fly Market Butcher, who had previously been engaged in keeping a large number of cows at or near this distillery, from which place he daily supplied the citizens with the *purest* milk, that could positively be made at such a place. He however made money, which greatly assisted in the purchase of this distillery.

Into this business Patchen entered, and became very wealthy. He was an honest man, but rough in conversation, and at times very severe and personal; he, however, had the confidence of his fellow citizens who several times placed him in public office. The large dock near his distillery, was long known as *Patchen's Dock:* and at this

late day, we find two Avenues in the eastern part of Brooklyn, one of which is called "*Ralph "Avenue,*" and the other, adjoining, is known as "*Putchen Avenue.*"

TO BE CONTINUED.

II.—RELATION OF WHAT BEFEL THE PERSONS WHO ESCAPED FROM THE DISASTERS THAT ATTENDED THE ARMAMENT OF CAPTAIN PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ ON THE SHORES AND IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE NORTH.—CONTINUED.

TRANSLATED FROM THE XXXVTH BOOK OF THE "HISTORIA GENERAL Y NATURAL DE INDIAS," BY GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDEZ.

CHAPTER IV.

At last the natives, weary of finding food for their guests, turned away five of them that should go to some Indians that they said were to be found in another bay, six leagues farther on. Alonso del Castillo, went there with Pedro de Valdivieso, cousin of Andres Dorantes, and another, by name Diego de Huelva, where they remained a long time; the two others went down nearer the coast, where, seeking relief, they died, as Dorantes states, who found the bodies, one of whom, Diego Dorantes, was his cousin. The two hidalgos and a negro remaining in that rancho sufficed for the use of the natives, to bring backloads of wood and water, serving as slaves. After three or four days, however, these likewise were turned away, when for some time they wandered about, lost, without hope of relief; and going naked among swamps, having been previously despoiled at night of their clothing, they came upon those dead.

They continued on from there until they found some Indians, with whom Andres Dorantes remained; a cousin, one of the three who had gone on to the bay where they stopped, came over from the opposite side, and told him how the two swimmers who went from them had passed in that direction, their clothes taken from them, and they much beaten over the head with sticks because they would not remain, still, though bruised and stripped, they had gone on for the oath they had performed never to stop, even should death stand in the way, before coming to a country of Christians. Dorantes states that he saw in that rancho where he was, the clothes belonging to the clergyman, one of the swimmers, with a breviary or prayer book. Valdivieso then returned, and a couple days afterwards was killed, because he wished to flee, and likewise, in a little time, Diego de Huelva, because he forsook one dwelling-house for another.

The Christians were there made slaves, forced with more cruelty to serve than would have the Moor. Besides going stark naked and bare footed, over that coast which burns like fire in summer, their continual occupation was bringing wood and water on their backs, or whatever else the Indians needed, or dragging canoes through marshes in hot weather.

These natives eat nothing but fish the year round, and not a great deal. They experience much less hunger, however, than the inhabitants inland, among whom the Spanish were afterwards. The food often failed, which was the cause of frequent removal, otherwise they must have starved. Besides this want, there is still another greater, that of fresh water, which is very scarce in that country; for as they are ever wandering about, among marshes and salt-water, the drink is poor, brought from a distance and in small quantity. This imposed the greater labor on the Christians, who, while they endured the thirst equally with the rest, toted water for their masters, and even for their neighbors, since every one ordered them, and they feared every one; none but treated them badly, both by word and deed. Boys daily pulled their beards for pastime, and discovering them careless, any truant would jerk their hair, which was ever a source of laughter and unfailing delight. At times, they scratched them, so as to make the blood flow; they have nails that for any ordinary purpose are knives, and the principal arms among themselves, not however for war. Such and so numerous were these vexations, that the youth even on meeting them away from the houses, would pelt them with stones or whatever else came convenient to hand. This was for them a play, a novel hunt and joy; and as these were hidalgos and men of position, new in such experience of living, it was necessary that their patience should be great, equal to the labor and suffering they sustained to bear up under so many and such provoking annoyances. Thus Dorantes has affirmed, that he believed God gave them strength to be patient in discount of their sins, which deserved worse. Even though they had attempted to flee the sufferance of these torments, there was no escape, unless through desperation: they were surrounded by water; the country about where they went was islets; and, had they a choice, better would it have been for them could they have found death among the wilds, in solitude, as men whose fate was utterly hopeless, asking pardon for their transgressions, than live among a people bestial and wicked like this.

The Spaniards lived here fourteen months, from May to the May ensuing, of the year 1530, and to the middle of the month of August, when

Andres Dorantes, being at a point that appeared most favorable for going, commended himself to God, and went off at midday from among all the Indians, He being pleased that this sinner should go unobserved. Having crossed a large body of water, in great fear, he made all the haste possible, and, the next day, came upon some Indians, who gladly received him, having heard that the Christians served well. The negro followed him at the end of three months, when they met, though they were never together.

Castillo tarried among that bad people a year and a half later, until an opportunity was presented for starting; but, on arrival, he found only the negro, for, Dorantes discovering these Indians insufferably cruel, had gone back more than twenty leagues, to a river near the bay of Espiritu Santo, among those who had killed Esquivel, the solitary one that had escaped from the boats of the Governor and Alonso Enriquez, slain, as they were told, because a woman had dreamed some absurdity. The people of this country have belief in dreams, which is their only superstition. On account of them, they will kill even their children; and this hidalgo, Dorantes, states that, in the course of four years, he has been a witness to the killing or burial alive of eleven or twelve young, and those males, for rarely do they let a girl live. Near by, were other Indians, who had killed his cousin, Diego Dorantes, after having lived among them and served for two years; so that there was no greater security one day than another. At this time, the only survivors were Andres Dorantes, Alonzo del Castillo, and the negro, and likewise Cabeca de Vaca, who was not, to the others, known to be alive.

Andres Dorantes passed ten months among this people, enduring much privation, and continual labor, with such fear that he should be killed some day, that he never met an Indian, nor did one ever come where he was at work digging roots, that he did not fear he was about to be killed for some dream, and never felt safe until he saw him leave. Oftentimes, when meeting that poor man, they would feign to be very fierce, and come running up to him, as the Indians would do in like manner to the others, where they were, put an arrow to his breast, and drawing to the ear the cord of the bow, would afterwards laughing say to him: "Had you "fear?"

The greater part of winter, these people eat roots, dug under water, that are scarce and got out with much hard work. The larger portion of the year they suffer extreme want, seeking food all the day long. They likewise eat snakes, lizards, rats, crickets, grasshoppers, frogs, and all manner of reptiles and insects that can be picked up. Sometimes they kill deer, by setting fire to the lands and savannahs, driving them out. There are many rats about these rivers, but the number killed is small; for, as the natives go up and down that stream the winter long, ever in quest of food, they frighten and keep down the game. At times, they eat fish killed in that river; the quantity, however, is small, except during freshets which come yearly in April; when they occur oftener a second time is in May. Large numbers then are killed of good quality, which are dried in abundance on flakes, although the larger part is lost for want of salt, in the preparation, nor can that be got any where.

Many walnut trees grow on the margins of that river, the fruit of which is consumed in its season. Usually, they bear every other year, though sometimes not until the third; but, when they do yield, the crop is in profusion. The Indians are greedy of these nuts, going to eat them twenty or thirty leagues, the country about, when they suffer much privation; for, as the people who seek them are numerous, they kill or frighten away all the game the first day, and are confined exclusively to the fruit for the month it lasts. These nuts are much smaller than those of Spain, and the kernel troublesome to pick from the shell.

The inhabitants, in the end of March, when the winter is gone, eat the fish, if any remain of what they dry, taken from the rivers in their flood, and begin to travel for prickly pears, which are abundant in that country. They go, in the direction of Panuco, more than forty leagues, to eat them, esteeming them so highly that they will leave them for nothing else, and it is the best food they have in the whole year. The fruit lasts a month and a half or two months, they wandering and eating the while, occasionally killing a deer. Sometimes it happens that a few persons will kill two or three hundred of this animal; and Andres Dorantes says that in eight days' time he has known sixty Indians to kill that many, and sometimes that five hundred are slain, though oftener than otherwise they get none.

The manner of hunting them is this: as the animal strays towards the coast, the Indians run inland, where, as no people ever live, many deer collect, and these are driven before them into the sea, where they are kept the day long, until drowned, when the rise of tide, with the wind, cast them on shore. They are not chased when the wind is off the land, as at such times they will return immediately: the animal will only run against the wind.

After this exercise, the Indians take up their journey, leaving the salt water, and go inland to eat prickly pears, which they begin upon as they ripen, about August, and last fifty or sixty days.

It is the best part of the twelvemonth for this people, when, excepting some snails they get, they live upon nothing else but prickly pears, making merry over them, day and night, so happy are they in that season, while all the rest of the year they are suffering severe privation.

There, amongst those prickly pears, Castillo, the negro, and Dorantes again met and concerted about going; but, as the natives are never at rest, nor were they together, each soon went his way, so that of necessity these Christian sinners, having to follow their masters, were unable to carry out their plan and wish, they going to eat nuts, which were in plenty that year; and, having come to the place where they were, Cabeca de Vaca arrived, whom, five years before, they had left behind where the boats had been lost, never since having seen him.

After Cabeca de Vaca joined the others, they consulted together as they ate in the desert; for, being separated, they could only communicate in the season of prickly pears. Having been many times ready to flee, seemingly their sins fettered them, and again they were taken each a different way.

Six years had now passed, and in the seventh approached the season of prickly pears. These men were all apart, and each secretly directed his course inland to a place they were accustomed to get the fruit, where the Indians were not going, there being none. Dorantes arrived first, and finding some people, by accident, who came that day, the enemies of those among whom he had lived, they received him kindly. At the end of three or four days, the negro arrived in pursuit of him, with Alonso del Castillo, and they planned to go after Cabeca de Vaca, who was then tarrying in advance of them. Observing some smokes afar off, they agreed that while Dorantes and the negro should go to them, Castillo would remain to assure the natives, that they might not think the Christians were about to depart, telling them that they were looking for a companion, and should they find him there, as they hoped, would return with him. The Indians were well satisfied.

The two went their way and traveled well into the night. Coming upon an Indian, he took them where Cabeca de Vaca was, whom they informed that they had come for him. Fortunately, the next day, these Indians moved nearer to where Castillo was, where the three hidalgos, as all of them were, uniting, commended themselves to God as became their religion, and, with good resolution, like men of genuine blood and firm purpose, they set forward, determined to quit this savage life, wide of the service of God and all rational existence. Thus the Saviour guided them, laboring of His infinite mercy in their behalf, opening to them ways in a country where there are none, and into the hearts of men, savage and indomitable, whom God was moved to make humble and obedient, as farther on shall be told.

So that day they set out without being noticed, or having any idea of where they were going, solely confiding in divine mercy, looking about for the prickly pears that grow over the face of the country, which were ending, as it was then in October: and, praise be to the Mother of God, on that day, at sunset, as they much desired, they came upon Indians. These were very gentle, and had some information of the Christians, though fortunately small, and knew not how badly they had been treated. The Spaniards were without covering, the winter had come, and, as the prickly pears on which they should have to live were about gone, they were obliged to pause, for that year, to get some skins for clothing, which, they were told, could be had farther on. They were now on the way, and in such position, that, in the succeeding year, when the prickly pears should come, they might carry out their purpose. They rested the season, from the first of October to August of the year ensuing: but in that interval they underwent, with these Indians, great hunger, more, rather than less, than they had in the preceding seven years. The reason was, they were not near the sea, where they might have killed fish, and, consequently, they subsisted solely on roots, the natives there having greater difficulties to contend with than any of the others, as they can go to some fishing ground. The whole year round, the appetite of the inhabitants is not once satisfied, and the boys are so swollen and thin that they look like toads. Nevertheless, the Christians were well treated among them, were permitted to live in freedom, and to do whatever they pleased.

Chapter V.

At a favorable opportunity, when the month of August arrived, these three hidalgos, having brought together some deerskins, fled, with the requisite circumspection and privacy, from that people. They traveled thence seven leagues that day, until coming to some friends of those they had left, who received them kindly, and gave them of what they had. The next day, the Indians moved farther on, taking the Christians with them, to join others, who were likewise going to eat a certain little grain then about ripening, the product of trees in extensive groves.

Having united, the Christians went over to those Indians, because they belonged farther on, and were better adapted to their intent and the direction they would take. They stopped among them eight days, eating only the boiled leaves of the prickly pear, the seed which the

natives waited for being still unripe. In the gaunt condition that they were, they dared not attempt to go a league farther. In exchange for a portion of the deer skins, they got a couple of dogs, which, having eaten, they took their leave. At this the Indians were very sorry, but did not hinder their going.

The Spaniards traveled five or six leagues without finding any thing to eat, or any one to show the way, and, at dark arrived at a wood, where they slept. In the morning, having eaten some leaves of the prickly pear, buried over night, which thereby are made better to boil and easier of digestion, they pursued their journey until midday, when they came to two or three ranchos with some inhabitants, who told them they had nothing to eat; but to keep on and at dark they would come to houses where food would be given them.

Accordingly, the Spaniards proceeded and came to some forty or fifty ranchos. There it was the Indians, for the first time, began to fear and reverence those few men, holding them in great esteem. Approaching near, they rubbed them, and then rubbed themselves, bidding them, by signs, to rub and stroke them that they might be well. The sick were brought to be cured, and the hidalgos did as they were told, though more accustomed to labor than the performance of miracles. By virtue of their trust in God, blessing and breathing upon them after the manner of the *Saludadores* in Castillo, the Indians in a moment felt themselves better, and pre sented what there was to eat, which consisted of the buried leaf of the prickly pear and some of the fruit yet green, prepared in like manner.

The Spaniards were so thin they dared not travel, and remained fifteen days for repose. By eating the leaves and early fruit beginning to ripen, they became better, getting some strength. The natives generously gave of what they possessed, and with such good feeling as the Christians had not before known, either from those they had been among or from any they had intercourse with, having received only wrong and injury. These went on two leagues, where others proffered many articles that they might have cure, making very festive, presenting wholesome food of prickly pears with meat, and going out to hunt for them. Here the Spaniards recovered somewhat more; and God was pleased to command that they should in ten months travel a distance they did not expect to pass over in eight years, could they live so long. None could believe the extent of the journey, its wants and inconveniences, but they who were witnesses.

After those men started, the people were grieved, and, following on, entreated their return, saying that the Christians could go the next day with some women who had come to carry their things; but finding that they could not prevail with them, they went back very sorrowfully. The Spaniards mistook the track, traveling two or three leagues, and stopped to rest on the bank of a rivulet, where they were overtaken by the women, who, that the men might not be lost, had hastened on, as for their lives, and came up breathless and tired. They continued on together, doing their utmost that day, and walked eight or nine long leagues. Coming, at sunset, to a river that appeared broader than the Guadalquiver at Sevilla, they passed over it without accident, the water reaching about the knee and thigh, and at one place, for twice the length of a lance, to the breasts. Keeping on their course, at dusk they arrived at a town of a hundred ranchos or more, very populous, who came out to receive them with loud cries and great vociferation, bringing the large gourds filled with pebbles employed for making music in their dances. Although they believed that the Christians had the virtue of healing, the fear and trembling was great in coming forward to rub them, showing the respect and devotion there would be to touch a saint. In this manner, some pressing forward to be first, and many over each other's backs, loosing their fear, they lifted the Christians, running with them to the houses, where they offered them what there was, and the sick were directly brought to be cured. To an Indian who had accompanied the Christians, were given many arrows, with other things, in recompense for having brought and guided them to that place. The next day, the Christians were taken off a league and a half to another town of seventy or eighty ranchos, where they met such reception as the others had given; and they ate plentifully of prickly pears. Among other things, twenty-eight loaves of bread were presented, made from the flour of an article there eaten, called mesquite, the natives holding great festivity in *areytos*, according to custom.

At that place, began a novel manner of procedure on the journey, which was that of the many persons who came to accompany the Christians. Those who brought sick as to Saints, that they might rub themselves and receive cure, they would despoil, taking whatever they possessed, going even through their houses, pillaging at their pleasure, which conduct the owners appeared to be glad of, believing this new ordinance to be of heaven, whence those men came. The Spaniards, having rested there that and the following day, were taken to as many other ranchos, six leagues farther, a multitude of men and women going with them to rob all they could, and did so; for, having come to the town, the Christians were well received, and even better than before. They were borne down by the numbers crowding to have them stroke and heal their infirm, which i-

rectly was accomplished; when they and others were plundered to the extent of to leaving them destitute, they being given to understand that the procedure was requisite. Among them there were many blind, and many clouded of one, and some of both eyes. These people are well featured, and symmetrical; equally so the female as the male. The blind and the many other infirmities were administered to, and if there was not healing for all, at least they believed that these men could cure them. Near by were mountains that appeared to be a chain traversing the country, directly towards the north.. The Christians were taken five leagues onward, to a river, at the foot of a point at which the range begins, where were forty or fifty ranchos. These, like the rest, were pillaged, and the owners gave the little that remained to the Christians, making great festivity for them, and receiving the aid that was customary. The same night, they sent to call people from below, towards the sea, many men and women with gifts arriving the next day, to see the Christians and witness their miracles.

These Indians, to take from others, strove hard to lead the Christians to the sea-side, expecting there to make good their losses. They stated that many people were there who would give them a great deal; but the Spaniards would only go upward and inland, having been schooled in a knowledge of the population of the coast where they had ever been told that they could go out on sea at the sunset; and, until now, they were constantly fearing that when least expecting it they might come back on this shore. For these reasons, their desire was to ascend farther up, from which the Indians strove to dissuade them, telling them that only at a great distance did food and people exist; but when the natives found that they could not prevail with them they sent off to bring inhabitants.

The next day, they set out, followed by a large number of persons. The weather being very hot, many women carried water and the food for them, with articles that had been given. Two leagues on the way, they met the messengers, who said they had found no people in a long distance. All were greatly disheartened at this, and the natives besought the Christians to go the way they pointed out, but being unable to persuade them, they left the burdens and went away weeping. The Spaniards took the loads upon their backs, and went following up the course of the river all that day, until night, when they came upon eight or ten ranchos in a thicket or scrub. The inhabitants, in devotional feeling, received them weeping, giving what there was to eat, as others had done.

In the morning, the Indians who had left the Christians arrived. They had heard of this other people, and followed on their trail to plunder in satisfaction for what others had taken. They seized the little they could, telling these how they should manage. The next day, the Christians were taken from there, and slept at night on the road, The day following, they arrived at many ranchos, where they were received as customary; and to their conductors was made good what they had lost and more, taking as much as they could carry away. In this manner, they traveled along the skirt of the mountains, about the distance of eighty leagues, entering the country directly north; and, at the base of the ridge, they found four ranchos of another nation and tongue, who said they belonged beyond the interior and were journeying back. These presented some blankets of cotton and a hawkbell, which, they stated, came from the north across the country from the South sea. The next day, they struck in westward towards the mountains, taking the Spaniards to some ranchos on the banks of a beautiful river, and they gave them marquisite and pyrites of iron, stating that they who gave them the hawkbell, which was of brass, had much of that material, and kept it: thence it was conjectured that whence those things were cast brought, if the inhabitants had not gold, they metal, at least, were in settled residences, and, probably enough, on the South sea. Three hundred and fifty leagues, little more or less, had been traversed by them from where the journey commenced.

Many hare and deer were killed, for the Christians, on the way, and every thing taken was brought to them, not a rat being kept back. They ordered that the game should not be buried, but all be placed before them; and then, after they had taken out what they wished, the rest they sanctified for the use of the natives. The women and children brought the worms and crickets they gathered, choosing to starve rather than take anything before it had been blessed and given to them, as, otherwise, they believed they should all die. These regulations were observed on the whole length of the march, until coming out to the land of Christians.

The Spaniards were next taken to five collections of ranchos, the occupants of which were numerous and good looking. They were presented with the seed of the pine tree in large quantity, as good as that of Castilla or better, the shell being of such quality it could be eaten with the rest. The burr is very small: the trees grow all over the mountains. From that time forth, the Christians did not permit themselves to be followed by more than two thousand souls at a time. They were taken from there onward a long time, traveling in this manner without coming upon any one. Finding that there were no people, they sent in all directions to find some, causing ranchos to come to the road,

the distance of more than fifteen or twenty leagues to wait for them on the road, and take them along. From that place, another new order of travel was established, which was that those who led those Christians robbed whatever there was and could find in the ranchos wheresoever they newly came, now they took nothing, but as each of the Christians had his hut made for him apart, it was got ready and in order, every thing being brought near it that the Christians should do as they might please with it, no one daring to touch an article. They would take the whole, or such part as they chose, leaving their hosts despoiled that they might be obliged to take them on to retrieve themselves in like manner. These took them forward, by desperate travel, through some mountains, more than fifty leagues farther, sustaining much hunger for the poor condition of the land, where were no prickly pears nor other thing, and near the close of the journey they began to grow sick, when there was great labor in blessing and breathing upon them, for there was scarce one that was well. Thus were they taken to over a hundred ranchos on a plain awaiting the Spaniards who had caused them to come there from a great distance; and the people were numerous over all that region. They one and all presented seed of the pine in large quantity, which was received as aforetime, giving whatsoever they had, keeping nothing for themselves. The next day they took them onward, some things which were old and had been left them, they abandoned on those fields, not being willing to take them, and their straw boxes which they used for trunks as well. These told the Spaniards that there were no people except at a great distance, and were their enemies. The Christians told them to send an Indian to proclaim their approach; for it was the custom on the journey, when drawing nigh the ranchos of a new people to send four Indians in advance, in the name of each, that houses should be prepared for them, and whatever was to be given should be together and in readiness. The people resolved to send two women, one a captive among the people whence they had come; for they dared not send a man because of the war that existed between them, and they could not understand each other. Behind them the Spaniards moved forward with all the assemblage, moving every day, awaiting the response that should come in a certain direction; but, at the first setting out, the people began to sicken, in such way that the Christians felt great pity for them, since these had been the best people they had found. They had arranged to wait the women with their answer three days, and were unwilling to take the Spaniards in other direction on account of their feud. Then it was that Andres Dorantes said to one of his Indians that he should tell them that they should die for that they would do: and such was the fright and apprehension that came upon them, above what they had before, that next day they went out to hunt, and at noon returned unwell, and every day that increased, so that in two days many died, and more than three hundred became sick. They were seized with so great fear, believing that the Christians in their displeasure had caused it, that they dared not look them in the face, nor lift their eyes from the ground while standing before them. And it was a marvelous thing to observe that only in the fifteen days they were among those Indians they saw not one of them laugh, nor weep, nor show any other emotion, although the parents of some of them were dying, some their wives and children, and others their husbands: thus did they suppress their feelings and bear themselves as though no trouble weighed them. A thing still stranger: the babes at the breast nor the children of more age were never seen either to laugh or weep in all the time the Christians were among them, like the aged of a century. This people dared not eat, nor drink, nor do any thing, without asking leave of the Christians; believing they had the power either to take or give them life; and that as they were angry with them they died. At the end of two or three days that they were there, the women came and brought them very discouraging news, stating that the people whom they had gone to look after had gone after cattle, and that no one was to be found any where there. At this the Indians said that they were all ill, as the Christians saw, and were come from a long way off; that the Christians should go after the cattle, upward, towards the north, and they would find people: that they desired to remain and go elsewhere; were suffering great hunger; that the prickly pears were ending. The Christians said, "No; that they must be taken in that direction "which was toward the sunset, since that was "their direct course: that the sick should re-"main, and twenty or thirty of those in health "should accompany them, and one of the Chris-"tians would go with those women to discover "the people and bring them on the road." The Indians appeared glad to hear this.

The next they departed and traveled three days consecutively. Alonso del Castillo being in better condition than the others, set out with the negro and the women who took him to a river where they found people, houses, and a settlement. They ate of beans and pumpkins, though in small quantity. At the close of the third day, Castillo returned to the Christians, and the negro remained to bring the people out upon the road.

III.—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE INDIAN WAR OF 1776.*

By Hon. D. L. Swain, President of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Very few persons in the western portion of our good old State are even aware that an army, with its concomitant train of good and evil, ever entered the region beyond the Blue Ridge. And yet it may well be doubted whether there ever was an expedition more beneficial to any people, than the one of 1776, commanded by General Griffith Rutherford. Important as it was in its results, and difficult in its accomplishment, the event lives only in the memory of some of the descendants of the men who fought and won the victory, and in a very few manuscripts of the men of other days. But such is the destiny of laudable achievments and unparalleled heroism; and we may expect to know that even the great struggle for Independence, by "the old thirteen," has perished with the brave ones who achieved our freedom.

In the summer of 1776, the news of the terrible depredations of the "Over Hill Cherokees," who then owned all the territory west of the Blue Ridge, and much that is now the domain of Georgia and Tennessee, was spread over the country. Men were killed by the secret foe in the most brutal way; women and children were butchered without remorse; and the scattered possessions of the frontier settlements were laid waste by the savage hordes of hostile Indians. The country was almost a smoking ruin, and the reeking scalps, with here and there an enslaved boy and the little property the Indians could not carry away, were almost all that remained of our pioneer settlements. Forbearance had ceased to be a virtue, since the treachery of savage character had become proverbial. The long confined vengeance of the whites could be restrained no longer by the professions of peace, which the Indians entered into only to destroy the more readily. And the determination to submit no longer could only be cancelled by the utter destruction of the Cherokee towns, and the infliction of such punishment as the retaliatory spirit of the times would justify. This chastisement it is our present purpose to sketch, relying for the truth of our statements, on facts collected by Hon. Archibald D. Murphy and from those communicated to us by the contemporaries of those men who lingered among us long after the war was closed, and have now nearly all disappeared from the land their valor gained.

There were three armies simultaneously fitted out by Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, and destined to the same place, for like purpose. The army of the first named State was commanded by Colonel Christain; the North Carolina troops by General Griffith Rutherford, and consisted of two thousand four hundred men. (some say of three thousand;) and the South Carolina troops by General Williamson, consisting of about two thousand men. General R.'s army encamped near Pleasant Gardens, in McDowell county, at what is known as "Old Fort," (probably built by him,) about the last of August, 1776. Before them were forests and interminable wilds, high mountains and a deadly foe whose cunning and treachery were ominous of the difficulties and dangers to which they were to be exposed. And, however imperturbable soldiers may be when entering upon an engagement with honorable enemies and "foemen worthy of their steel," we may well suppose that "fear and trembling," of no ordinary kind, seized upon this small army, when their fancy was permitted to precede them into this trackless wilderness, where one single yell from a warlike chief would suffice to people the mountains and valleys with a denser, deadlier enemy than that which the clarion notes of Roderic Dhu summoned before the disturbed eye of the brave Fitz James.

They took up the line of march, crossed the Ridge at the Swananoa Gap, pursued the meanderings of that bright stream as it gurgled towards the French Broad river, at which place they forded the river; and there is, to this day, a "War Ford," which derives its name from General Rutherford's having here crossed, in this expedition. They then pursued Hominy creek to its source, passed over to Pigeon river, and pursued pretty much the direction of the upper road; which, at this time, goes by Colonel Joseph Cathey's. At the spot where the meeting house now stands, a few miles above the present ford, they buried one of their companions, whose hopes of again returning to his friends were here so suddenly and so sadly blighted, and the remains of whom were discovered a few years ago, when digging a grave for a departed friend. In this place, we will mention, that when Judge Samuel Lowry, who was a private in this expedition, visited Haywood county, he told some of the legal fraternity that he had noticed a beech tree, on which was rudely carved, "1706," which he again visited and pointed out. It is on the left of the road going from Colonel Cathey's to Waynesville, a few hundred yards above where the road crosses a small stream, as one descends the little gap, four or five miles northeast of the village. And when we remember that this date was anterior to the settlement of any portion of the State, except some few counties on the sea shore, we may well be excited to know who cut it. From this place, the army advanced up Rich-

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land creek to its source, crossed the mountain near McLure's, and followed Scott's creek to its mouth. This latter stream obtains its name from John Scott, a trader among the Cherokees, a negro of whom was shot by the Reverend James Hall, the Chaplain, as he ran, mistaking him for an Indian. Crossing the Tuckaseige, they came to the Cowee mountain, probably by pursuing Savannah creek to its source; and near its top, their advance guard were fired upon by the Indians, who immelately fled. The soldiers, without any further molestation, arrived at the little Tennessee river, passed down Watauga creek, and encamped on the west side of said river, near a large Indian mound, at a town called Nequassee, now rejoicing in the revered title—Franklin. They remained here a day, and then marched down the river to a town called Cowee, some three or four miles below the present village, where they encamped and awaited the arrival of the Southern Division, under General Williamson. These, however, did not arrive for two or three days after the appointed time, the fourteenth of September; and General R,'s troops had ample time to reconnoitre the country and survey the awful grandeur which so commends this lovely valley to the admiration of the stranger and the affection of the inhabitants. Hostile Indians were in all directions; towering mountains would smile a welcome in their rich autumnal verdure and frown upon them in their lofty and imposing majesty; the lovely Tennessee, here but a rivulet compared to the flood of waters it teems into the Ohio, with its crystal water and variegated banks, slaked their burning thirst and laved their weary bodies; forests of gnarled oak and unsurpassed native gardens of richest wild flowers, and meadows of tall, waving grass, added to the beauty of the place, and compensated somewhat for the loss of those pleasures which cluster, peculiarly and appropriately, around home.

It is related upon the authority of Major Daniel Bryson, a revolutionary patriot, who also served in this expedition, that, whilst General Rutherford was waiting for General Williamson's arrival, and for whom small parties had been sent, but returned without any tidings, some detachments were sent out and destroyed some Indian towns. Sugar town, situated between Tennessee and Sugar-town rivers, (the Indian name of the latter is Cul-la-sat-chee,) was flanked on two sides by the river, and was fronted by a strong breastwork of logs and brush. The soldiers, finding it unoccupied, entered, and were immediately surprised by the savage war-whoop, muskets, and tomahawks, wielded as only savages can wield them; and were forced into the huts, from which confinement they were ere long released by a party on a similar undertaking with themselves. A prisoner whom they had taken, promised, upon his life being spared, to lead them to a town about seven miles from Nequassee, on the Sugartown, where their wives, children and property were concealed. They followed this enchanting stream, shut in by mountains so much that scarcely room is left for a foot path. This town was located in a narrow valley, completely enclosed by mountains, which seemed almost to overhang the huts, and was tenantless, save by a few very old women and children of a very tender age. Indian men were seen menacingly pacing to and fro upon the overhanging precipices, and leaping from crag to crag, with the agility of the panther, and somewhat of his ferocious disposition. But they only destroyed the town, and drove off some cattle. This most delightful place is now owned by an enterprising gentleman of Macon county, to whom we are indebted for these facts, and by whom we may expect the site of the old Indian town to be converted into a paradise.

After having waited for General Williamson some time, without any tidings from him, General Rutherford left one thousand eight hundred men at Cowee, and resolved, with the remainder, to proceed to the "Valley Towns" on the Hiwassee, and destroy them. Soon after, leaving the main army, he mistook the path; and, having no pilots, he wandered in the mountains for three days, but going too much to the left to gain Hiwassee. General W. reached Cowee, two days after the other General left, and sent men to hunt for him, who found him about three miles from where he started. Rutherford was put upon the right track; and, in crossing the Nantahala mountain, by pursuing the *Wah-zah*, was met by a large party of Indians, who had placed themselves on the top of two ridges, which made an acute angle through which the troops were compelled to pass. From this position, the savages were able to fire and conceal themselves by the ridge, so that few of them were killed, while a considerable number of whites lost their lives. The Indians, however, fled; and the troops of General R. proceeded, unmolested, to the Hiwassee towns, burned them, cut down their corn, destroyed their beans, potatoes, &c., killed twelve Indians in one town, and took six prisoners. General Williamson arrived soon after; but, as the work was accomplished, took his route for home up the Hiwassee, while General R. crossed the Nantahala, and reached Cowee after an absence of eight days.

To this short war may be properly attributed all the kind feelings and fidelity to treaty stipulations manifested by the Cherokees ever afterwards. General Rutherford had destroyed the "Under-"hill Towns," or those on the Tennessee River, ruined the prospects of an abundant crop, and instilled into the Indians so great a fear of the whites, that never afterwads were they disposed to engage in any cruelty, or destroy any of the

property of our frontier men. The predatory disposition of the "Over-hill," or Hiwassee, Indians was also quelled; and their chiefs, in company with chiefs from all portions of the tribe, were soon found at the Long Islands, on the Holston river, for the purpose of making a perpetual treaty. This was done—Waighstill, Avery, and others acting as Commissioners. The blessings of peace followed; traders were permitted to exchange merchantable goods for skins, venison and whatever else was of value; savage ferocity and bloodthirstiness disappeared, and the valley of Tennessee "heard of war no more."

General Williamson came with his two thousand South Carolinians through the Rabun gap, and in descending Tennessee river, about nine miles South of where Franklin now stands, in the neighborhood of Smith's bridge, fell into an ambuscade prepared by the wily foe. The contest was of considerable duration, of determined bravery on both sides, and somewhat destructive to both parties. The ambush must have ended in the defeat of Williamson's undertaking, had not Edward Hampton, in command of only thirty regulars, attacked the foe unexpectedly in the rear, and thus deprived them of the only chance they had of escape, without crossing the mountain, which jutted into the river, leaving only space enough for a trail, in the very fairest reach of the General and Hampton's shot. Hampton had just learned that his brother's wife and children had been cruelly butchered, and this no doubt fired him with renewed zeal to punish the Indians. He is said to have rammed a bullet down his gun without having charged it with powder. Nothing daunted, he sat down in the very hottest of the fight, uncased his gun, "unbreeched her" (to use a huntsman's word,) drew the load, and then, having rearranged the machinery, proceeded to the slaughter of as many Cherokees as he could. This was an exhibition of calm, undaunted courage, seldom equalled. But there was one, Harry Wolf, "a "great bully at fist and skull," whose cowardice was so extreme as to frighten him out of his wits.—When the Indians had beaten the whites back across the little stream that here makes into the river, Wolf was so terribly frightened, that he crawled under a shelving bank of the stream.—Whilst here, one William Hammon was shot through the thigh, but he ran from the Indians some distance before the bone broke, and fell near where Wolf was. One Indian scalped him, and gave him some severe blows in the head with a tomahawk, and left him for dead. Another Indian came up, took another scalp, and went his way, without a single fire from the base coward who was safely concealed in full view of the transaction. He said afterwards, that, if the battle had lasted one half hour longer, he should have died from fright. The battle was gained to General W., and he proceeded to the towns where General Rutherford was encamped, without farther opposition.

Reverend James Hall, a Presbyterian minister of Iredell county, was Chaplain to the North Carolina troops, but oftener used a soldier's musket than the sword of peace. However, when the two armies met at Cowee, it is said that Mr. Hall, on a calm and beautiful Sabbath day, with an Indian mound for his pulpit, and hardy soldiers for his audience, preached a most affecting and thrilling sermon; insomuch that, as the good man's voice echoed through the surrounding woods, there was scarcely a dry eye to be seen. This was undoubtedly the first sermon ever preached in that country, and one from which may be dated a change for the better in the lives of many.

Whilst encamped on the Tennessee, General Rutherford sent a detachment of his men to Burning Town, from which the present stream, Burnington, gets its name, in order to get provisions.—While they were away, General R., leaving a sufficient force at the camp, set out with his army to the Hiwassee towns. The detachment happened to see his army approaching, and, shouting *The Indians! The Indians!*, made a precipitate retreat. The officer in command, finding his men more alert than himself, when likely to be left behind, would call a halt; but whenever in front he was for no delay whilst the Indians were so near.

And now that the officers, and privates of this expedition are all sleeping the sleep of death, save old Hogbite, who was noticed in our April Magazine, and the "sober second thought" has resumed its sway, we can but feel that such an enterprise was necessary, to check the dreadful havoc inflicted by the Indians. Yet that question will arise—"Had we a right to force the poor oc- "cupants from their possessions and appropriate "them to ourselves?" Human nature may ever be too cowardly to interpose an objection to the titles acquired by our fathers; but the time will come, when retributive justice will plead the Indian's cause with more than an angel's eloquence, and with far greater success than is ever witnessed in earthly tribunals.

IV.—THE PURITANS AND THE PILGRIM FATHERS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

[The following articles will speak for themselves. They treat of a subject which has already been very ably discussed in our pages; and we offer no apology for continuing to present it to our readers.—Editor Historical Magazine.]

I.

[From *The Morning Cleveland Herald*, April 8, 1867.]

The Pilgrim Fathers and the Puritans.

Under the title of *A Memorial to the Pilgrim*

Fathers, the Reverend S. G. Buckingham, Pastor of the South Church of Springfield, Massachusetts, has published in pamphlet form an address delivered by him on "Forefathers Day." Well written the discourse is, but it is open to criticism of a graver character than belongs to a discussion of its style. A New England minister, preaching in a New England Church, on the subject of the founders of New England, and on the New England anniversary, would naturally be expected to speak intelligently on the subject he had chosen; and yet, at the outset, we find him tripping in history, and perpetuating a popular error which has been so clearly exposed that no person, claiming any knowledge of New England history, can be excused for ignorance on the subject. That the "Pilgrim Fathers" were not "Puritans" has become an established fact, though the Reverend Mr. Buckingham does not seem to be aware of it.

On the first page of his pamphlet he says, "The Puritans went over to Holland, and estab-"lished themselves for a few years in Leyden." Neal, to whom he frequently refers, tells us they were "rigid Separatists—Messrs. Johnson, Ainsworth, Smith and Robinson were the leaders." Neal, in his account of the adventurers from Delft-Haven, speaks of Robinson at the "Father of "the Independents." (Separatists and Independents are synonymous terms.) According to Baylis, in his *History of Plymouth*, Robinson and his associates, as early as 1602, "entered in-"to a covenant to conform to the doctrines of the "Primitive Church, and totally *separated* them-"selves from the Established Church;" that he adopted the creed of Calvin; was a "rigid and "unyielding *Separatist;*" and the final arrangement before the sailing of the *Speedwell* was, that they would "be an absolute Church by themselves," and Brewster its ruling Elder. Palfrey places Brewster and Robinson among the early *Separatists* at Scrooby—the former the most prominent member and the latter as Teacher.

Allen, in his biography of Brewster and Robinson, drawn from the best historical sources, fully confirms the statements of Baylis and Palfrey, yet Mr. Buckingham calls Plymouth "a Puritan col-"ony;" and enumerates Carver, Bradford, Winslow, and Brewster, of "Puritan faith," all of whom were "unyielding Separatists." Our author says the Puritans "held to certain superstitious "notions like witchcraft," but comforts himself with the reflection that only a score of witches perished. The Separatists held no such "super-"stitious notions;" and among the *Mayflower* Pilgrims, the law against witchcraft was a dead letter, and no punishment was inflicted under it; and if we may credit Fuller, the belief in the existence of witchcraft among the intelligent people of England was exploded before the beginning of the seventeenth Century.

Reference is made to the Reverend Mr. Higginson, who came over in 1629, and as the shores of England were fading from view, indulged in the following apostrophe: "We will not say as the "Separatists are wont to say at their leaving Eng-"land—'Farewell Babylon! Farewell Rome'! but "we will say 'Farewell dear England! Farewell "'the Church of God in England.'—We do not go "to New England as Separatists from the Church-"es of England."—Who were those Separatists alluded to by Mr. Higginson? Surely none other but the Pilgrim Fathers of the *Mayflower*.

The first organized Puritan community in New England was composed of fishermen at Cape Ann, in 1626, under charge of Roger Conant, who had "lately removed out of New Plymouth, out of "dislike of their principles of rigid Separation" (*See* PALFREY.) These adventurers, the next year, removed to Naumkeag, (now Salem) and were finally under the charge of "John White, the "Patriarch of Dorchester."

Small additions were made to the Puritans, up to 1629, when six vessels were dispatched from England with settlers, among whom were Skelton, Higginson, Wright and Smith. From this time Puritan supremacy may be dated. "Green-"wood and Penry were put to death," but not as Puritan martyrs, as Mr. Buckingham would infer. They were *Separatists* (PALFREY).—"Two thou-"sand of the ablest and best ministers of the Es-"tablished Church were driven out of the min-"istry and silenced * * * because they could "not with truth subscribe to the requirements of "such a church." These were *Puritans*. The surplice, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, bowing at the name of Jesus, and some other objects of aversion, they thought smelt of Popery and could not tolerate; yet the fat livings of the Church induced the Puritan clergy to hold on to their benefices, while they refused to conform to the established forms of the Church. It has been pertinently said by Lingard. "It will remain a "difficult task to show on what just ground men "could expect to retain their livings, while they "refused to submit to the discipline of that "Church by which they were employed." How long would the Reverend Mr. Buckingham remain Pastor of the South Church of Springfield if he held to the doctrines of Arminius?

As Wickliffe, Luther, Calvin and Huss separated from the corrupt Church of Rome, so Barrowe, Greenwood, Brewster, Robinson, and their coadjutors, separated from the hardly less corrupt hierarchy of Henry VIIIth. They did not allow their longing for the flesh-pots of the Church to prevent a total separation. The distinction between the Puritans and Separatists was marked, broad, and clear.

We owe much to the Puritans for free institutions; we venerate their virtues, and thei rdescend

ants look back with pride to so noble an ancestry; but the vindication of the truth of history demands that the Pilgrim Fathers of the *Mayflower* be not confounded with another religious sect that settled at Salem and Boston some years after, "which was carried away by a superstitious "frenzy" in whipping women and cutting off the ears of men, to convince them of the errors of their religious tenets; persecuting Baptists for opinion's sake; and hanging witches and Quakers for disturbing the public peace.

However excusable these "delusions of the "times" may have been, justice to those noble *Mayflower* Pilgrims and their descendants demands that they bear not the odium of these "de-"lusions."

II.

[From *The Springfield Daily Republican*, May 2, 1867.]

WERE THE PILGRIMS PURITANS?

The Cleveland Herald criticises Reverend Mr. Buckingham, in his *Memorial to the Pilgrim Fathers*, for calling these men "Puritans." The editor says they were not "Puritans," but "Sep-"aratists;" that Plymouth was not a Puritan Colony, but one of unyielding Separatists; that "the "first organized Puritan community in New Eng-"land," was the one that removed from Plymouth, in 1626, "out of dislike of their principles of "rigid separation," and settled first at Cape Ann, and afterwards at Salem; that those who joined this Colony from England, and the settlers at Boston, were mostly Non-conformists in the Established Church at home, and so were "Puritans," but not "Separatists;" and thus the Puritan supremacy in New England was established. And as the prosecution of Roger Williams and the hanging of the witches took place in the Massachusetts Colony, the editor refuses to admit that the Plymouth Pilgrims were at all responsible for such intolerance, or that they were Puritans.

We think the Massachusetts Colony must bear its own sins, and this one is not to be laid to the charge of either the Plymouth, or the Connecticut, or the New Haven Colony. And it is noticeable that while the West is holding us to such individual responsibility, instead of allowing us to hide under the virtues of our neighbors, there are those in England also who are calling us to the same strict account. The Lord Chamberlain of London, Edward Scott, has lately delivered and published a valuable address upon this very subject, entitled, *The Pilgrim Fathers neither Puritans nor Persecutors*. He is a thorough Independent and hearty admirer of the Plymouth Pilgrims; but he will not admit that they were guilty of religious intolerance, nor even admit that they were Puritans.

And now the question, in respect to him as well as the *Cleveland Herald*, is, whether the name "Puritan" is properly applied to the Plymouth settlers? Hume says that the appellation "Puri-"tan" stood for three parties, which, though commonly united, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were political Puritans, who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty; the Puritans of discipline, who were averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal Puritans, who rigidly defended the speculative system of the first reformers (iii., 52.) Mr. Scott and the editor of the *Herald* use the term in its most restricted sense, to denote nonconforming members of the Established Church; those who belonged to that Church, but advocated a purer faith and purer form of worship. In this sense, the Pilgrims were not Puritans; they were not members of the Established Church, though they were political Puritans, and doctrinal Puritans, and Puritans of discipline, or averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the Church. But they were already Separatists, and had come out from that Church before they went over to Holland; while the Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and New Haven Colonists, never separated from the Church until they came over here. Still they all became Separatists then. They all held, when they were once over here, substantially the same ideas of religious doctrine, and church government, and civil government. And what is the use of running such a nice distinction, where there is so little difference, and where so little is to be gained by it? If the Plymouth Colony showed more of toleration and less of superstition than the Massachusetts Colony, as we certainly think they did, nobody need object to admitting it. But to say that the former was not Puritan, because it had not lately belonged to the Established Church like the latter, or that the latter was not Separatist, because it had lately separated itself from that Church, as the former had done years before, is a distinction with too little difference. Besides, usage is generally against such a nice distinction. Hume's formal definition, we have noticed, and he speaks of New England as "having been "planted entirely by the Puritans." Macaulay, in his celebrated review of Milton, pays his tribute to the Puritan, as including under that term, Cromwell and all the Independents, who were Separatists from the Established Church. Bancroft styles all the New England Colonies, "Puritan "Colonies;" and Palfrey speaks of England under the Commonwealth as "Puritan England," and of the settlements of New England, as "commun-"ities of Puritans." None of them make any such distinction between the Pilgrims and the Puritans, as this writer proposes.

III.

[From *The Daily Cleveland Herald*, May 13, 1867.]

THE PURITANS AND SEPARATISTS.

The Springfield Republican comes to the rescue of the Reverend Mr. Buckingham, whose *Memorial of the Pilgrim Futhers* we criticised on the sixth of April last.

The *Republican* quotes Hume to prove that the appellation—"*Puritan*, stood for three parties, "which though commonly united were yet "actuated by very different views and motives"—intimating that the Separatists, or Independents, were one of those parties; and after discussing the faith and practice of the early Puritans, adds "Hume's formal definition we have noticed, and "he speaks of New England as having been "planted entirely by the Puritans."

Now the facts in regard to Hume are these: In the first place, he was discussing the state of parties in the House of Commons, in the reign of Charles I. The Independents had no party in the Commons at that time, under any name. Their first meeting house in England was founded in 1616. Macaulay says, "In the sixteenth Century "there was not in the whole realm a single con-"gregation of Independents or Baptists." The first emigration to New England, spoken of by Hume, was that of a party of three hundred or more that came to the Massachusetts Colony, about 1629. Neither Hume nor Macaulay mention the Plymouth Colony, the *Mayflower*, nor her emigrants. Hume, in his history of the reign of James I., says: "Puritans were never punished "for frequenting Separate congregations, because "there was none such in the kingdom." James I. reigned from 1603 to 1625. During that time, John Robinson had gathered his congregation at Leyden, which came to Plymouth in 1620; and Neal says, "Robinson was the father of the In-"dependents." Up to about this period all Nonconformists were, in derision, called Puritans; but, in the beginning of the seventeenth Century, the Independents and Baptists came into notice and thereafter have been known by those appellations. Hume says; "The Independents were the first "Christian sect that admitted of toleration, re-"jected all ecclesiastical establishments, and "would admit of no spiritual courts, no govern-"ment among Pastors, no interposition of the "magistrate in religious concerns." Hume is a witness the *Republican* has introduced, and it is presumed it will take no exception to his testimony.

It is worthy of remark that Bancroft alludes to the congregation of Robinson and Brewster, when about to leave for Holland, as *Separatists*, and afterwards invariably calls them Pilgrims. The first Puritans he notices in New England was White, the minister of Dorchester, and Roger Conant, who organized the first Puritan Church in New England, at Cape Ann, mentioned by Palfrey. Bancroft distinctly says White was not a *Separatist*.

The *Springfield Republican* says of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims: "But they were already Separa-"tists, and had come out of the Church before "they went over to Holland; while the Massachu-"setts, Connecticut and New Haven colonists, "never separated from that Church until they "came over here; still they all became Separatists "then." They were involuntary Separatists, by compulsion. The world will fail to see any merit in a separation effected by the strong arm of power which was resisted till the last by its victims. The *Republican* continues; "They all held "when they were once over here, substantially "the same ideas of religious doctrine, and of "church government, and civil government. "And what is the use of running such a nice "distinction, where there is so little difference, "and where so little is to be gained." Let us examine the subject and see how favorably "the "acts, and the religious doctrine, and church gov-"ernment" of the Massachusetts Colony compared with the acts and deeds of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims of Plymouth Colony; bearing in mind that we run the parallel no further than the union of the two Colonies; for after that period "like kindred drops "they mingled into one." The fundamental principles of the Independents are thus laid down by Sir James Macintosh: "They disdained the "qualification of National, as repugnant to the na-"ture of a Church, The religion of the Indepen-"dents could not, without destroying its nature, be "*Established*.—They never could aspire to more "than Religious liberty; and they, accordingly, "have the honor to be, first and long, the only "Christian community who collectively adopted "that sacred principle."

Lord Brougham pronounced this eulogium upon them: "The Independents, that body much to be re-"spected for their numbers, but far more to be "held in lasting veneration for the unshaken for-"titude with which, in all times, they have main-"tained their attachment to civil and religious "liberty, and holding fast by their own princi-"ples, have carried to its uttermost pitch the great "doctrine of absolute toleration; men to whose "ancestors this country will ever acknowledge "a boundless debt of gratitude, as long as freedom "is prized among us; for they—I fearlessly pro-"claim it—with the zeal of martyrs, had the "purity of the early Christians. True to their "generous principles in Church and State, their "descendants are pre-eminent in toleration; so "that although, in the progress of knowledge, "*other classes of Dissenters* may be approaching

"fast to overtake them, they still are foremost in "their proud distinction."

The Independents adopted the creed of Calvin, with perfect toleration to all, and practiced what they professed. They rejected not only the forms and ceremonies, but the government, of the Established Church. They ignored all Bishops, Presbyteries, Synods, or Assemblies. Macaulay says: "The Puritans had no quarrel with the Established "Church, except that it retained too much that "was Popish." They not only remained in the Church and clung to it with great pertinacity until driven out, but in some cases the Puritan Clergy most discreditably acted as spies, visited the Separatists in prison, and under the guise of sympathy and religious conference, noted down their conversations, testified against them on their trial, and aided in their conviction.

This persecuting spirit they brought over and transplanted in the Massachusetts Colony. It was this spirit of the Massachusetts Puritans that drove Roger Williams into the wilderness, where he found more favor with savages than with Christians, simply for asserting that "Civil magistrates "had no authority from God to regulate or con- "trol the affairs of religion." Their intolerant spirit led them to denounce Anne Hutchinson, the most remarkable woman of the age, simply for holding to a "Covenant of Grace" and perfect toleration, of whom a late writer says:

"A woman whose life was as spotless as her "doctrines; who watched with the sick, aided the "poor, breathed hope to the dying:—an example "of the purity she taught—yet the bitter Welde "called her an American Jezebel; whom even the "cautious Winthrop believed to be a minister, if "not a familiar, of Satan; whom the grave Puri- "tans resolved to destroy; and whom they treated "with a persevering barbarity, not surpassed by "a Spanish Inquisition. Their hate pursued her to "her lonely grave; and they sought to hold her "up for the execration of posterity as the heaven- "detested enemy of the Church—but whose doc- "trines of universal toleration are now ap- "plauded."

The presecution of the Quakers, as recorded by Bishop, in his *New England judged by the Spirit of the Lord*, is shocking to humanity. The fact of imprisonment, starving, whipping and hanging of Quakers, both male and female, is too notorious to render detail necessary. Isaac Robinson, son of John Robinson, the Leyden Pastor, was disfranchised, together with Cudworth, Hatherley, and many others, for their opposition to the laws against Quakers and harboring Quakers. But it is needless to accumulate evidence to show that the difference between the early Puritans of Massachusetts Colony and the Pilgrim fathers of the *Mayflower* was not superficial, but wide, fundamental, and irreconcilable. Yet the *Springfield Republican* asks, "What is the use of running "such a nice distinction when there is so little "difference, and where so little is to be gained "by it?" What we propose to gain by it is the "vindication of the truth of history." He who corrects false history, like the person "who causes "two blades of grass to grow where but one "grew before," is a public benefactor. False history, unchallenged, will in time be referred to as evidence to prove events that never happened. We can afford to tolerate the poetical licence of Longfellow's "Puritan Maiden," without a drop of Puritan blood in her veins, or Macaulay's review of Milton, while in his *History of England* he advances no idea that militates against our position. We rely on History to sustain our view; we leave Poetry and Fiction for the *Springfield Republican*.

V.—NEW YORK, IN 1786.

[Mr. Editor.—I send for the Historical Magazine a letter from Captain Simeon Covell, a loyal man of the American Revolution, written three years after the peace of 1783, to his friend the Rev. Dr. Harry Munro, another loyal man of that period.

It is, as you will see, only a private letter, but contains such a graphic account of the internal condition of the United States, in 1786, that it may prove interesting to your readers. It shows that the state of things at the North *then*, was nearly that of the South *now*. History has only once more repeated itself.

Dr. Munro, I may add, was the Rector of St. Peter's church, Albany, and was driven from that city for his loyalty. His wife was the elder sister of Chief-justice John Jay. He went to England, and subsequently resided at Edinburgh, where he died a few years after the date of the letter. E. F. D. L.]

Dutches County 1st of Decr 1786

Reverend. Sir.

by the mercy of God I arived in Good helth in New Y after a passage of sixty seven days & ameadiately proceded to Quakerhill wheir I had the pleasure to find My children well! I find the sperrit of People in general cool towards men of my disscription, yet, there remains sufisiant of the more violent, to rendure my Cituation unsafe ware I to be Public, and I, beleave the more so from the distress which the People in general feel (Viz) their trade ruined, by various means, which are obvious, to the smallist capassity, by many captures & depredations committed by the Algereans, England france and Spain & likewis the dutch Restricting their Navigation so as to rendure it unprofitable Nothing but anarchey & Confution through out, Boston State at present provented of the exercise of thier own laws, by the mob, Vermont the same, New York State in distress for Bread, by means of a vermun not much unlike a lows, which for two years past has distroyed all the wheat, so that, the inhabitance buy at New York at 8s 6d ℔ busicl to suploy the County of Dutches with bread, formerley such a

wheat Country—however, this calamitey is not considered by any means to be the act of Providence, but rather the Cruil mallace of Great Brittian & their adhearance, by Sending jarmin troops whom they Say brought over this insec to disstress the land, however Strange it may seem, true it is the People Generally call it the jirmin lows and flatter themselves that they shall sune be rid of them as they had ben of the vile Propegaters—I am prepairing & in a few days shall be on the Rout for Canada—with my fameley but I shall take cair to find out the Peticulars Respecting the confiscation of your Lands, tho I cannot myself be known on that or any other buisness, yet I shall imploy others that it may be done—Permit me sir, to acknowledge your favours &attention to me in my buisness when Prepairing to leave London I am further to request the favour, that if Doctr Munro Should leave England he will be so good as to lodg all the Papers belonging to me in the hands of my frind Colonel Ebenezer Jessup & take his Receipt for them, the receipt Please to Leave with Philip Skeen Esqr at No. five field Row Chelsea—& let me know of the matter by a line Directed to the Cair of Mr Dobry Marchant in Montreal & if anything New or important respecting the loyalists I had forgot to mention that among other Calameties hear in the States, the Indians are dayly Scalping & distroying the back Settlements where Ever it is Said war is declaired & a large force Sent against them my Eyes never saw nor my Ears hear, such complicated Scens of distress—Nothing but complaints and murmerings among all orders & ranks of People, the Congress it seams fault the legislature of the Separate States for not adopting their recommendation, the legislature complains of the public for not holding to & fulley comply with the laws, the vaux popular Clammer that the tax is unsepportable, that if Justice had been done the Sales of the tory Estates would have lessened the burthen in a word Every man seems to incline to do what Ever Suits his turn, theaving & other crimes of the like Nature, are so Pravilant, that hous nor barn, man or beast, is not Safe Nite nor day, & it seems to be a grooing evil—I consider however that I have allreadey trasposed on time & may on your Patiance to read such disagreabile truths—

I am
Sir your Most Divoted
and obediant Humble
Servant

SIMEON COVELL

Reverend Doctor HENRY MUNRO

[*Addressed.*]
REVEREND DOCTOR HENRY MUNRO
No. 66 Castle St } favoured p
near Oxford road } the Ship *betsey*
LONDON } Watson Master

VI.—GOVERNOR PHILIP SKENE.

READ BY HENRY HALL, ESQ., OF RUTLAND, BEFORE THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT WINDSOR, JULY 2d. 1863.*

Philip Skene was never a citizen of our State, but his history for several years is so intimately interwoven with that of South-western Vermont, as a co-colonist, neighboring manufacturer, friend, Yorker, tory, would-be Governor, that our local history would be defective unless furnished with a sketch of his life.

The grandson of John Skene, of Halyards, in Fifeshire, Scotland, he enters the British army in 1739; is in the expedition against Portobello, that year; at the taking of Carthagena, in 1741; in the battle of Fonteroy, in 1744; in the battle of Culloden, in 1746; a spectator of the battle of Lafield, in 1737, and arrives in America, in 1756.

On the second of February, 1757, he is promoted to the command of a company in the Twenty-seventh, or Inniskillen, Regiment of Foot, under Lord Loudon; in July, 1758, is wounded in the unfortunate attack by Lord Howe upon Ticonderoga; on the thirty-first of July, 1759, is appointed Major of a Brigade, by General Amherst; and in October of that year, he is left in charge of Crown Point, with orders to strengthen the military fortifications there.

It is in this last station that his adventures first seem blended with those of our predecessors, for now ceasing to be a mere soldier, his active habits, quick observation, and strong judgment familiarize him with the valuable timber, fertile soil, and numerous water privileges of the surrounding territory—he sees, in fancy, the narrow, placid lake vexed with the keels and whitened with the sails of a coming commerce; hears the sounds of the saw and anvil. and the busy hum of industry along its banks. Encouraged by General Amherst, he exerts himself, aud lo! he sees the reality before him, in a hamlet of thirty families, numbering perhaps one hundred and fifty persons, at the head of Lake Champlain, near the site of the present village of Whitehall.

But an European soldier, stationed in America during the fierce struggles for colonial aggrandisement, by the rival houses of Hanover and Bourbon, could not always indulge in the halcyon pursuits of the "piping times of peace." In 1762, Skene is ordered to join the expedition against Martinico and Havana; and in the storming of the Castle Moro, he signalizes himself by being the first to enter the "imminent deadly "breach." He returns to New York, in 1763; looks after the interests of his infant settlement; goes to England; and, in 1765, obtains a Patent for a large tract of land, under the name of

* From *The Vermont Record.*

Skenesborough. But, ere long, his regiment is ordered to Ireland. To avoid leaving America, in May, 1768, he exchanges into the Xth Foot; but another order may come, ordering that regiment away, and to escape all future trouble of the kind, he sells out of the army, in 1769; and, in 1770, establishes his residence as a citizen of Skenesborough. The next five years constitute the palmy days of his colonial community—peace prevails, industry flourishes, rude plenty abounds; the population increased to several hundreds. Skene's foresight and executive ability develop themselves in substantial and useful improvements. He opens a road to Salem and Bennington, afterwards known as "Skene's Road;" builds mills for sawing timber and forges for smelting iron, and it was said, a grist mill, a stone barn, one hundred feet long, and an extensive dwelling house.

In the collisions between the Yorkers and the Green Mountain Boys, he does not seem to have been conspicuous; yet, on the twenty-fourth of August, 1774, Governor Tyron, by advice of his Majesty's Council, directs Philip Skene, J. Munro, Patrick Smith and John McComb, Justices of the Peace for the county of Albany, to try Cockran and fourteen other armed men, for violently assaulting and dispossessing Donald McIntyre and other complainants, of lands granted by New York and improved by them, near Argyle.

Soon comes a contest about the location of the county buildings, in the new county of Charlotte, that included what had been the northern part of the old county of Albany, and extended from the Green Mountains far west of the lake. On the eighth of April, 1772, a petition in favor of Socialbourgh, or Rutland, having been read before the New York Council, on the second of February, 1779, petitions were read in favor of Skenesborough, with signers all over the territory, from Crown Point and Middlebury to Bennington; and among them one from Skenesborough, signed by Skene and seventy-one other persons, all tenants of Skene, and therein it was stated that of the three hundred and seventy-nine inhabitants of Skenesborough, forty-four were members of Skene's own family—a state of society suggestive of feudal baronies and southern plantations, rather than of embryo republics.

But a storm is now looming up in the horizon, between the colonists and the mother country, over-riding all domestic questions of jurisdiction or internal improvement. Where will Skene be found in this hour of need and peril to his American neighbors and associates? He, a British soldier for thirty years, for almost a score of years a resident of America, for more than a dozen years a dweller upon the lake, the builder of roads and mills, the political and social "monarch of all he surveys:" will he who forsook the professions of his youth and of his pride, for this favorite home in a new world; will he, the descendant of Scotland's great champion, the world-renowned William Wallace, prove recreant to his lineage, and strike with hirelings against liberty? Alas! for his sympathy with humanity. He who fought against his countrymen at Culloden, will be found among America's foes at Bennington and Saratoga.

According to the letter of Edward Mott, Chairman of the Council of War, held at Castleton, on Monday, the eighth of May, 1775, by Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, James Eaton, and others, it was then arranged that Captain Herrick, with thirty men, published account of Herrick's doings, I do not should capture Major Andrew P. Skene, son of Philip, with the party, boats, &c., at Skenesborough—Philip Skene being then absent. Any remember to have seen.

Elias Hall, of Castleton, related the following incidents as having occurred:

Captain North Lee argued with the Council above named, that as Major Skene had been recently appointed Governor of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, his capture would technically be the capture of those military posts—an argument of course not quite so satisfactory to Allen and the others as their actual capture—but Lee was sent with about a dozen men to seize the Major, the buildings, &c., at Skenesborough. Arrived at Skene's house, Lee is informed by the family that young Skene is out with two or three gentlemen, hunting. He goes to the place of hunting indicated and finds the gentlemen; but although he is well acquainted with Philip Skene, he does not recognize his son, and inquires for him. Young Skene promptly announced himself; and after hearing Lee's story, submits to be taken prisoner, without resistance. He and his two sisters were sent prisoners into Connecticut.

In June, 1775, Philip Skene is arrested in Philadelphia, sent to New York, thence to Hartford, and paroled in Middletown, Connecticut.

On the fifth of November, 1775, Andrew P. Skene, from on board the British ship-of-war *Asia*, writes to Hugh Gaine, denying that he broke his parole, in his escape from Connecticut, as was published in Gaine's newspaper, a fortnight before, and appealing to the Hartford Convention to corroborate his statement.

Andrew P. Skene reached Quebec in April, 1775.

Philip Skene's parole expired in May, 1776. Towards its expiration, various rumors unfavorable to the propriety of his conduct being in circulation, the Governor and Council of Connecticut appointed a Committee to investigate the matter.

The Committee waits upon Skene, and finds some circumstances indicating secret clandestine transactions, not sufficiently patent to convict him of

actual overt offense, but suggestive of the danger of leaving so capable and hostile a man at liberty, to plot against the country.

Among other and more serious and dangerous things, it appears that Skene's negro man, John Anderson, had heard of the elections of Governors; and the idea having been suggested to him by another negro, that he might be elected Governor of the negroes in Connecticut, he promised to pay twenty dollars in treating, if elected. The story circulates; and at Skene's, the day before election, Skene promises half a joe, and his guests two dollars each, to pay Jack's election and expenses; but the whig negroes refuse to elect a tory Governor. Yet the treat and the fun must be had, and therefore Jack must be Governor somehow; and so his Excellency, Mr. CUFF, of Hartford, claiming to have been Governor of his State's negroes for the last ten years, issues a commission in writing, drafted by an illiterate white soldier, duly appointing John Anderson his gubernatorial successor, with a sufficient array of interesting darkey witnesses; and thereupon—election day being over—the *colored pussons* have a good time, an evening dance and treat—John Anderson pays the bill; and what seems magnified by rumor, a sinister tory conspiracy, exploded in smoke.

But the Governor and Council of Connecticut, alarmed at the possible injury Skene may do, very wisely require him, in his new parole, to agree, not only to stay in Middletown, the place of his choice, but also not to do anything, directly, by correspondence, or otherwise, to injure the common cause of the United Colonies. This he positively refuses to do, and therefore on the twenty third of May, 1776, he is imprisoned.

On the eighteenth of July, 1775, William Pitkins, of Hartford, writes Governor Trumbull that for ten days he has kept a night watch at his powder mill, at an expense of seven shillings per night, because, he said, "threats have leaked out "from Skene and other inimical monsters, that it "should be destroyed if art or money could effect "it."

During the summer, arrangements are made for the exchange of Skene for James Lovell: during the delay in Lovell's arrival from Halifax, it is as late as the sixth of October, when Washington writes to Sir William Howe, that on the following day, he should send Skene on board of one of the ships-of-war in the North River.

In the resolution of Congress, and in the correspondence of Washington and Howe, upon the subject of his exchange, Skene is always called "Governor Skene;" and in an obituary notice in *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, he is called "formerly Lieutenant-governor of Crown Point and "Ticonderoga, and Surveyor of His Majesty's "woods and forests bordering on Lake Champlain."

On the twelfth of August, 1776, Richard Varrick writes from Albany to General Gates, that he has procured "three new sails, which were ordered to be made for the schooner *Liberty*, on "Lake Champlain, by Governor Skene, before "the commencement of his misfortunes."

On the twenty eighth of December, 1779, Skene writes from New York to Governor Trumbull, for the release of his two servants, Litchfield and Ludlow, alleging as reasons therefor that they had not and would not bear arms; and saying, among other things, that "the inhabitants of Skenesborough are all my tenants under rent."

In the beginning of the year 1777, he returns to England; volunteers to join the army of Burgoyne; and we next find him, after the evacuation of Ticonderoga and the battle of Hubbardton, at Skenesborough, under Burgoyne, with the rank of Colonel, and for seventeen days, Skenesborough House is Burgoyne's headquarters.

And what may we imagine his sensations to be, after two years exasperating absence, returning as a conquering enemy among his old tenants and neighbors, the beloved scene of his former labors and successes? Is he flushed with the insolence of triumph? Does he see himself, in prospect, reinstalled lord of a wild realm? his wealth and power increased in reward for persistent loyalty and signal services for the Crown?

A hundred days later, his dreams will vanish; but now, the present county of Rutland and all North of it lie at the mercy of the British army, and Burgoyne may almost work his will therein.

The extent of his ambition and hopes is indicated by the following, to wit:

The Legislature of Vermont being in session at Windsor, the fourteenth of February, 1781, the House, in Committee of the whole, Honorable Joseph Bowker, Chairman, made a report in which these memorable words occur, viz:

"And, whereas, it appears by the best accounts "hitherto obtained, that there was a government "established by the Crown of Great Britian, be-"fore the era of America Independence, including "all the lands this State at present exercises juris-"diction over, as also a much greater western ex-"tent, over which Governor Philip Skene was to "have presided," etc., etc.

The report of the Committee was no bold assertion or idle dream, ingeniously urged as argument. Evidence exists, already published, that Skene had been at work, founding this new empire, assisted by William Gilliland; and the work upon Gilliland, now in course of preparation, by Mr. Joel Munsell, of Albany, will probably more fully disclose the particulars thereof. In view of this chapter of our early history, what becomes of New York's claim to exclusive jurisdiction over Vermont?

The Vermont delegation at the Chicago Presi-

dential Convention did not support Mr. Seward. When a delegation from our State waited upon the new Secretary of State, in March, 1861, they were tauntingly told that Vermont was was founded in secession. The good taste of this is patent to all—its utter falsehood may be made more apparent by a full knowledge of Skene's history.*

To return from this digression, Skene is the man of all others in the British army, regular or provincial, upon whom reliance is placed for council and guidance in all matters relative to the conquest and government of the people inhabiting the present counties of Rutland and Bennington, from his knowledge, both of the people and the territory.

On the tenth of July, 1777, Burgoyne issues a Proclamation, commanding the inhabitants of Castleton, Rutland, Hubbardton, Tinmouth, Wells, Pawlet, Granville, &c., to send ten or more delegates from each town "to meet Colonel Skene at "Castleton, on Wednesday, the fifteenth of July, "at ten o'clock in the morning, who will have in- "structions not only to give further encouragement "to those who complied with the terms of my late "manifesto but also to communicate conditions "upon which the persons and properties of the dis- "obedient may yet be spared." Two days later, Burgoyne's order reads, "Governor Skene is ap- "pointed to act as Commissary, to administer the "oath of allegiance and to grant certificates of "protection to such male inhabitants as sue properly "for the same, and to regulate all other matters rel- "ative to the supplies and assistance that shall be "required from the country, or voluntarily brought "in."

On the sixth of October, the order reads: "The "department alloted to Colonel Skene, by the order "of the twelfth of July, becoming too extensive "and complicated to be executed by one person, "Mr. Daniel Jones and others are appointed to act "as his assistants, and among them to constitute a "board or office, a quorum of which is to be three, "to sit every morning at headquarters, when the "army is not marching, to receive, discuss and re- "gulate the applications of inhabitants and other "persons coming in from the enemy, respecting "protections, sale of cattle, enlistments, and other "purposes, taking care to form distinct reports to "be laid before the Lieutenant-general, of such "cases as do not come within the limits of their in- "structions to determine."

On the eleventh of August, Reverend Mr. Brudenel and Major Skene are added as assistants. But a famous expedition under Lieutenant-colonel Baum, is about to invade Vermont; and the German commander needs a guide and counselor, and perhaps a quicker brain than his own, to accompany him. Burgoyne thus instructs him: "Colonel Skene will be with you as much as pos- "sible, in order to assist you with his advice, to "help you to distinguish the good subjects from "the bad, to procure you the best intelli- "gence of the enemy, and to choose those people "who are to bring me the accounts of your pro- "gress and success."

To Skene he issues instructions, from which we extract the following viz.: "Sir, I request a "favor of you, to proceed with Lieutenant-col- "onel Baum, upon an expedition of which he has "the command, and which will march this even- "ing or to-morrow morning.

"Lieutenant-colonel Baum is directed to com- "municate to you the rest of his instructions, and "to consult with you upon all matters of intelli- "gence, negociation with the inhabitants, roads "and other means, depending upon a knowledge "of the country for carrying his instructions into "execution. I rely upon your zeal and activity "for the fullest assistance, &c., &."

During the campaign under Burgoyne, Colonel Skene had his horse twice shot under him—he shared the fate of all the survivors of that once terror-inspiring army, being made a prisoner at Saratoga.

Of the remainder of his life little can be gathered. He was attainted and his estate confiscated by the Legislature of New York, in 1779. It is said that once after the war was over, and while George Clinton was Governor of New York, he revisited this country and endeavored to regain his property, Failing in this, he returned to England, and there lived in retirement until he died, on the ninth of October, 1810, at Addersy Lodge, near Stoke Goldington, in the county of Buckingham, at how patriarchal an age we do not know; but we do know that his death occurred three score and eleven years after he first began the life of a soldier.

VII.—THE BATTLE OF QUEENSTOWN.

General Wool on General Scott's Autobiography.

TROY, Nov. 30, 1865.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

In the Autobiography of Lieutenant-general Winfield Scott, in reference to the capture of Queenstown heights and its battery, on the thirteenth of October, 18.2, the following statement will be found:—

* We rather fancy that it would not have been very difficult for the distinguished Secretary of State to have *proved* what he is said to have "tauntingly told" the Vermont delegation on that occasion; and if he had added still more severe words to the catalogue of Vermont's early transgressions, he would have been entirely within the limits of the Truth. *Vermont needs prudence while discussing her early history; and less arrogance on the part of her sons, while thus engaged, would add vastly to their credit before an intelligent and impartial world.* ED. HIS. MAG.

The General says, pages fifty-eight and fifty-nine:—"And now it was that Lieutenant-col-"onel Scott—whose light batteries, commanded "by Captains Towson and Barker, had partially "diverted the enemy's fire from our boats—was "permitted, at his repeated solicitation, to cross "over and take command of our forces in con-"flict with the enemy. Fortunately, he made the "passage, accompanied only by Adjutant Roach, "of his battalion, with but little hurt or damage. "The heights and battery had been previously "carried by detachments of the Sixth Infantry, "under Captain Machesney; of the Thirteenth, "under Captains Wool, Armstrong, Ogilvie and "Malcomb; one of the Twenty-third, under "Major Mullany; a company of light artillery, un-"der Captain James Gibson, supported by Lieu-"tenant Thomas B. Randolph, with one six "pounder and some New York militia. Captain "Wool had been disabled by a wound in ascend-"ing the heights. Captain J. G. Totten, of the "Engineers, was also with the troops, qualified "and ready for any duty that might fall to him. "It was a little before this time that Major-gene-"ral Brock, Lieutenant-governor of Upper Can-"ada, and the Secretary of the Province, Colonel "McDonald, fell at the foot of the heights, while "gallantly leading up from the mouth of the "river, a body of York volunteers, with a number "of additional Indians."

Lest the statement of the illustrious autobiographer, he being one of the few survivors of the period to which it refers, may be received by many as the truth of history, justice requires that the authenticated reports of the affair of Queenstown should not be overlooked.

The following history of the first detachment that crossed the Niagara river, at the time referred to by Lieutenant-general Scott, with the Report of Major-general Stephen Van Rensselaer to Brigadier-general Smyth, his letter to Captain Wool, and the Report of Lieutenant-colonel John Chrystie to the Secretary of War, John Armstrong, will show under what circumstances and by whom the heights of Queenstown and the battery were "carried." Also, when and where "Major-gen-"eral Brock and Colonel McDonald fell."

On the morning of the thirteenth of October, 1812, two detachments, a part of the forces designated as "a forlorn hope," to "storm the "heights of Queenstown," landed before daylight, on the Canada shore, a short distance above Queenstown village. One detachment, one hundred strong, as officially reported, was under Lieutenant-colonel Van Rensselaer, and the other, of three companies of the Thirteenth Infantry, one hundred and eighty rank and file, under Captains Wool, Malcomb and Armstrong. Both detachments landed at the same time, under fire from the enemy, who immediately fled towards the village. Soon after, Colonal Van Rensselaer ordered the troops to move forward preparatory to "storming "the heights," but halted them at the base. While waiting further orders, the Thirteenth Infantry was attacked, as Tupper, the historian of Major-general Brock, says, by "sixty of the "Forty-ninth Grenadiers and Captain Hall's com-"pany of militia, under Captain Dennis, of the "Forty-ninth, with a three pounder." Captain Wool, the senior in rank and the commanding officer in the absence of Lieutenant-colonel Chrystie, wheeled his detachment and confronted the enemy, who, after a short but severe contest, fled in the direction of Queenstown. In this contest, the Thirteenth lost two meritorious and gallant officers, killed, Lieutenants Valleau and Morris, and four severely wounded, Captains Wool, Armstrong, and Malcomb and Lieutenant Lent, and forty-five of the rank and file, killed and wounded. Of the militia, Lieutenant-colonel Van Rensselear received four wounds, supposed at the time to be mortal, in consequence of which he ordered the troops to the shore of the Niagara. At daylight or soon after, the troops being exposed to the fire from the heights of "Captains Williams's and Chis-"holm's companies," Captain Wool sought Van Rensselaer to ascertain if something could not be done to relieve the troops from the fire, from which several of his men had been killed and wounded, Van Rensselaer replied he knew of nothing but the capture of the heights. Captain Wool, although severely wounded—having been shot through both thighs—volunteered to undertake the enterprise. Van Rensselaer was unwilling to accept the offer, because of the "inex-"perience and youthful appearance of the offi-"cers, and the highest in rank only a Captain;" yet he consented, and Wool received his instructions. Accordingly, with two hundred and forty men, including officers, and a small detachment of artillery, under Lieutenant Randolph, and Captain Ogilvie, with his company, who had just joined, he ascended the heights; surprised Captains Williams's and Chisholm's companies, who ran down the heights; and captured the battery. Major-general Brock and his two aides-de-camp (as Tupper says in his history) were in the battery when the Thirteenth fired into it, and barely escaped capture, "They had not even time to "mount their horses, but precipitately ran down "the heights." On arriving at the village, General Brock organized a force under Captain Williams, and again ascended the heights, and drove back Captain Wool's forces to the edge of the precipice, which they had a short time before ascended, where they were rallied, and in turn repelled Brock, and again drove him and his forces part way down the heights, where he rallied his favorite corps, the Forty-ninth, and again advanced to regain his lost position. At that moment,

he was joined by Colonel McDonald, with two companies of York volunteers from Brown's Point; and at the instant when he ordered McDonald to "Push on the York volunteers," he fell. The Colonel, obeyed the orders of his beloved chief, and "with the hereditary courage of his race, charged "up the hill;" but he was repelled by the Thirteenth Infantry, when he and the Attorney-general of Upper Canada fell, mortally wounded. "The "flank companies of the Forty-ninth having "suffered severely, and both the Captains being "wounded, the troops retreated in front of Vro-"mont's battery," some distance below Queenstown and the crossings of the river, leaving eleven prisoners, including an Indian Chief, in the possession of Captain Wool. Soon after, Captain Wool was joined by Captain Lawrence, of the Thirteenth, and Captain Machesney, of the Sixth Infantry, who was introduced to Captain Wool by Lawrence. At no time previous to this, had Captain Machesney been with the troops that carried the "heights and battery," Also Lieutenant Smith joined with thirty Rochester Rifles. The latter, while passing through Queenstown, released Lieutenant-colonel Fenwick, Major Mullany, and one or two other officers, who had been captured while crossing the river. Mullany crossed to Lewiston; but Fenwick was too severely wounded to be moved. About the same time, a number of officers arrived on the heights, with a detachment of militia—among others Lieutenant-colonel Chrystie, who took command of his detachment the first time after it left Lewiston. Captain Wool, being nearly exhausted with the loss of blood and the fatigues of the morning, after getting his wounds dressed by Assistant-surgeon John McCall, by order of Colonel Chrystie, crossed to Lewiston.

Thus a condensed, but, as is believed, true and faithful history is presented of the gallant services rendered by the first two detachments which crossed the Niagara Strait, on the morning of the thirteenth of October, 1812, and of the officers and men of the Thirteenth Infantry, two hundred and forty strong, who "carried the heights and "battery," and afterwards defeated Major-general Brock, when he and Colonel McDonald fell, not at the foot of the heights nor previous to the capture of the battery, as stated by Lieutenant-general Scott, The officers who participated in these gallant achievements will be discovered in what follows from Reports of Major-general Van Rensselaer and Lieutenant-colonel Chrystie. Major-general Van Rensselaer, in his Report to Brigadier-general Smyth, dated the twenty-fourth of October, 1812, says:—"I conceive it a duty I "owe to myself, to merit, and to the service, to re-"commend to your particular notice and favor, "and through you, Sir, to Major-general Dearborn, "the following brave officers who distinguished "themselves in the first detachment of troops who "were engaged in storming the redoubt on the "heights of Queenstown, on the thirteenth in-"stant:—Captains Wool and Ogilvie; Lieutenants "Kearney, Carr, Huganin and Sammons, of the "Thirteenth Infantry; Lieutenants Randolph and "Gansevoort, of the Artillery."

The name of Lieutenant Reab and Assistant-surgeon John McCall should have been added.

General Van Rensselaer addressed to Captain Wool the following letter, dated the twenty-fourth of December, 1812:—

"Sir—In my official despatch to General Dear-"born, I was not sufficiently informed to do jus-"tice to your bravery and good conduct in the "attack of the enemy on the heights of Queens-"town. The manner in which you meet and re-"pulsed the troops of General Brock, with the "party under your command, merits the notice of "Government, and I hope your promotion will "stimulate others to emulate your example."

Lieutenant-colonel John Chrystie, in his Report, dated the twenty-second of February, 1813, on his return as prisoner of war, to the Secretary of War, John Armstrong, made the following statement, in a detailed report of the affair of Queenstown. Referring to the first engagement, the capture of the heights, and the defeat of General Brock, he says—"In this affair, Captain Wool, of the "Thirteenth, a gallant officer, commanded, and "displayed a firmness and activity in the highest "degree honorable to him. Captain Ogilvie and "Lieutenant Kearney, Second-lieutenant Ran-"dolph, of the Light Artillery, and Carr and "Huganin, of the Thirteenth, and Ensign Reab "were also highly distinguished. On the part of "the British, General Brock and his aid, Colonel "McDonald, fell; both of the officers of the "Forty-ninth were wounded; and they lost about "twenty or thirty prisoners, mostly wounded."

By all which it will be perceived that only three of the officers named by Lieutenant-general Scott, in his *Autobiography*, page fifty-eight, ascended the heights and carried the battery. These were Captains Wool and Ogilvie, and Lieutenant Thomas B. Randolph; and no other officers named by the General appeared on the heights, until after the defeat of General Brock and his troops had retreated to Vromont's battery. It will also be perceived that Major-general Brock and Colonel McDonald did not fall "a little before," but *after* the heights and battery had been carried. See page fifty-nine of the *Autobiography*,

JOHN E. WOOL.

VI.—"NEAR FORT POPHAM."

Mr. Editor,

Your correspondent H., in the September number of The Historical Magazine, appears to

have taken much pains to make the geography of the region in which Fort Popham is situated, contribute a little support to his conjecture—for his assertion amounts to no more—about the first English occupants on the shores of Maine. It is perhaps well for him to do this for his own pleasure: but as he brings no proof to maintain his positions, there need be no great alarm occasioned by the repetition of the calumny upon the memory of the colonists at Sagadahoc. How much value is to be attributed to his degree of respect for this ancient enterprise, may be seen from his readiness to take up "traditions that the water "formerly flowed between Bath and Topsham "and New Brunswick;" which description of what has been handed down from ancient days exhibits a singular confusion of imagination, reality, and geography.

There is no need of a tradition to show that Bath and Topsham were once separated by water, when everybody in the region knows that *they are now* separated by the broad sheet known as "Merrymeeting Bay;" and all who know this fact believe that the respective territories have been so disjoined ever since the Androscoggin began to carry its many waters through this bay, to the Kennebec and the ocean. And as to Bath being "formerly" separated from "New Brunswick" by water, as the tradition states, if the writer means the British Province of that name, there certainly needs no tradition to sustain the fact, as all know that the half of Maine and more, with many a river, lie between them.* But, if he means Brunswick, then the New Meadows runs between them, as it has done since the time when that arm of the sea was first formed. The "sandy marsh, once doubtless the bed of the "sea," of which he speaks, divides only one part of Bath from another part. When local geography is brought in as an aid to show Popham's settlement to have been a "penal colony," it would have been better if the testimony had been made to bear correspondence with well-known facts. But the theory is a lame one, and the geography adduced is just its equal.

The allegation about "the advent of a penal "colony to the shores of Maine," is neither new nor terrible. When it has the shade of a shadow of evidence to support its "*obiter dictum*," or whatever else it may be named, excepting truth, it will be time to examine it. But, until then, no citizen of Maine need sleep any the less soundly because of words that have been the commencement of a fictitious history, but no proof of a true one.

Your correspondent speaks of "The Popham "claims, to whose support the Maine Historical "Society has had the misfortune to be committed by a portion of its members." Now this Society is quite capable of taking care of its own reputation, and needs not the help of any correspondent from the Allequippa House, at Small Point Harbor. Annually has this Society given its countenance to "the claims" that this Colony was the first English Colony in the New England of John Smith's Map, and has bestowed its generous aid for publications in vindication of these "claims," from certain charges, issued from a neighboring State, against the character of the colonists. The Society is by no means frightened yet, especially as these claims are gaining friends every year.

As to the legal opinion connected with the statement of Judge Bourne, relative to "shore" and "island," very little need be said; inasmuch as the formal occupancy of the territory of North Virginia took place on solid land, on a peninsula called a demi-island, by one of the old writers, and "presque-isle" by this last. This solid foundation is enough for the purpose of the settlement. Judge B. can take care of the legal question.

He says we magnify "the laws to be observed "and kept" into "a Proclamation of the Laws "of England." Well, what were they if not the Laws of England? Surely they were neither Indian nor French: not the Statutes of the Realm, but Laws to regulate the Colony—English Laws, in harmony with the Law of the Mother land, and appropriate to the action which a subsequent Patent refers to as an "actual possession of the "Continent."

There are several remarks made as if disparaging to the persons who have taken part in the commemorations. Richard Seymour must not be called by them "Reverend," because "little "more than a boy," as though all persons who have just passed into manhood were not always little more than boys.

"The cabin where they met for religious ser-"vices becomes a *Church*"—the very name which Strachey gives it. "Every hut is of course 'a "'*howse*'"—"of course," because Strachey says "they built fifty howses and a store-howse;" and why should not others adopt his words?

Of the imaginations about a Cathedral, an Episcopal Palace, and a Market-house, there is no need to say more than that they have the same degree of credibility as is due to the "penal "colony," and no more. All alike want proof which no well-appointed Library has ever yet supplied, to sustain any one of them, nor the additional charge that "a historical crime" has been committed by the "inscription attached to the "walls" of Fort Popham.

* It is proper for us to say, in this place, that when "H." received a "revise" of this article, he attempted to correct what in this case was evidently a clerical error in his manuscript; but his letter containing the correction did not reach us until after the sheet had been printed. Ed. Hist. Mag.

If the language of the writers in defence of the Colony seems "to swell beyond a legitimate ideali-"zation," as your correspondent represents, we are consoled in the belief that our descriptions are warranted by the facts; and when he refers to "the more modest and rational views" of Doctor Willis, the former President of the Historical Society, we can reply that he has never asserted the penal character of the Colony, and never will do what others have done; and that is, to make an allegation unsustained by proof.

Brunswick, Me. B.

VIII.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—Continued.

77.—From Hon. Alexander H. Everett to Hon. John L. O'Sullivan.*

Boston, March 21, 1843.

Dear Sir.

I received yesterday a letter from your Publishers on the subject of the account of the Engravers for my portrait. It would seem from the tenor of the letter that the Publishers ordered the work in my name. This was, perhaps, a little irregular, as the person who is made the subject of a portrait and biography is supposed, I presume, *pro forma*, not to know anything about the matter. This, however, makes no difference in regard to the substance of the transaction. I have always wished and intended, as I wrote to you at the time, to pay for the engraving. At the present moment I regret to say, that it is not in my power to do this. I do not mean merely that it would be inconvenient to me, but that I have not at my disposal the amount required for the purpose, and have no means of procuring it immediately. The payment of my salary at the College ceased, in consequence of the embarrassments of the institution, about the time when this transaction took place. I have received nothing of any consequence from that or any other quarter. I am now living without expence with my family connexions untill the result is known in regard to the future condition of the College: and am, of course, in no condition to pay debts of any kind.

I trouble you as a personal friend with these details, and will thank you to speak to your Publishers on the subject and request them not to press the matter at this moment. I suggested to them in a late letter that they might consider the amount due from me a lent account or balanced by that due to me from the establishment for contributions. I see no reasonable objection to this as a temporary settlement: but without regard to any such arrangement, I shall most cheerfully pay them the amount in cash, as soon as I have it at my disposition. In the mean time I am perfectly willing to furnish an equivalent in contributions at any rate of compensation, which you or they may think reasonable.

I remain, dear Sir, very truly yours,

A. H. Everett.

[*Addressed*]

J. L. O'Sullivan, Esq.,
New York.

* From the Collection of the Long Island Historical Society.

78.—Major Henry Lee to Robert Gilmore.*

Alex[a] June 15[th]

Sir.

I called the other day at Baltimore on my way from Annapolis to see you & to place in your hands funds to meet my draft in case the note remitted to you was unproductive—But your absence prevented your sons finding the note. I I shall be here again in a few days when I hope to meet your answer that I may save you farther trouble from your polite attention to my accomodation—

I am &c
Very respely
Your ob. St
Henry Lee.

[*Addressed*]

Robert Gilmore Esq,
Merchant
Baltimore.

79.—Aaron Burr to Ch. Biddle.†

N York 12 Dec 1802.

My dear Sir

I thank you for your politeness to Irving—on his return he will renew the acquaintance and bring you the news from Washington.

He is really an amiable young man and possesses honor, spirit and intelligence—Motives of interest had very little influence in making him an Editor—

Seeing very often in your newspapers ground rents advertized for Sale, it has occurred to me that a property of that kind which I have might find a market with you—I never knew such a thing bought or sold in this city: Having rented a number of my lots for long terms, generally sixty years, I now find it convenient to sell 1000 or 1200 dolls per ann—of these rents—They are all payable quarterly,

* From the original in the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

† From the original belonging to John F. McCoy, Esq., of Brooklyn, New York.

the lots lay contiguous to each other and houses are built on the greater part—The rents are at an average 30 dolls per lot. If you should be disposed to purchase, name your price and direct Hamilton, who knows the title, to see that all is right. If required, I would guarantee the punctual payment of the rents for 3, 4 or 5 years—Tell me if Jas Greenleaf has come to town or be yet up at Allentown.

I have a claim on him in which I shall probably have occasion for the aid of your son Wm I wrote to J. G two or three weeks ago, but have received no answer

Your affec Svt
A Burr

Ch Biddle Esq

80.—From James Monroe to George Graham.*

Oakhill, Octr 8. 1825.

Dear Sir,

Some months since at the request of Mr Bayly of this county, a neighbour whom I esteem requested me to make known to the Dept of War, his desire that his son Richard P. Bayly, should be considered a candidate for a place at the academy at W. Point, when the next vacancies are supplied. I wrote immediately to Mr Clay, who was then in the city, & requested him to have his name enrolled, with the assurance on my part that the youth had every fair & just pretention, founded on his previous studies & good qualities. I give this letter to the young man, to be presented to you by him, knowing that you are acquainted with his father, with a request that you will be so kind as to call with him on Colonel Barbour, & in case his name has not been enter'd, that you will have it done, with such representation, in his favor, in addition to what I have stated, as you may deem proper. I am

Dear Sir sincerely yours
James Monroe.

[*Addressed*]
George Graham Esqr
Washington.

81.—Henry Clay to John Howard Payne.†

Washington 9th Feb 1837.

Dear Sir

I received your favor of the 6th inst. and feel obliged by the suggestions with which you have favored me, on the subject of Copyright. I fear that it will hardly be practicable to do anything at this Session, or, if any thing, more than to provide prospectively for the security of literary property in such works as may *hereafter* be published by foreign authors. Perhaps that is as far, in regard to them, as we ought to go at any time.

As to Dramatic works, there will be more difficulty. There is much equity in exacting from the Managers of Theatres a fair compensation for that publication of a play which takes place in its public exhibition; but, then, suppose they have purchased some half a dozen copies, charged with the Copy right, for recitation, preparation, &c. Can the law rightfully restrain the oral use which they may make of the property which they have acquired in those Copies?

I have not yet seen Mr. Bulwer's law, and will endeavor to get a sight of it. Perhaps it has justly reconciled the interests of Authors and the rights of the Theatre.

In great haste, but with high respect
I am Your ob Servt
H. Clay.

John Howard Payne, Esq.

IX.—THE FIGURE HEAD OF THE *GENERAL ARMSTONG*, PRIVATEER.

[Sir—Last year, the Naval Library and Institute, at the Navy Yard, Boston, Mass., had added to its Museum the veritable Figure Head of the famous Privateer, *General Armstrong*. It was accompanied by the following letter from our worthy and much respected Consul at Fayal, C. W. Dabney, Esq., which I think has sufficient Historical interest to find a place in the columns of your Magazine. P.
Charlestown, Mass.]

Fayal, April 10, 1867,

Dear Sir:

On the 6th inst., I had the gratification of receiving your letter of the 3rd January ult., informing me that I had been unanimously elected an honorary member of the Boston Naval Library and Institute. The nature of the Institute, and the members that have hitherto and now compose it, are a warrant of my high appreciation of the honor thus conferred, and I pray you to convey to all those who have in any way cooperated in promoting this agreeable event, the expression of my grateful sense thereof.

Having in my possession an object of historic interest, connected with an event that shed so much lustre on our country, it affords me great pleasure to place it in the custody of the Faculty of the Boston Naval Library and Institute. It is a bust—the figure-head of the *General Armstrong*.

The morning after the extraordinary victory of Capt. Reid, officers and men, over the thirteen boats manned from the *Plantagenet*, *Rata* and

* From the original in the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.
† From the original in the collection of the Long Island Historical Society.

Carnation, having had their baggage and stores landed, a nine-pounder was discharged down her main hatchway, and she was abandoned. The water was so shallow that all above deck was out of water. The *Carnation*, brig-of-war, had been brought close in, and was firing grape-shot at the A., when the boatswain of that vessel deliberately walked down with his mate, to the beach, opposite to where the vessel was stranded, and declared that they (the then enemies) "shouldn't have the figure-head!" He came provided with a hatchet, swam off to the vessel, (about fifteen feet) got on board, cut off the head, and brought it on shore! While he was doing it the mate waited on the beach, somewhat screened from the shot by the hull of the vessel. On their return, when running along the beach to where I was—protected by an angle of the fort, with many others who had been watching them—the mate was seen to fall, as if mortally wounded. I immediately sent two men to convey him to the hospital, where it was ascertained that a grape shot had cut the muscular part of one of his arms, and another had taken off part of the calf of one of his legs. Both were severe wounds, but not dangerous.

The bust was placed over one of my father's gates, and on all subsequent Fourths of July it has been decorated with flowers. The religious sentiment predominates here: after the installation of the bust, the lower class inferred that as we had but one great holiday, it must be the representation of the corresponding saint; and our domestics intuitively assumed the demonstrations of our regard. Actuated by a vainglorious feeling, the object has been left out in the *cold* too long. It has been subjected to some severe surgical operations, evidently performed by "charlatans" unworthy of their profession.

Confession and repentance are great extenuators; may they screen me from the censure I deserve, and may those on whom will devolve the future care not have occasion to make such mortifying avowals! I offer sincere wishes for the prosperity of the Institute, and assure you that I am,

Respectfully and truly,
Your most obedient servant,
CHARLES W. DABNEY.

HENRY C. KEENE, ESQ., &c. &c.
Secretary of the Boston Naval Library and Institute,
CHARLESTOWN

X.—HATFIELD BRIDGE.

[We have received from our friend, Professor E. F. Rockwell, of Davidson College, North Carolina, the following extract from a sermon preached on the occasion of the opening of this bridge, on the twentieth of October, 1807.

This sermon was preached by Rev. JOSEPH LYMAN, D.D., Pastor of the church at Hatfield, from the following text: "Go through, go through the gates; prepare ye the way of "the people: cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the "stones; lift up a standard for the people." ISAIAH, lxii, 10.

A copy of this sermon was requested by the Proprietors of the Bridge;* and on their order it was subsequently printed by William Butler of Northampton. It forms a pamphlet of sixteen pages; and from a copy which has found its way into the library of Davidson College, this extract has been taken.

Professor Rockwell very aptly inquires concerning this Sermon, "Where but in New England would a minister of "the Gospel be found to make the erection of a bridge, at "most a few hundred feet in length, a theme for a religious "discourse?" ED. HIST. MAG.]

An intelligent friend† speaking of the uncommon zeal and activity of the people in opening canals, making roads, and establishing stages, said: "*This labor will not be lost; we are at "work for those who will live in the Millenium.*" Could we all be persuaded to make our discoveries, exertions, and enterprises useful to others; did we calculate on a large scale for the comfort and preservation of life, and for the interest of future generations, we would have the satisfaction of an approving conscience as working for Christ and his kingdom; and then we might be assured that our labor would not be in vain in the Lord.

MY CHRISTIAN FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

While we contemplate the wisdom and goodness of our admirable Savior in directing the dispensations of Providence and the inventions and labors of men to the benevolent purposes of his moral government, and in preparing the world for the full participation of his promised grace, let us not pass unnoticed those wonderful improvements and extensive enterprises which the present age has witnessed in the construction of numerous magnificent Bridges over our most rapid and dangerous rivers. The number, the strength, and security of these structures exceed the most sanguine hopes and calculations of our fathers. Half a century passed, credulity itself would not have meditated these enterprises nor dreamed of their success. The throwing of Bridges across the *Connecticut* would, a few years since, have been treated as an ideal and romantic projection. But we are this day convened to acknowledge the goodness of Providence in the finishing and opening of the

* At a legal meeting of the Proprietors of Hatfield Bridge, holden by adjournment, at the house of Dr. Daniel White, in Hatfield, on the 20th Oct., 1807,

VOTED, That Samuel Dickinson, Esq., Mr. Nathaniel Smith, and Major Caleb Hubbard, be a Committee to return the thanks of this Corporation to the Rev. Dr. Lyman, for his elegant and appropriate sermon this day delivered, and to request a copy thereof for the press.

Attest: CALVIN MERRILL, Clerk.

† The late pious and venerable Timothy Stone, of Lebanon Conn.

fifteenth Bridge* erected over that magnificent and potent stream.

This is the happy event which has brought us into this house of God, to make our humble acknowledgements to him for succeeding this expensive and beneficial work; to indulge our friendly feelings towards one another; to testify our cordial approbation of this laborious effort of human skill, perseverance and public spirit; and to unite our sincere wishes and cordial prayers, *that the benefits of this work may be permanent and coextensive with the most sanguine expectations of the proprietors, patrons, and executors of this laudable enterprise.*

It is a good work—may the good Lord add his blessing to it, and preserve it, as one among his innumerable instruments of promoting the enjoyments, of exciting the thankfulness, and increasing the filial dependence of his creatures upon his unerring wisdom and fatherly kindness.

In recollecting the progress of this labor, we should notice with submissive resignation, the many delays, embarrassments, and losses which have attended the execution of it. But all these embarrassments and losses we should hold in small account, had not the inscrutable counsels of our Father in Heaven made this work the occasion of the sudden and disastrous death of our valuable friend, Mr. Solomon Boltwood. This active patron and principal of the design, precious to his family and connexions, and a valuable member of society, was here called to finish his earthly toils and go into the immediate presence of his God and Judge. Thus is the life of man endangered in his most useful employments; thus our pleasures are interspersed with griefs; thus would God teach us all that we have a work to do, infinitely more important and interesting than any worldly project.

It would be neither pious nor reasonable, that our grief at the losses and bereavements which have accompanied this labor of love, should stifle and suppress our temperate joys on the completion of a design of such public utility.

We gratefully approve that constant perseverance, active zeal, and expensive liberality which inspired the *Proprietors* of this structure to encounter and surmount those various embarrassments and difficulties which threatened the abortion of their enterprise; and that enduring patience which enabled them to bring to maturity the object of their wishes.

The Directors to whom the management of this concern was entrusted are for their fidelity entitled to the esteem and approbation of the public, and of their immediate constituents.

The Contractors, Artificers, and *Laborers* who have *finished* this work, have given lively specimen of mechanical skill, of diligence, and of punctual honor and honesty in executing their trust, and have merited and obtained the confidence of those who had committed to them their important interests and their property.

I am warranted to tender the sincere thanks of the Directors and Corporation to *those numerous individuals*, in this and the neighboring towns, who have gratuitously aided this weighty enterprise by pecuniary contributions and personal labors. To these pecuniary aids and personal labors are the public much indebted for their useful accommodation.

We, in particular and with gratitude, acknowledge the generous and paternal interposition of the *Legislature of this Commonwealth*, by granting to the Corporation a Lottery for raising ten thousand dollars to relieve the Proprietors, oppressed with their losses, and to ensure to the Community a most important benefit which was in hazard of being lost.

May the *liberal benefactors* of this design, enjoy the pleasing satisfaction of seeing all their benevolent wishes completely realized in the most durable and extensive advantages to society and individuals.

HATFIELD-BRIDGE, this day opened for public use, may be viewed as a specimen of human art and skill, of what great and noble projects may be accomplished by liberal zeal and a constant, pertinacious perseverance. It is an ornamental monument of the public spirit of the projectors and of the talents and ingenuity of those who have executed the work.

This is not a monument to perpetuate the name of some imperial butcher who has founded his fame and his greatness on the bones of his subjects and slaves; who claims rank in the page of history for having trampled down authorities, sacked cities, impoverished and made desolate countries and kingdoms, once flourishing in peace, and joy, and plenty. This is not a monument raised at the expence of the freedom and independence of nations and cemented with the tears and blood of men; a standing memento of past sufferings and of the present servitude and degradation of God's rational creatures.

No. *This Bridge*, erected under the fostering care of Providence, is devoted to those benevolent purposes which accord with and promote the designs of God's love to men. It is erected to be a bond of friendly union to the citizens of neighboring towns; to facilitate and render safe and expeditious social intercourse; to preserve valuable property from peril and loss; to relieve from solicitude, and apprehensions, and torturing fears, the minds of travellers and their friends; and to be the useful instrument of saving the lives of men and animals.

Under these views, we may justly consider this

* Can any one tell where the other fourteen were? E. F. R

structure, *an essential public benefit*. It is coincident with the goodness of God to men. It is not a futile, vain effort of human pride. It is not the progeny of avarice. It is not an instrument of loss and suffering. It is to be reckoned among those useful labors of men, and those kind events of Providence, by which the aggregate sum of human felicity is increased and the subsistence and numbers of mankind are multiplied.

May the God of Heaven and the Redeemer of men own, accept, and bless the labor of our hands and make this, one link of that golden chain which is suspended from his throne and reaches down to this footstool. May this be one of those numberless, effectual preparatory steps which shall lead on the auspicious day of man's renovation and blessedness, of that day in which all the inventions and employments of men, all their faculties and property, shall be *Holiness to the Lord*.

And now, my friends and fellow Christians, permit me to conclude this address with my fervent prayers to the God of all grace, that all you of this assembly may be as a city, compact together which cannot be broken down; that you may be builded upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner Stone: in whom all the building, being fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord.

And when the earthly house of this tabernacle shall be dissolved, may you have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Amen.

XI.—OLD NEW YORK REVIVED.—Continued.

21.—The "Boz" Ball.—Continued.

4.—*The Reception.**

A few weeks ago the following editorial paragraph appeared in the Leader:

"When Charles Dickens visited this city, his "Reception Committee (with a red badge) were "Messrs. Philip Hone, Robert H. Morris, Charles "A. Davis, D. C. Colden, William Kent, Thomas "J. Oakley, Wm. H. Maxwell, Valentine Mott, "John W. Francis, John C. Cheesman, and Prosper "M. Wetmore. When he arrives he will be "greeted by only one of them: all but General "Wetmore are dead. The General is like 'kind "'words' which 'never die' (as the Sunday "scholars sing), and the General bestows kind "words alike on friend and foe."—*N. Y. Leader*.

[Mr. Wetmore's Reply.]

Thank you, Mr. Editor, for the pleasant words with which you have awakened some sleeping thoughts of five and twenty years ago.

May not the last survivor of the little band who wore the "red badge" be excused for calling up the living memories of an event which has scarcely yet lost its interest?

The censors of public taste in these later times must not be too severe on the enthusiastic crowds which welcomed Boz, in 'Forty-two. A live celebrity then had other proportions than are worn in 'Sixty-seven.

Mr. Dickens came to us in all the freshness and vigor of his great genius. Every household had become familiar with the creations of his wondrous power. The opulence of his mind was beyond all former example in walks of fiction. The productions which he poured upon the reading world, with the lavish hand of a master of his art, were of exhaustless interest and marvellous truth to nature. The generation of our people which had grown up with the progress of a severer and less exciting literature, opened its heart at once to an author in whose train followed Pickwick, and Nickleby, and sweet little Nell. Was it strange or unbefitting that such a writer, coming from a distant land, should receive a cordial welcome at the hands of those whose minds he had filled with delight, whose hearts he had warmed with the touching pathos of natural affection, and whose moral sense he had stimulated and enlarged by his faithful and instructive teachings?

Mr. Dickens at that period had not long passed the verge of early manhood; and the lapse of five and twenty years has neither diminished the powers of his mind nor weakened the attractions of his pen. Each successive year of our lives has been made populous with new creations that have sprung from his teeming brain. Surely, then, the enthusiasm of his former reception has been vindicated by his subsequent career in a branch of literature where he has no superior.

Can it reasonably be doubted that, when he comes to illustrate a new feature of his talents, he will be welcomed with equal cordiality by a new generation, which has learned to love truth and nature and instinctively admires and honors genius?

I put aside altogether the question whether we can, as a people, afford to build a personal quarrel on the words which an author may choose to utter in regard to our national peculiarities. I think we are a good deal above that weakness.

There are other thoughts belonging to this subject on which perhaps you will suffer me for a moment to dwell. Those who were designated to receive and welcome Mr. Dickens, and who have since departed from our midst, were among the most eminent and esteemed of our citizens of that day. In looking over the list reproduced by you, Mr. Editor, each one of the number seems to start up vividly before my mind, with all the freshness

* From *The New York Leader*.

of life and the deep interest of a strong friendship' for I knew them well. Will you permit me to pass in review, as briefly as possible, the names on that record?

Philip Hone was remarkable in many aspects of his character. A life devoted to the active pursuits of business as a merchant had yet afforded him leisure and inclination for the cultivation of a taste in letters and a love for art. Generous and hospitable by nature, he delighted to welcome at his home all who had become distinguished in literature or other intellectual accomplishments. The struggling artist whose pencil needed encouragement; the sculptor without a patron; the author whose manuscript had found no publisher; each was ever certain of a kind word of judicious advice, and frequently something more substantial, from Mr. Hone.

He rose, also, above the prejudices which sometimes restrain the courtesies of society within very narrow limits. The actor who had adorned his profession by his genius without staining his personal character, and the actress whose walk of life had not sullied the purity of her womanhood, had always a cordial appreciation in his considerate hospitality. Many a delightful entertainment has been enjoyed at his table in company with those who, having worn the honors of the green-room, could happily bring the charms of intellect, manners and conversation to embellish the circles of private life.

Chief magistrate of the city for one short term, Mr. Hone left upon the duties of that office the impress of his integrity, intelligence and delicate sense of the proprieties of official station. It was his good fortune to hold office at the period of General Lafayette's triumphal visit to our city. The superb hospitality extended by the Mayor of New York to the guest of the nation will not easily be forgotten by those who were permitted to witness its graceful completeness, and to hear the faltering accents of thankfulness which added an enduring charm to the occasion.

Robert H. Morris, one of a family closely connected with the events of the Revolutionary era, was better known while mingling with the stirring political events of his day than in any other relation to the public. A member of the legal profession, he was Mayor of the city at the time of Mr. Dickens's visit, and had previously filled the office of Recorder with ability and credit. He was prompt and efficient in public business, impulsive in manner, warm in his attachments, and possessed in an eminent degree that rare power of extemporaneons eloquence which successfully holds an audience and goes far to sway a party. Few men have ever enjoyed more fully the confidence of his associates and friends, in public and private life, than did Robert H. Morris. He died in the maturity of his powers and usefulness.

Charles Augustus Davis was a merchant extensively engaged in foreign commerce. His standing on 'Change was among the first, but he had a soul above and beyond the boundaries of trade. Early in life, he discovered that his pen was adapted to other uses than to frame invoices or to sign bills of exchange. The letters of Major Jack Downing at once attained a wide celebrity, and secured literary distinction for their author. Sharp and pungent criticism on public men and measures, written in a quaint style of orthography and expression, made up the substance of these semi-anonymous publications; and their effect was frequently felt in the warm discussions of their day. It is not known that Mr. Davis extended his writings beyond the range of these letters. He was prominent for many years in most of the active movements of the business community, during which his public spirit was frequently evinced. His polished deportment and genial manner made him an especial favorite in the business and social circles of the city.

Grandson of the old Colonial Lieutenant-governor, son of one of the most respected and honored of our elder citizens of a past era, David C. Colden was a man to be loved and remembered for qualities that adorn human nature. It would be difficult to call to mind a more perfect gentleman—modest, accomplished, generous, and honorable. Mr. Colden mingled rarely in the mere business concerns of life, but, with the advantages of fortune and position, he was alive to the active influences which spring from a graceful recognition of what the community owes to talent, and genius, and personal distinction. Always ready and earnest in movements that called forth public spirit and awakened public appreciation, his influence was widely felt and acknowledged. It would be a difficult task to find another qualified and worthy to fill the place left void by the death of David C. Colden.

But how shall I presume to speak of Thomas J. Oakley and William Kent? The one filling the highest place in public estimation as an upright and learned jurist: the other by his gentle demeanor, polished manners, and large erudition, worthy to accept the mantle dropped by his venerated ancestor. I must leave to your skilful and more appropriate handling, Mr. Editor, the duty of depicting the characters of Judges Oakley and Kent.

Who that remembers the person of William H. Maxwell, does not recall with pleasure the joyous nature of that soul of wit? How he filled a company with irrepressible hilarity! While in the practice of the more serious duties of his profession at the bar, he was a staid and grave counsellor; but in the companionship he loved, his exuberant humor was such that the preservation of all power of face in his listeners was at an end.

We have rarely known so effective a story-teller; certainly not one who could so completely merge his identity in the narrative he was giving of the thoughts, words, and actions of another. This peculiar gift rendered Colonel Maxwell a much-courted favorite in the society with which he lived. His loss was deeply felt, and has not been supplied. "Alas, poor Yorick!"

Valentine Mott and John C. Cheesman, though not, strictly speaking, cotemporaries, yet both filled a high position, side by side, in the ranks of science. Doctor Mott was by many years the elder, and was, beyond question, regarded, at home and abroad, as the most skillful operative surgeon of his time. But lately departed, at an advanced age, he left the example of a long life earnestly and steadily devoted to the best interests of humanity. Attached to the Society of Friends in his early youth, he was noted for the scrupulous and staid demeanor which distinctly marks its members. Doctor Mott, on his return from a tour in Europe, published an interesting account of his travels, which attracted a good deal of attention.

Doctor Cheesman, at an early age, became prominent as a skillful and popular surgeon, and during his not protracted life maintained a high reputation as an upright and useful citizen.

The last of these notable men was so widely known, admired, and loved, that any effort of mine would vainly seek to add to the lustre of his name. John W. Francis was among the most distinguished of the physicians of our city, and held his place at the head of his profession to the end of his long and brilliant career. He had followed in the footsteps of that grand old class of doctors which comprised Hosack, Post, Kissam, and a few others of the same stamp, the reputation of whose practice had come down to us through the traditions of almost a century. But it was in other relations that Francis enjoyed an almost unequalled repute. He was the custodian of our local history, and his veneration for antiquity was largely developed. His Sunday evening reunions collected together all that could interest and instruct those in search of knowledge or pursuing the studies of science. The town has not yet recovered its sober reason since Francis told us, at the Historical Society, all the musty legends and antiquarian stories of the last fifty years of its imposing career. The city and the country were alike ransacked for scrap prints and autograph letters to illustrate the pages of that marvellous work. The illustrating disease had, in fact, become an epidemic, which has scarcely yet abated of its virulence. Pictures of the men, and engravings of the places, mentioned by the good Doctor, have been sold at fabulous prices, and the demand remains unchecked.

But, while we thus not irreverently applaud the labor of our city's historiographer, we must not in our lighter phrases undervalue the beneficent generosity of his nature or the expansive benevolence which marked his character through life.

There were numerous episodes in the agreeable duty of welcoming Mr. Dickens. The ceremonies of reception were conducted at the Park Theatre, under the benign auspices of that most estimable of managers, Edmund Simpson. Peace to his manes and a kind word to his memory.

Following the reception came the elaborate dinner at the City Hotel; and then ensued numerous private entertainments at the houses of prominent citizens. One of these latter, given at a mansion on University-place, chiefly lives in my memory from the excitement produced by a superb address from James T. Brady, in which he brought vividly before the company several of the most prominent characters portrayed by Mr. Dickens. We all know that Mr. Brady never fails to arrest the attention of his auditors, but it may be doubted whether even he has ever excelled the wondrous effect of that brilliant effort.

But this tedious detail would still be incomplete without an illusion to something quite remarkable in its way. As soon as it became known that Mr. Dickens would visit us, a club was organized by the gentlemen who shone in that day as the representatives of the Press—in other words, the reporters. With these were mingled several well-known men about town, a sprinkling of popular actors, and a few others with no special claim to such a distinction. The club numbered nearly or quite fifty members, and it bore the rather incongruous name of "*The Novelties.*" Why, whence, or wherefore that became its designation, I never knew or succeeded in finding any person who did know. The ostensible object of the organization was to render due honor to Mr. Dickens; and this was accomplished by giving him a pleasant entertainment in Park-row. I recall vividly the wonders of that society. After the first formation (and it was always amazing to me by what unmerited stoop of good fortune I was permitted to join its ranks) the principal duty of each successive meeting was to blackball every candidate presented for admission. Scores were rejected ignominiously every night, comprising among their number many who would have conferred credit on the concern. The prevalent idea in the minds of the larger portion of the members seemed to be that the existing organization, though without special limitation as to numbers, was complete in itself, and contained all who could by any possibility be considered worthy of such an exalted association. These rigid notions became somewhat ameliorated after the departure of Mr. Dickens, and the club survived that event for a considerable time. When it expired or whether it lives to this day I am sadly ignorant, and would gladly repair the fault.

And thus ends my story of the reception. If you can, amidst all your more serious avocations, find time to wade through this interminable recital, you certainly must be a man capable of bearing very trying inflictions. And with affectionate solicitude, therefore, in your behalf, I remain, P. M. W.

XII.—NARRATIVE OF A FRENCH PROTESTANT REFUGEE IN BOSTON, IN 1687.

[The following interesting paper was published, during last November, in *The Liberal Christian*, the widely known organ of the Unitarians in New York.

From the fact that the Rev. Doctor Bellows, one of the editors of *The Liberal Christian*, was then on the Continent of Europe, it is not improbable that the paper reached the United States through that gentleman; but of that we cannot speak with certainty since no other editorial notice accompanied it than the following:

"The following narrative is to be found in the collection "of documents in the library of Geneva, and was first pub- "lished last February, by the French Protestant Historical "Society, in their department of hitherto unpublished papers "relating to the Reformation. The name of the author is "unknown. A phrase or two seem to indicate that he was "a native of Languedoc. Having set out for America two "years after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, when "already numbers of emigrants were turning in the same "direction, he was commissioned to collect on the spot such "advices as might serve to guide his comrades in the faith, "and facilitate their establishment in the land of exile. His "narrative, divided into three parts, one of which is unfor- "tunately lost, is nevertheless of the liveliest interest. It "consists of the simple, honest impressions of an intelligent "observer, who notes everything in his passage, omitting "no useful hint, the route to be taken, the price of land, "the relative value of money, soil, climate, the various pro- "ductions, institutions already established, complete statis- "tics, both material and moral, of a dawning community."]

By the grace of God, I have been in these blessed regions, in perfect health, since the seventeenth of the last month, after a passage of fifty-three days, reckoning from the Downs, which are twenty leagues from London, to Boston, and I may say there are few vessels which make the passage in so short a time. Our voyaging was most fortunate, and I can say that, excepting three days and three nights when we had a great storm, the entire remainder was only agreeable and delicious weather; for one and each brought joy to our bark. Wives, daughters, and children came almost every day to enjoy themselves on the poop-deck. We had not the pleasure of fishing on the Banks, because we did not come upon them; we passed them fifty leagues to the South; our course was almost always from East to West. We passed in the latitude of the Fejalles, distant about sixty leagues; these are islands belonging to the Portuguese, and are four hundred leagues from England. If there were no fear of the the corsairs of Sales (*sic*), who often cruise about these islands, vessels would often come to anchor in these harbors; but these pirates are the cause of vessels holding a course at a distance from the North shore. We met a number of ships at sea, some coming from the Banks fishing, others from the islands of America; among others we met a ship belonging in La Rochelle, which was coming from Martinique, laden with sugar, and which had previously made a voyage to Guinea, whence it had brought one hundred and fifty negroes, and two Capuchin fathers who had been obliged to abandon their post in Guinea, in view of the little progress they there made. Almost the entire crew and the Captain are Protestant. They came to our vessel in their launch, and promised us they would soon come to see us in Boston, in order to make reparation for having unluckily succumbed [at their post.] They told us, moreover, that almost all the Protestant inhabitants of the French islands have gone; we have several here in Boston, with their whole families. By a ship arrived from the islands we have news that the greater part of our poor brethren who had been conveyed to St. Martin island, have found refuge in St. Eustace island, which belongs to the Dutch, and there is hope that the rest will soon be there. You will have learned, no doubt, that one of the three ships that transported these poor brethren, was lost, and from her only the crew were saved. May God pardon these cruel men, who are the cause of these sorrows, and convert them!

By another ship arrived from New York, we have letters notifying us that the Governor [*of Quebec*] had written a highly indignant letter to the Governor of New York, the grievance being that he had supplied munitions to the Iroquois who are at war with the French, saying that, if he maintained his assistance of them, he should come and see them this winter. The Governor of New York made him such reply as he deserved; and at the same time ordered a levy of three to four thousand men, all English (not being willing to draw off the French from their new settlements where they have need of great assiduity in their work), to go into camp this winter on the frontier and observe the movements of the French. The Governor of Virginia has orders to hold himself ready with as many men as he could raise, to come to his assistance, in case there should be need. I believe the same orders are here; Boston alone can furnish fifteen thousand fighting men, and if what is told me is reliable, she can furnish twenty thousand. If any other news transpires, I shall not fail to communicate it. I reply now concerning the matters with which you were pleased to charge me on my departure, at least, those about which I have already received information.

Firstly, to come into this country, you should embark at London, whence a ship sails every alternate month. The fittest season to embark is the end of March; or, the end of August and the beginning of September are the true seasons, more especially because it is neither too warm nor too cold, and you are then no longer in the season of

calms, which are frequent in summer, and which cause vessels to spend four months passing thence. Beyond the fact that the heats often occasion sickness on board, there are no fatigues to undergo, when one has by him good stores of refreshments, and of all kinds. It is well, too, to have a surgeon on the ship on which you take passage, as we had on ours. In regard to the dangers, care must be taken to embark on a good vessel, equipped with an ample crew and with cannon, and well provided with victual, above all, that bread and water are not lacking. As for the route, I have said sufficient above; there is no danger except in nearing the land, and on the banks of sand found on the way. We took soundings in two places, off Cape Sable, which is on the coast of Port-Royal or Acadia, where we found ninety fathom. At that time we were only twenty leagues from land; we stood off, and came upon St. George's Bank, which is eighty leagues from Boston, and there found one hundred fathom. From that point, we took no more soundings, for three days after we sighted Cape Cod, which is twenty leagues from Boston, on the southern shore; and the morrow, we arrived at Boston, after having fallen in with a number of very pretty islands that lie in front of Boston, most of them cultivated and inhabited, which form a very fine view. Boston is situated at the head of a bay, possibly three or four leagues in circumference, shut in by the islands of which I have told you. Whatever may be the weather, vessels lie there in safety. The town is built on the slope of a little hill, and is as large as La Rochelle. The town and the land outside are not more than three miles in circuit, for it is almost an island; it would only be necessary to cut through a width of three hundred paces, all sand, which, in less than twice twenty-four hours would make Boston an island washed on all sides by the sea. The town is almost wholly built of wooden houses: but since there have been some ravages by fire, building of wood is no longer allowed, so that at this present writing very handsome houses of brick are going up. I ought to have told you, at the beginning of this article, that you pay in London for passage here twenty crowns, (2*s.* 6*d.*) and twenty-four if you prefer to pay in Boston, so that it is better to pay here than at London; you have one crown over, since one hundred pounds at London, are equal to one hundred and twenty-five here, so that the twenty crowns one must pay at London are twenty-five here, by reason of the twenty-five per cent., and twenty-four is all one has to pay here; this increase in the value of money is a great help to the poor refugees, considering the little they bring.

2d. There is here no religion other than the Presbyterian, the Anglican, the Anabaptist, and our own. We have not any Papists, at least that are known to us.

3d. I will reply to the third Article touching the R. when I shall be better informed.

4th. Boston is situated in forty-two and a half degrees, North Latitude. At this writing, it is daylight at six o'clock in the morning, and night at six o'clock; I mean the break of day, there being nearly an hour of twilight till the rising of the sun.

5th. I make no reply to your fifth Article, not having as yet been through the country. In two days I am to set out for Noraganzet. On my return, with God's help, I will tell you of the goodness and fertility of the soil and what grows thereon.

6th. In regard to acquiring land, that which is taken up in the Noraganzet country costs twenty pounds, sterling, per hundred acres, cash down, and twenty-five on terms in three years; but payment is not made because it is not known whether that country will remain in the hands of the proprietors, wrongly thus called, or belong to the King. Until this matter may be decided, no payment will be made; in all cases one cannot be obliged to pay more than the price above mentioned, and in accordance with the terms of contract approved before the town-mayors. We are even assured that if the King holds the land, the price will be nothing, or at least very little, the Crown contenting itself with a small reservation, provided that what one can sell and let will be one's own property. The Nicmok country is the private property of the President, and land there costs nothing. I do not yet know the quantity they give to each family; some persons have told me, from fifty to one hundred [acres], according to families.

7th and 8th. To be answered.

9th. It rests with those who wish to take up land to take it in one of the two countries on the seashore, or in the interior. The Nicmok country is in the interior, and twenty leagues from Boston, and an equal distance from the sea, so that, when they wish to send or receive anything from Boston, it must be carted. There are little rivers and ponds around this settlement, fruitful in fish, and woods full of game. M. Bondet is their Minister. The inhabitants are as yet only fifty-two persons. The Noraganzet country is four miles from the sea, and consequently it has more commerce with the sea islands, as Boston * * * [*Two words illegible*], and the Island of R)dislan, which is only ten miles away. This island, they tell me, is well-settled, and with a great trade, which I know of my own knowledge. There are at Noraganzet about one hundred persons [of the faith]; M. Carre is their minister.

10th. You can bring with you hired help in any vocation whatever; there is an absolute need

of them to till the land. You may also own negroes and negresses; there is not a house in Boston, however small may be its means, that has not one or two. There are those that have five or six, and all make a good living. You employ savages to work your fields, in consideration of one shilling and a half a day and board, which is eighteen pence; it being always understood that you must provide them with beasts or utensils for labor. It is better to have hired men to till your land. Negroes cost from twenty to forty pistoles [*the pistole was then worth about ten francs*], provided they are skilful or robust; there is no danger that they will leave you, nor hired help likewise, for the moment one is missing from the town, you have only to notify the savages, who, provided you promise them something, and describe the man to them, he is right soon found. But that happens rarely, their quitting you, for they would know not where to go, having few trodden roads, and those which are trodden lead to English towns or villages, which, on your writing will immediately send back your men. There are ship captains who might take them off; but that is open thievery and would be rigorously punished. Houses of brick and frame can be built cheaply, so far as there being materials, for the labor of workmen is very dear; a man cannot be got to work for less than twenty-four pence a day and found.

11th, 12th, 13th. To be answered.

14th. Pasturage abounds here. You can raise every kind of cattle, which sell very well. An ox costs from twelve to fifteen crowns; a cow, eight or ten; horses, from ten to fifty crowns, and in plenty. There are even wild ones in the woods, which are yours, if you can catch them. Foals are sometimes caught. Beef costs two pence the pound; mutton, two pence; pork, from two to three pence, according to the season; flour, fourteen shillings by the one hundred and twelve pound, all bolted; fish is very cheap; and vegetables also; cabbage, turnips, onions, and carrots abound here. Moreover, there are quantities of nuts, chestnuts, and hazlenuts, wild. These nuts are small, but of wonderful flavor. I have been told that there are other sorts which we shall see in season. I am assured that the woods are full of strawberries in the season. I have seen quantities of wild grape-vines, and eaten raisins of very good flavor, cured by one of my friends. There is no doubt that the vine does very well; there is some little planted in the country, which has put forth. There is difficulty in getting the European vine. If some little could be had, much more would be planted. Those who mean to come over thence, should strive to bring with them of the best.

15th, 16th, 17th, 18th. To be answered.

19th. The rivers are very full of fish, and we have so great a quantity of sea and river fish that no account is made of them. There are here craftsmen of every kind, and above all carpenters for the building of ships. The day after my arrival, I saw them put into the water, one of three hundred tons, and since, they have launched two others somewhat smaller. This town here carries on a great trade with the islands of America and with Spain. They carry to the islands flour, salt beef, salt pork, cod, casks, salt salmon, salt mackerel, onions, and oysters salted in barrels, great quantities of which are taken here; and for their return they bring sugar, cotton cloth, molasses, indigo, sago (*sic*) and pieces of * * * *. In the trade with Spain, they carry only dried fish, which is to be had here at eight to twelve shillings the quintal, according to quality; the return cargo is in oils, wine, and brandy, and other merchandise which comes by way of London, for nothing can be imported here, coming from a foreign port, unless it has first been to London and paid the duty, after which it can be transported here, where for all duty one-half per cent. is paid for importation, since merchandise for exportation pays nothing at all.

20th. To be answered.

21st. You must disabuse yourself of the impression that advantages are here offered to refugees. In truth, in the beginning, some subsistence was furnished them, but at present there is a need of some for those who shall bring nothing. At Niemok, as I have before said, land is given for nothing, and at Noraganzet it must be bought at twenty to twenty-five pounds sterling the hundred acres, so that whoever brings nothing here, finds nothing. It is very true that living is exceedingly cheap, and that with a little, one can make a good settlement. A family of three or four persons can make with fifty pistoles a fine settlement; but it needs not less than that. Those who bring much, do well in proportion.

22d and 23d. To be answered.

24th. One can come to this country, and return the same as in Europe. There is the greatest liberty, and you may live without any constraint. Those who desire to come to this country, should get themselves naturalized (*fridanniser*) in London, in order to be free to carry on business in any sort of merchandise, and to trade with the English islands, without which they cannot do so.

25th, 26th, 27th. To be answered.

The articles to which I fail to reply are those of which I cannot give any account, because it is necessary to inform myself exactly, and to see for myself. I have told you above that the money of London gives a profit of twenty-five per cent. Although this advantage is noted, it is nevertheless better to bring merchandise upon which there is a gain of one hundred per cent. including the twenty-five exchange; for merchandise is bought

here only by barter, and if you give money, it is in no respect to your advantage. On another occasion, I will give the prices of merchandise, and the kinds proper for this country here, a thing I cannot do as yet, having only just arrived. If I had arrived a month or two earlier, I should have been able to see the crops of this country. I have been here long enough to have seen a prodigious quantity of apples, from which they make a marvellously good cider. One hundred and twenty quarts cost only about eight shillings, and at the inn it is sold two pence the quart, two pence the quart, beer measure. There is an inferior quality which costs only five or six shillings, one hundred and twenty quarts. I am to take rooms with one of my friends, and have our meals in common, for the winter, which, they all tell me, is here very rough and long, and the summer extremely warm, a thing I shall make trial of, if God grants me the favor of passing it, and giving an exact account of all things.

At Boston, the 15—25 of November, 1687,

III.

Since my arrival only two vessels have left by which I did myself the honor to write to you. My first letter was dated the 15–25 November, 1687, in which I did reply to several Articles of your memorandum, and in this I will try to reply to some others. My second letter was of the 1st December, in which you will have had the exact narrative of my voyage made to Noraganzet, and the number of families who are there established.

I have replied to the second Article of your memorandum touching the religions; but I did forget to tell you that there is here a temple of Anabaptists, for as to the other sects of which I spoke in my narrative from Noraganzet, it is only for that country and not for Boston, for we have here no religion other than the Anglican, the Presbyterian, the Anabaptist, and our own. As for Papists, I have discovered since being here, eight or ten, three of whom are French and come to our church, and the others are Irish; with the exception of the surgeon, who has a family, the others are here only in passage.

3d. Of this third Article I have as yet no good knowledge, although I have exact information of those persons who are in some sort distinguished from the others, and who I have thought ought to enlighten me. However, they know nothing, perhaps are designedly ignorant; at all events, there is no doubt that all is subject to the orders of H. B. M.. and that we refugees are here in entire security. We have here no Court, except a Presidial one, which gives judgment in civil and criminal matters, composed of a President and twelve Councillors who have the same laws and customs they had heretofore. The only additional point is, that the Governor is present in Council whenever he pleases; and it is he who holds the casting vote. Within a short time they have increased the duties on wine; such as ordinarily paid only ten shillings the pipe, pays thirty at present; and the tavern keepers who paid only fifty shillings a pipe for the wine they sold, pay at present one hundred and one hundred and twenty a gallon for brandy, thirty pence a barrel for cider, and thirty pence a barrel for beer. As for other merchandise, it pays as usual half per cent. Besides this Presidial [*Court*], there are eight Justices of the Peace who are for civil cases that come up in the town. Not that they can wholly settle any case; if the parties like litigation they appeal to the Presidial, or to the Council of twenty-four which is assembled only in matters of the highest importance,

5th. I can reply to this Article only in part, not having yet seen fruit on the trees; but I know very well that for fig, orange, lime, olive, pomegranate, almond and mulberry trees, there are not any, the country being too cold. Nevertheless, I can assure you that I have passed winters in Languedoc more severe than this one. We have had but very little ice, and snow twice, a foot deep each time. It is also true that some English people have told me that it has been fifty years since they have seen a winter so mild; but what I admire in this country is, that it never rains more than three days of the month. Ever since I have arrived, I have remarked it; after which you have clear days, a fine, fresh air, which causes one to see very little sickness, and many people of good appetite. The land here is of varying quality, as I have already told you. There is some sandy (soil); all the rest produces very well. They gather here quantities of Indian corn, which is worth at present only sixteen pence the bushel; they gather also wheat, corn and rye, but not in great quantity, and all these do very well; vegetables also; as for the vine, it will do very well; it has only to be planted. There is a barge arrived from Fayal which has brought some plants. The French strive as far as they can to have it brought, some the black, others the yellowish, others the red, the sandy (colored) excepted.

7th. The ground is tilled with the plough, and after the ground is well prepared, a hole is made in the ground with a stake, and four or five grains of Indian corn are put in. The holes are equally distant from each other. When the corn is high, the ground at the foot is hilled as much as possible, in order that the wind may not cut it (down), when it comes to be laden with ears. Other grain is sown as in Europe.

8th. Land here is charged with no tax, up to the present time. I told you of the manner it can be obtained, at Noraganzet. There are here divers French families who have purchased Eng-

lish residences all built, and which they have got exceedingly cheap. M. de Bourepos, brother to our minister, has bought one fifteen miles from here, and at one league from a very pretty town, and where there is a great trade, which they call Salem, for sixty-eight pistoles, a pistole of ten pounds [*the pound* (livre) *replaced by the franc was about twenty cents*] French. The house is very pretty, and it never was builded for fifty pistoles. There are seventeen acres of land all cleared, and a little orchard. M. Legau, a French merchant goldsmith, has bought one twelve miles from here toward the South, on the seashore, where he has a very pretty house and ten acres and a half of land for eighty pistoles, a pistole of ten pounds of France. He has also his share in the Commens, where he can send his cattle to pasture, and cut wood for his needs, and for selling here, it being conveniently sent by sea. Similar chances offer every day; and farms to be let on shares as many as you will, and at a moderate price. M. Mousset, one of our French people, finding himself burdened with a family, is renting one on shares which they gave him for eight pistoles a year; there is a good house, and twenty acres of cleared land. He can make six or seven barrels of cider, and the owner gives him the profit of two cows. If our poor refugee brethren who understand tilling land, should come thence, they could not fail of living very comfortably and getting rich, for the English are very inefficient, and understand only their Indian corn and cattle.

XIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them: and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. Hist. Mag.]

Washington's Opinion of Talleyrand.—It is known to all that Talleyrand sojourned for a time in the United States, and during that period was honored by the acquaintance and friendship of many among the most eminent of our public men. In illustration of this fact a correspondent has obligingly furnished us with a copy of a note, addressed by President Washington to the Marquis of Lansdowne, who, it appears, had given to Talleyrand a letter of introduction to the latter. *National Intelligencer.*

Philadelphia, Aug. 30, 1795.

My Lord: I have had the pleasure of receiving your Lordship's letter introducing to me M. Talleyrand Perigord.

It is matter of no small regret to me that considerations of a public nature, which you will easily conjecture, have not hitherto permitted me to manifest towards that gentleman the sense I entertain of his personal character and of your Lordship's recommendation. But I am informed that the reception he has met with in general has been such as to console him, as far as the state of society here will admit of it, for what he has relinquished in leaving Europe. Time must naturally be favorable to him everywhere, and may be expected to raise a man of his talents and merit above the temporary disadvantages which, in revolutions, result from differences of political opinions.

It would be painful to me to anticipate that the misfortunes of Europe could be the cause of an event which, on every personal account, would give me the truest satisfaction—the opportunity of welcoming you to a country to the esteem of which you have so just a title, and of testifying to you more particularly the sentiments of respect and cordial regard with which I have the honor to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

The Right Hon. Lord Lansdowne.

Republican Letters from John Quincy Adams.—The *Journal of Commerce* published, some years since, the following letters, received from its Washington correspondent, to whom they were originally written:

Washington, Dec. 3, 1823.

R. Walsh, Esq., Philadelphia:

My Dear Sir—Of the Cunningham correspondence, what can I with propriety say? That I was privy to no part of it?—this is true. That my father's letters are full of the tenderest affection and parental partiality for me? Be it so. These expressions of his regard and sympathy were as much unknown to me as to the public, till after the death of W. Cunningham, last May. I had known William Cunningham in my youth; but since I went to Europe, in 1794, I had never to my recollection seen him but once, and that was at my father's house, in 1804. I had no correspondence with him; and, although I have an indistinct recollection of having heard that in the winter of 1808–9, he was endeavoring, ineffectually, to obtain the publication in the Boston *Palladium*, a Federal newspaper, of some essays in commendation of me, I neither desired nor thanked him for these favors, nor did I know the motive by which they were inspired at the time.

The correspondence, as published, is garbled. I sailed for Russia in 1809, on the fifth of August. There is a letter from Cunningham, written about a fortnight before that time, in which, noticing my approaching departure, he *hints* a wish to go with me. Neither his letter nor his wish was communicated to me; and that passage in his letter is *omitted* from the publication.

There is omitted, also, a passage in my father's *last* letter to him, which discloses the cause of CUNNINGHAM's treachery. It was because my father declined to recommend him to Mr. MADISON, for an appointment to office. The patriotism of the son flinched from the publication of these two passages.

As to the publication itself, it is a very simple case of confidence betrayed; and as I attribute much of WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM's baseness to partial insanity, I have no doubt that his son's had the same source, with the *consent* of Romeo's apothecary. The public sentiment appears to have done full justice to the *dishonesty* of the publication, but of what is public, electioneering partizans will make what use they can, without inquiring through what channels it became so.

I am very much disposed to rely upon the sound sense and honest feeling of my countrymen. If their minds are susceptible of being prepossessed against me by the writings or acts of others to which I was not even knowing, how can I expect they would listen with favor to any thing that I or my friends could say in my defence? The plea of not guilty is itself an absurdity when the charge against you is not for what you have done yourself, but for what others, without your knowledge, have said of you. I cannot believe it will have any permanent effect, but if it has, so much the worse perhaps for me—and it may be none the worse for the country—I am bound, at least, to hope so; and will do my best to perform my duties.

If there was anything in the correspondence which could bear with justice unfavorably upon my character, I should deem it no defence to say it was divulged by treachery. As respects me it is immaterial how the facts became public, It is not *my* confidence that has been betrayed. I say there is nothing in the book for which I can justly be called to answer before *any* tribunal—even that of Heaven. When charges *have* been brought against me, by responsible names, I have not stood mute—I see now no cause to answer.

With my best thanks and acknowledgments for your friendly disposition and notices, I remain, dear sir, you very humble and obedient servant.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

P. S. I trust you will not take, as I am told some legislative statesmen have done, the proposition mentioned in the messages, for abolishing *private War upon the Seas*, to be a mere offer to abolish *privateering*. You will understand it as it is meant—a project for the universal exemption of private property upon the Ocean from depredation by a War.

I hope to be gratified with your editorial remarks, upon the notification to the European powers, that the American Continents are not to be considered, hereafter, as subjects for Colonization.

WASHINGTON, May 14, 1827.

ROBERT WALSH, JR. Esq., Philadelphia:

MY DEAR SIR—I am mortified at finding myself obliged to send you an apology instead of a fulfilment of my promise. Every moment of my leisure, for more than a month, has been occupied upon the subject, and I have written an article containing as much manuscript as I had led you to expect. But you well know how all fruitful subjects swell under one's hands; and where I expected to finish, I have not got half through. The article embraces a review of the policy and proceedings, both of Great Britain and the United States, relating to the Colonial trade, from the Preliminary Articles of Peace, in November, 1782, down to the present day. It is, of course, mere drudgery, but I have now brought it down to the Peace of Ghent.

That period forms an epoch in the history, and it is only in the sequel from that to the present time that the great majority of your readers will take any interest. But this is a matter about which the squabbling between mother and daughter has only begun, and we shall not soon see the last of it. I believe it will therefore be useful to travel back, *a primordia rerum*, and show the people of our country how it was in the beginning, is now, and I fear ever will be, in the purposes of our mother, as to the matter of Colonial trade,

I had already some misgiving that I should be cut short for time, when I requested you to be provided with an article for your *next number*, in the event of disappointment from me: I did hope, however, that I should be able to get through before the twentieth. I am now satisfied that it will be impossible, and must therefore ask your indulgence to reserve the article for the number after next. If my health should hold out, you may be sure of receiving the article by the first of August, when I hope it may not be so unworthy of public inspection as it would be now. It will probably not be much longer for the delay; which I shall employ to retrench and abridge as much as to enlarge.

Yours truly,
J. Q. A.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8, 1827.

ROBT. WALSH, Esq., Philadelphia

DEAR SIR.—I must abandon the hope of being able to furnish you a continuation of the article upon the Colonial trade question, in time for the next number of the *Review*. The truth is, the question itself has changed its aspect. If the shuffling casuistry of Mr.

sufficiently exposed while he lived, it would be utterly useless to chastise it now that his gibes and his jeers are consigned to the silence of the tomb. It is

now, perhaps, a misfortune for us that he died as he did, for, in the last month of his life, while his difficulties at home were thickening upon him, his tone and his policy had undergone a change and his mind was running again upon the naturalities of affection between the mother and daughter.

He continued, however, inflexible upon the Colonial trade question, and so do his successors. They are controled by the shipping interests, which will prevail until the interest of the planters shall raise a counter clamor, or till some more absorbing interest shall agitate the public mind and leave them at liberty to act upon this subject more for their own real benefit and for ours, than they can at present. The second part of the article in your *Review*, if ever written, must treat the subject differently from what it should have done, if it had appeared with the first; or indeed at any time before the death of Mr. CANNING. It would answer no purpose now to put him in the wrong. No purpose here, because it has been done already by others. No purpose in Europe, because trammelled as the new Ministry are and more likely within a year to shiver into atoms than to hold together, they could not if they would trace back their steps again upon this point at present.

The sequel of your article would therefore be, perhaps, more seasonable the next summer than now. The *consequences* of Mr. HUSKISSON'S backward march are not yet fully developed. They are, however, and will be gradually disclosing themselves. The Governor of St. Kitts has already been forced to open, for three months, the ports of his islands, by a hurricane. Our trade with the West Indies has been very little diminished by the interdiction; our revenue not at all. Next summer, we shall be able to argue the question more *avec connaisance de cause*, and perhaps may have to address more listening ears. I give you, it may be, insufficient reasons for the postponement, which you may, if you think fit, hint at in a note to your next number—but the reason above all others is, that I cannot prepare the article for you in season.

Yours, with great regard and esteem.

J. Q. ADAMS.

"OLD TIME CHURCHES" IN MARYLAND.*

Let our "old time churches," especially within the bounds of our first American Conferences, be cherished with precious and grateful recollections. Relics of former ages are almost universally regarded with peculiar sanctity and interest. With what veneration and respect should the present class of Methodists contemplate those primitive churches, erected through the agency of Strawbridge, Watters, and others, a few of which are still standing as the uniting link between the past and present? Maryland and Virginia have their proportion of these ancient, antique edifices; and it should be the purpose of our ministers and people to maintain the sacredness associated with them, during the future of Methodism. Where "time and chance" have so defaced these peculiar landmarks as to compel reconstruction and improvement, their primitive identity of names and location should never pass from the memory of the people.

Among the oldest Methodist churches in the Baltimore Conference is "St. James's," within the "old Montgomery Circuit," erected about the year 1785, but now one of the principal appointments in Patapsco Circuit, and for the second time in its eventful history undergoing the most thorough repairs. "Montgomery Circuit" first appears on the *General Minutes* in 1788, with the names of Robert Green and John Allen as Circuit Preachers, and Nelson Reed, Presiding Elder. From the rapid growth of Methodism at that early day, *necessity* compelled the constant formation of new fields, these often increasing with greater rapidity than men of the right character were raised up of God to supply and cultivate them. From the "old Montgomery Circuit" have sprung an immense progeny, the natural outgrowth of that aggressive spirit which still distinguishes the same Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1790, this ancient field reported a membership of six hundred and forty-eight whites and one hundred and three colored, showing most conclusive evidence of unexampled prosperity. At this early period, "St. James's" Church had become one of our places of power and strength; and for more than eighty years, it has been able to maintain with apostolic zeal and faith, its original prestige. This church building is thirty by forty feet, and was constructed of hewn chestnut logs, painted with lime cement, with a gallery extending nearly half way through the house, and seated with a rough, uncouth class of benches, peculiarly adapted to the physical and mental qualities of their rustic occupants. For nearly thirty-six years, "St. James's" stood in its primitive roughness, its pulpit occupied annually by the most illustrious fathers in the ministry, when God moved the hearts and hands of the people to cover its naked exterior, and add such temporary improvements as comported with the more refined ideas of a subsequent generation. Up to 1820, when the first repairs were made on this church, its pulpit had been regularly filled with seventy-one different preachers of the Baltimore Conference, three of whom, Roberts, George, and Waugh, were subsequently elected Bishops. Beside these stand the names of Garrettson, Jesse and Wilson Lee, Draper, Griffith, Ryland, Jeffer-

* From the *Christian Advocate*.

son, and others, whose self-denying labors in behalf of the Church deserve a conspicuous niche in our ecclesiastical temple. From 1820 to 1867, a period of forty-seven years, Time had made his impress on this ancient structure; and its moss-covered roof and dilapidated exterior plead most eloquently for the hand of reconstruction; and, we rejoice to say, God put it into the hearts of its numerous friends to arise and rebuild. During a period of eighty years, more than one hundred and sixty different preachers had regularly filled its pulpit, no doubt preaching over one hundred and fifty thousand sermons; while the number of souls converted through their agency will only be manifest in the numbering of God's elect people. The last discourse preached within its antiquated walls was by the writer; when the embarrassments under which Nehemiah reared the broken walls of Jerusalem, and the cheerfulness with which his co-laborers assisted in the work, were presented to the people as sufficient motives to inspire them with a determination to arise and adorn this house of God with more than its primeval glory. Since October last, the work of *reconstruction* has been gradually progressing, and with no adverse providence the early spring will bring to us the season of dedication. "Old St. "James's" will enter upon its rejuvenated existence with a large and united membership, and with an active and evangelical ministry, in connection with increasing facilities for mental and moral improvement; and "the glory of this latter "house" shall by far exceed that of former years. W. H. OSBORNE.

General Fitz-John Porter's Case.

Letter from General Franklin to General Grant.

HARTFORD, CONN., September 21, 1867.

MY DEAR GRANT,

Fitz-John Porter writes me to ask that I will do something to aid him in getting a rehearing of his case. All that I can do is to write you and give you the reasons why I think it will be an act of justice to give him the opportunity to clear himself from the terrible imputation now resting upon him.

I saw Porter in Pope's company the day after the latter's defeat at Bull Run, and afterwards, until we arrived in front of Washington. I know that they were on very cordial terms; and that Pope on some occasions advised with him confidentially. I talked a good deal myself with Pope; and I think if he had had at that time any feeling that Porter had acted badly I would have learned it then, but I had no suspicion that he felt aggrieved by anything that Porter or any one who was then near him had done. At Fairfax Court House, the day that we arrived at Washington, I noticed that Pope was particularly in good spirits and cordial with Porter. I have, therefore, always thought that the attack upon Porter was the result of an afterthought; and that the charges were not original with Pope.

During the trial, I thought it proper to inform Porter that Generals J. F. Reynolds, George H. Thomas, and myself, would, if requested, go before the Court and swear that we would not believe Pope or Roberts under oath. I had consulted General Reynolds before I made the proposition. He consented to go himself; and thought General Thomas would have no hesitation in giving such evidence. I was myself well convinced of General Thomas's opinion of Pope's veracity, from what I had often heard him say, before the war. Porter declined to call us up to give this evidence, on the ground that the Court appeared so well disposed towards him, and his case was going on so well, that he did not wish to irritate the Court by an attempt to break down the evidence of the principal prosecutors. The sequence showed that he made a serious mistake.

But I think that the most equitable reason for a review of Porter's case is this: The Judge-advocate-general, Holt, was the Judge-advocate of the Court. That was right enough. But no one will deny that a Judge-advocate of a Military Court, when a prisoner in defended by able counsel, becomes to a great extent a prosecutor, and as such necessarily biased against the prisoner. To say that General Holt was prejudiced against Porter, is merely to say that he is like other men; and that he was so prejudiced the whole proceeding shows. Whether it is better or worse for the course of justice that the Judge-advocate should be prejudiced has nothing to do with the question.

But an abstract of the proceedings, and finding, and sentence of the Court had to be made by the Judge-advocate-general for presentation to the President of the United States, upon which (for he necessarily could not read the evidence) he was to make up his mind as to the guilt or innocence of the accused. Was it right, proper, or decent, that this abstract should be made up by the very man who had done his best to convict the prisoner? Did not such a proceeding prevent the President from learning any extenuating circumstances, or finding out anything weak in the evidence, if any such there were? Did it not, in fact, take away any chance from Porter which he might have had, had a cool, unbiased person of knowledge made this abstract instead of General Holt?

The whole business seems to me like a prosecuting Attorney passing sentence upon a prisoner in a civil Court, immediately after the speeches of Counsel. I think the fact that Mr. Lincoln had only General Holt's abstract to guide him in mak-

ing up an opinion on the proceedings of that Court is enough to invalidate the whole thing.

It has been said, and perhaps with truth, that there is no precedent to guide in this matter. It may be said with equal truth, that never since the trial of Admiral Byng was injustice so without precedent done. I think that there never was a more appropriate opportunity for going beyond precedent, and establishing the fact that no matter how or by whom flagrant injustice is done, you, when the power is in your hands, will see the right done.

For my part, I know that Porter was as loyal as the most loyal soldier now dead; and that no thought of treason or disaffection entered his brain. He was a victim to Pope's failure in Virginia, and it seems to me he has been a victim long enough. You will, in my opinion, do an act which will not be the least among those which will make up your fame, if you will lend your weight towards giving Porter the opportunity to retrieve his character as a citizen and soldier.

I am truly your friend,
W. B. Franklin.

General U. S. Grant, Commanding Army of the United States.

The Boardman Family,—In a retired part of Skowhegan, Maine, previously forming the town of Bloomfield, and bordering upon the Fairfield line, is situated the old homestead of the Boardman family. It is located upon the South-eastern declivity of Bigelow Hill, and commands a fine view of an extensive portion of the country. The farm is now owned by Mr. Abraham Adams, and to him the Boardman family are indebted for many kind attentions during their recent visit to its old home.

This gathering of the children, grand-children, and great-grand-children of the late Samuel L. Boardman, took place on Saturday, the thirty-first of August; and although the notice of the meeting was not as extended as could have been desired, a large company gathered at the old homestead and spent the day in festivities appropriate to the occasion. The familiar spots were all visited, recalling recollections alike pleasant and sad. The company present divided into little groups; and while some proceeded to the favorite trees in the orchard, others visited the spring where in childhood they went to get water, or by the side of some large rock that served as a childish playhouse. Young ladies gathered moss upon rocks where their mothers played when children, to preserve as a memento of the visit. Mr. Adams kindly threw open his house for the reception of the visitors; and room after room was entered, in each of which a thousand recollections rushed upon the mind, After the party had visited all points of interest upon the farm, they sat down to a sumptuous collation served in an adjoining grove, to which Mr. Adams and his family were invited. Among the grand-children present was one, Mrs. Mattie J. Bixby, who arrived with her little boy, six years of age, from Pike's Peak, just in time to be present on the interesting occasion. She came across the Plains, was unaccompanied by any acquaintance or friend save her little boy, and brought her revolver upon her person, to the depot at Skowhegan.

William Boardman came from Martha's Vineyard, and settled in New Market, N. H. He married Sarah, a daughter of Deacon Samuel Lane, of Stratham, N. H.; and was for many years, a Selectman and Collector of the town. His children were, Samuel L., Stephen, William, Martha, Mary, and Betsey. Samuel L. married Mehitable, daughter of General James Hill, of New Market, N. A. General Hill was a prominent citizen of that State; and during the Revolutionary war, raised and equipped at his own expense a Battalion of men, and marched with them to Saratoga, to aid in the engagement with Burgoyne; but did not reach there until after the surrender of that officer. Stephen married a Blightenburg, of Durham, N. H. William became a lawyer of considerable eminence, but died, unmarried, at a comparatively early age. Martha married Seth Shackford, of New Market, N. H. Mary married Daniel Thompson, of Sanbornton, N. H. Betsey died young.

Samuel L. Boardman came into Maine, in 1816, and settled in Bloomfield. He was for many years, keeper of the Skowhegan Bridge, was a man of estimable social qualities, beloved for his good nature, and honored for his integrity. He died suddenly, on the twentieth of March, 1857, aged seventy-five years. His widow is now living at the age of eighty-two. Their family are thirteen children, eight of whom are now living. The other descendants of the family are thirty grand-children and seventeen great-grand-children. These descendants are now widely scattered over Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, many have gone West, and one is residing with his family in Australia.

It is the intention of the family to compile a genealogy of the descendants of William Boardman, also tracing his ancestry as far back as possible; and any one who can furnish information towards making it complete, will receive the thanks of the family. Such letters may be sent to Mr. Samuel L. Boardman, Augusta, Me.

A Glance at the Capture of Fort Pulaski. The following letter, from Major-general Benham, of the Engineers, was doubtless not intended for publication (says *The New York*

Citizen), but as we know many reasons why it should be published, and none why it should not, we have concluded to give it, even at the risk of causing some slight momentary shock to our old friend's ideas of military etiquette:

Boston, Mass., August 11, 1867.

My Dear General.—(though "Miles" sounds more familiar): You, perhaps, may have known that after Gillmore had published his Pulaski reports, I could not but say to General Hunter, that he and I "would have to get certificates that we "were there," as I repeated in fact to Gillmore himself, who had already heard it. This seems to be the case now. A man who is getting up a record of officers—a personal enemy of mine, by the by,—refuses to receive or recognize any testimony that I was anywhere near at the capture of Pulaski, or gave any order there. He has, in fact, printed the record, notwithstanding the evidence given, with an entire omission of that section in my record.

Now, as you were present some portion of the time, as I distinctly recollect, when I gave orders to Gillmore there—and, if I recollect aright, you, with others, accompanied me in my visits of inspection through all the batteries on the first day of that bombardment, when we were constantly fired at from the fort, as we passed between or through the intervals of the batteries—I should be glad if you would give me, as early as convenient, any recollections that you have, of this or other matters, that you have noticed, relating to the duties I performed there; and, especially, what you recollect of the following, of which *my* recollection is perfect: At between twelve and one o'clock of the second day, I was at a sand-hill, close in rear of the three ten-inch gun battery, and with Gillmore was examining the fort through the large tripod telescope fixed in the hill, when a storm of the Blakely shell passed closely over us; and yourself, with one or two others, were in that group.

After some minutes examination, I said to Gillmore, "We must aim our guns at the angle "of the back of the mask-wall to peel it from that "whole face, and that will make a breach too wide "for that small garrison" (whose numbers we knew) "to defend." And I added, "If that is "done, we will storm the fort to-morrow night." You immediately asked who was going to command the storming column? and I replied that I should command it myself. You then told me you should like to lead it with two Irish companies that were there; and I replied to you that you should do it. I then turned to Gillmore and directed him to have scaling ladders prepared, specifying generally the different lengths that I thought it would be best to have made.

Gillmore soon after left, and within one and a half to two hours the flag of Pulaski fell. I watched anxiously for the same ten or fifteen minutes that they took to get it down: and then, as Gillmore was not to be found in the batteries, I sent Lieutenant-colonel Hall, of Serrell's regiment, on a horse, through the batteries, to stop the firing; and I followed rapidly to the upper batteries, with my Adjutant-general, Ely, and ordered a boat from the creek to send him over. During the time they were launching the boat, you came up; and I then requested you, as Adjutant-general to General Hunter, who was in chief command, to go over and receive the surrender, stating to you the terms on which the fort was to be received.

Some fifteen or twenty minutes after, though you had not gone far in consequence of the high wind and tide against you, Gillmore came up in a great flurry from the light-house, three miles off, as I understood, where he had been eating his dinner; and I authorized him to go over to the fort also, where he, in connection with yourself and Captain Ely, the Adjutant-generals of his superior General officers, arranged, as I understood it, the terms of surrender, as had been directed.

Now, General, will you give me your recollections on any of the above matters, or any other such that I was concerned in, in connection with the capture of that work, and oblige,

Yours, very truly,
Henry W. Benham.

Gen. Charles G. Halpine.

[Remarks of General Halpine on the Above.]

The foregoing, in so far as it relates to General Benham, is correct in all its main particulars,—the order to receive the surrender of the fort, however, on no other terms than "unconditional "surrender," having been given to Major Halpine by Major-general David Hunter, who was present and in chief command during the whole bombardment,—his headquarters being at the brass tripod-telescope, to which General Benham has above referred. And here, perhaps, a few words about the seige of Fort Pulaski and its surrender might not be out of place:

For the success of that enterprise General Gillmore has arrogated an amount of credit to which he certainly was not entitled. When operations for the seige commenced, he was Captain of Engineers, and Chief-engineer on the staff of General Timothy W. Sherman, now in command at Newport; and during the later preparations for the bombardment and the bombardment itself, he was simply the directing Engineer Officer of the works, under the command of Major-general Hunter. For him, therefore, to assume, as he has done, all credit for that important siege and its success, is nothing but a false pretence. As well might the Chief-engineer on the staff of General Grant have suppressed General Grant's

name altogether, and only given his own in reporting the sieges and surrenders of Fort Donelson and Vicksburg.

But still less than this was General Gillmore entitled to the whole credit, or any great part of the credit, for the capture of Pulaski. Had his original plans been carried out, we might have been firing ten-inch solid shot from Columbiads and thirteen-inch shell from mortars, from the day the bombardment commenced until now, without having caused any serious discomfort to the men and officers of the opposing garrison. Gillmore's original plan only contemplated a bombardment from the upper sand-hills of Tybee Island, with Columbiads and mortars—his nearest batteries being about two thousand, six hundred yards, and his farthest batteries fully three thousand, seven hundred yards, from the work to be assailed.

Out of this ineffectual scheme he was reluctantly but effectually derided and argued—but chiefly derided—by Lieutenant Horace Porter, of the Ordnance Corps, new General-in-chief of Ordnance, on the staff of Grant; Lieutenant J. H. Wilson of the Topographical Engineers, since heard of as Major-general Wilson of the Cavalry, who committed the blunder of capturing Jeff Davis; and Lieutenant Patrick J. O'Rourke of the regular Engineers, subsequently killed while commanding a New York Brigade of Infantry at the battle of Gettysburgh. They laughed at the fears which Gillmore expressed, that ordnance and ordnance stores in any sufficient quantity could not be moved across the open place on Tybee Island, called "the jaws of death,"—a place clearly under the fire of, and without any protection from, Fort Pulaski's barbette guns; and having at last obtained the doubting Captain's consent to this experiment, it was by the inspiration and under the guidance of these young officers, that the lower and only effective batteries of the siege, were erected.

It was, we say, by the request, and still more by the ridicule of these young officers, that the then Captain Gillmore was compelled—sorely against his own judgment and protest—to consent to the erection of batteries at Goat's Point, on Tybee Island, distant only seventeen hundred yards from Fort Pulaski; and to the armament of these, under the special direction of the then Lieutenant Horace Porter, of the Ordnance Corps, with thirty-pounder Parrot guns, and some eight-inch Columbiads throwing the James projectile. All know the result. It was by the Parrott and James projectiles that the face of the *point coupee* was breached after about thirty hours of fire; and the surrender was then precipitated by the fact that projectiles passing through these breaches began to strike the magazines on the other side of the Fort, threatening a general blow-up of the garrison,—and to this, as one of the advantages of breaching at that point, we very distinctly remember General Benham's having called attention, before the bombardment began, he having been one of the Engineer Officers engaged in the construction of Fort Pulaski, and consequently knowing where its magazines were located and how they could be reached.

General Benham, during the siege, and for some weeks preceding, was Chief-of-staff and Chief-of-engineers, on the staff of Major-general Hunter, and had certainly ordered the erection of some batteries on Dawfuskie Island, to assist in the bombardment. It is true, these batteries proved to be out of range and accomplished nothing; but we distinctly affirm that they accomplished just as much as could have been accomplished by the ten-inch Columbiads and thirteen-inch mortar batteries, originally designed and erected by General Gillmore as his only agencies for conducting the attack.—*N. Y. Citizen.*

South Carolina Maids of the Olden Times. —In turning over the leaves of a very delightful book, published some years since, our eye chanced to fall on the following Petition, signed by sixteen maids of Charleston, and presented to the Governor of that Province, on the first of March, 1748:

To His Excellency Governor Johnson:

The humble petition of all the maids whose names are underwritten:

Whereas, we humbly petitioners, are at present, in a very *melancholy* disposition of mind, considering how all the bachelors are blindly captivated by widows, and our youthful charms thereby neglected: the consequence of this our request is, that your Excellency will, for the future, order that no widow shall for the future presume to marry any young man till the maids are provided for; or else pay each of them a fine for satisfaction for invading our liberties; and likewise a fine to be laid on all such bachelors as shall be married to widows. The great disadvantage it is to us old maids is, that the widows, by their forward carriages, do *snap up* the young men, and have the vanity to think their merits beyond ours, which is a great imposition on us who ought to have the preference.

This is humbly recommended to your Excellency's consideration, and we hope you will prevent any further insults.

And we poor maids, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

P. S.—I being the oldest maid, and thereby most concerned, do think it proper to be the messenger to your Excellency in behalf of my fellow-subscribers.—*Savannah Georgian and Journal.*

Sandy Hook Light-House.—In 1762, John

Cruger, Philip Livingston, Leonard Lispenard, and William Bayard, by direction of the Legislature of the Colony of New York, and as Trustees for the Government, purchased four acres of ground on the point of Sandy Hook, and there erected a light-house and out-buildings. There had, we believe, been a beacon-light displayed there before, but this was the first permanent light-house built. During the early part of the Revolution, the light was extinguished by order of the Government; and, in 1790, the grounds, buildings, &c., were ceded by the People of the State of New York to the United States of America.

This seems to dispose of all the pretensions of New Jersey, to interfere with that property.

A Love Affair of Benedict Arnold's.—The following is a veritable letter, written by General Benedict Arnold, inclosing one to Miss Deblois of Boston. It was addressed to Mrs. General Knox, who was then residing in Boston, and was a friend of Arnold's lady love, who was, as we understand from one of her few surviving cotemporaries, quite a belle in Boston, a lady of most respectable standing in society, and of fortune. Whether she reciprocated Arnold's passion we cannot learn. Whether she did or did not, however, it is certain that the parties were never united and the lady was never married. Tradition says that some time subsequently to the date of this letter, she went so far as to enter the church for the purpose of being married to a Boston gentleman; and that there the marriage was forbidden by her own mother, for what reason is not now known.

Miss Deblois lived and died in Boston, in single blessedness and high respectability. It will be seen by the impassioned language of Arnold's letter that he made love even as he fought and did everything else,—with all his might and main. And one cannot help reflecting how very different might have been the history of this brave but passionate and ill-principled man, had he succeeded in this love affair.

At the time he wrote this letter he was perhaps at the zenith of his fame. It was just subsequent to his brilliant career in Canada and along the lakes. The original letter, in Arnold's own hand writing, was recently discovered among the papers of General Knox. It is written in a handsome, free, and unaffected hand. *The Boston Traveller* which publishes this letter, gives the spelling and capitalizing as in the original.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

"Watertown, March, 1777.

"Dear Madame: I have taken the liberty of "Inclosing A Letter for the Heavenly Miss "Deblos, which beg the favor of your delivering, "with the Trunk of Gowns, &c., which Mrs. "Colburn promis'd me to Send to your House. "I hope she will make no objections against re- "ceiving them. I made no doubt you will soon "have the pleasure seeing the Charming Mrs. "Emery, and have it in your power to give me "some favourable Intelligence. I shall remain "Under the most Anxious Suspense until I have "the favour of a line from you, who (if I may "Judge) will from your own experience, conceive "the fond Anxiety, the Glowing hopes, and Chill- "ing fears, that Alternately possess the breast of

"Dear Madame,

"Your Obed't & most Humble Serv't,

"B. Arnold.

"Mrs. Knox, Boston."

The First Silk manufactured in the United States.—Mr. T. Kohn, a merchant of this city, who deals in ribbons, fringes, &c., has put up some valuable machinery in Mr. Thrall's building, near the railroad station, for weaving silk. He showed us a piece of silk, yesterday, containing twelve yards, which was made by this machinery, and which he claims is the first piece of silk ever made in this country. It is very heavy, made of double thread, and is a plaid of five colors. It is certainly a successful experiment. Mr. Kohn has machinery for producing six hundred different patterns of figured silks; and he intends to do a good business at silk making. He also intends to make ribbons. Mr. Albert Sugden, who superintends the work, is an experienced and competent weaver; and he has procured from England certain portions of the machinery used, and directed the work in putting it up. The piece of silk shown us is seven-eighths of a yard wide; and it is thought to be worth two dollars a yard, though it can probably be sold for less.—*Hartford Times.*

[reply to the above.]

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.

Sir: I cut the above slip from *The Tribune* of Dec. 21. On reading it, I called a witness to the stand—my mother—who, though verging toward fourscore years, has an eye still undimmed, and a natural force but little abated. She is a granddaughter of Colonel Jedediah Elderkin, who, with his compeer, Colonel Eliphalet Dyer, were prominent lawyers at Windham, Connecticut, during most of the last half of the eighteenth century. Colonel Elderkin took a great interest in the manufacture of silk. He had a farm a few miles from Windham, where he grew the mulberry, and had quite an extensive cocoonery. He procured a loom and a weaver from Europe; and my mother distinctly remembers seeing pieces of silk made, more than sixty years ago. Colonel Elderkin had the silk made into dresses for his

daughters. Silk handkerchiefs were made in considerable numbers.

From causes not now known to me, the manufacture was discontinued; but to this day, silk thread is made, I think, at Mansfield, in Connecticut. I was, myself, at the house of my maternal grandfather at Windham, twenty-five years ago, and then examined many of the papers of Colonel Elderkin, and selected out portions of his correspondence with different persons in reference to the silk culture and manufacture. In my removal from New-York, the papers have been mislaid, but the subject interested me at the time; and the article from *The Hartford Times* brought it again vividly to my recollection. It is greatly to be hoped that this enterprise of Mr. Kohn may be successful. If he may not claim the honor of having woven the first web, he may still have claim to the greater honor of being the first successful pioneer in an enterprise which may in some degree relieve us from our dependence on the silk-looms of Europe.

Very truly your friend,

WILLIAM W. CAMPBELL.

CHERRY VALLEY, Dec. 25, 1857.

A VENERABLE BILL OF COSTS.—There is in the possession of B. H. Jarvis, Esq., formerly Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, quite a literary and legal curiosity. We subjoin a copy:

NATHANIEL HAZARD
vs
CORNELIUS EWETSE.

MAYOR'S COURT,
April 1st, 1746.

MAYOR'S CHAMBERS.

	£	s.	d.
Entering action and summons		2	3
Serving and return		1	9
Filing declaration		1	0
Entering return of summons		1	0
Rule to plead			9
Rule of continuance			9
Entering judgment by default		2	0
Entering judgment confessed		2	0
Recorder		6	0
Attorney and Counsel	1	0	0
Making up the record		9	0
Cryer and Bellringer		1	9
Execution		1	6
Drawing costs and copy		1	6
Taxing costs		1	0
		2	12 3
Dam....£5 0s. 6d. / Costs ... 2 12 3 — Poundage		3	10
Total.. 7 12 9	£2	16	1

NEW YORK, April 1st, 1746.

I Do Tax this Bill at two Pounds Sixteen Shillings and one Penny, poundage included. DAN. HORSMANDER.

THE FIRST WESTERN STEAMBOAT.—The Newport (Ky.) *News* has the annexed interesting account of the first steamboat on the Western waters:

The first steamboat that ever run on the Western waters, was built under the superintendence of Mr. Robson, who spent his old age with his son William, two miles back of Newport, Kentucky.

He was employed by Fulton, Livingston, & Co., of New York. The boat was launched at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, on the seventeenth day of March, 1811, and called the *New Orleans*. She was primed with a bluish colored paint. She passed New Madrid, Missouri, at the time of the earthquake in December, 1811. Mr. Scowls, now living in Covington, a wealthy man, was Cabin-boy on her; Andrew Jack was Pilot; and a Mr. Baker was was Engineer. She carried General Coffee and Don Carl from Natchez with their troops down to New Orleans, in 1814, at the time General Jackson was defending that city against the British.

THE FIRST STATE PRISON.—Few of our readers probably know that there is yet standing within the city of New York, the first "State Prison" ever erected in the State of New-York, and one of the first built in the United States.

This old State Prison still stands in the Ninth Ward, on the block bounded by Washington, Amos, West, and Charles-streets; and is now occupied as a brewery. It was erected in the then village of Greenwich, in the years 1794 and 1795; and was opened for the reception of prisoners from the entire State, in 1796. It was a large three-story, stone building, having all its workshops in the rear. The space was inclosed by a strong stone wall, fourteen feet high in front and twenty-three in the rear, within which stood the Prison and its appendages. The whole inclosure comprised about four acres, and included the three blocks of ground on Washington and West-streets, between Christopher and Perry.

This Prison continued the only receptacle for persons convicted of felonies in this State, until 1816, when the western regions having become populous, the State Prison at Auburn was commenced, and completed in 1818.

The New York Prison was, however, kept up until about 1828, when the new one at Mount Pleasant, commonly called Sing Sing, having been completed, the prisoners were transferred thither and the old building purchased by the City Government.

In the early history of this Prison, revolts were quite frequent. In 1803, one occurred, which was not suppressed until three prisoners were killed and several wounded. A strong guard was constantly kept up, composed of a Captain, two Corporals, a drummer, a fifer, and twenty privates. Besides these there was one Principal, one Deputy, and fifteen Assistant-keepers.

The Prison was under the government of a Board of Seven Inspectors, appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. This Board made the necessary rules for

the government of the Prison, appointed the officers, purchased supplies, etc.

The old building, as it now stands, half surrounded by other edifices, is an interesting memento of the past.—*N. Y. Times.*

The First Duel in the United States.—Many of our readers will be surprised to learn that the first duel in the now United States, was fought at Plymouth in 1621, the year succeeding the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, Sabine in his *Notes*, says: "The parties were Edward Doty "and Edward Leister, servants of Stephen Hop- "kins, and, having a dispute, they settled it— "gentlemen-like—with a sword and dagger. "Both were wounded. Without a statute law on "the subject, the whole company of Puritans as- "sembled to consider and punish the offence. "The decision was the wisest that could have "been made. Doty and Leister, were ordered to "be tied together, heads and feet for twenty- "four hours, without food or drink; but the "intercession of their master, their own human- "ity and promises, procured a speedy release."

Massachusetts Seventy Years Ago. — An exchange in some well considered comments on "the progress of the world," remarks: In our own country, the signs of progress and improvement are numerous. The arts of peace were never more sedulously cultivated, and changes for the better are constantly taking place, changes in which the nobler and purer spirit of our nature is made distinct and apparent, and a deeper degree of interest is manifested for the unfortunate and suffering, Look, for example, at the following paragraphs, descriptive of the condition of the affairs in Massachusetts, seventy years ago:

The Pillory in State Street.—Fifty years ago, criminals were often sentenced to exposure on the pillory, which sentence was thus accomplished: In the jail yard, then located in Court-square, was kept a gallows on wheels, which, on an occasion for its services, was rolled down State-street, East of the old City-hall, and on this the criminals were exhibited to the gaze of the assembled crowd, who generally confined themselves to derisive remarks and shouts; but once in a while a mischievous urchin would throw a rotten egg, or some other missile, at the head of the pilloried prisoner. At one time, four persons named Southack, Pierpont, Stover, and Hall, were placed in the pillory for swindling. They stood facing each point of the compass, and each hour were changed, so that in four hours they had all faced the four points of the compass. Another punishment was to place a man on the gallows with a rope around his neck. On one occasion, a prisoner so punished, came near being actually hanged, after which the practice was abandoned. Public whipping for theft was also in vogue about the same period; and there are persons now living who have seen men, and even a woman, publicly whipped on a gallows in State-street.

More of the Good Old Times.—The following memorandum have been discovered in the archives of Hampshire County. From the cool, business-like style in which he mentions it, hanging people must have been a pleasure to Sheriff Porter. The style in which a memorandum is made of such little matters as hanging and whipping, and this on a piece of paper devoted to another purpose, as if to sacrifice a clean sheet were a clean waste, is admirable:—

Sentences at the Supreme Court, April, 1768.

Abijah Converse to be hanged.

Asa Hopkins to stand in the pillory one hour, be whipped twenty stripes and pay costs—standing committed.

Cost	£17	15	10
Collecting fees		10	6
	18	6	4

Abraham Parkhurst to be whipped ten stripes and pay costs, standing committed, &c.

Extract from the sentences.

Attest, E. Porter, Sheriff.

History of Wheat in America.— Wheat was first introduced in the North American Colonies, in 1595, on the Elizabeth Islands, in Massachusetts, by Gosnold, at the time he explored that coast. That has been upwards of two hundred and fifty years ago, and since that time, so great has been the increase of that cereal, that in the year 1849, according to the census of 1850, the product amounted to 160,503,809 bushels. Up to 1610, and perhaps later, England supplied the Colonies with the greater part of their breadstuffs.

The First Tea Destroyed.—*The Newburyport Herald* has published some very interesting revolutionary reminiscences. We make the following extract from one of the series of papers, as it relates to a subject which will never lose its interest. After mentioning the excise laws of 1754, and the troubles respecting the Stamp act, *The Herald* says;—"Next came the tea difficulty; "and all have heard what was done by the "'Mohawks' of Boston with the tea at that port: "but as yet none of our historians have given the "fact that, before Boston acted in the disguise "of Indians, the ship-carpenters of Newburyport "publicly and openly burned up the tea in Mar- "ket-square. How this well-authenticated fact "escaped, that the first defiant resistance to tea "imposition in this country was in Newburyport, "we cannot tell. But twice was this resistance "made, once by burning it in Federal Street, and

"again in the Market. The tea was stored in the "powder-house for safe keeping. Ebenezer "Johnson, standing one day upon the timber of "his yard, called his men about him, and after a "few patriotic words, gave the order: 'All who "'are ready to join, knock your adzes from their "'handles, shoulder their handles, and follow "'me.' Every adze in the yard was knocked off; "and that stout, athletic man, who would have "marched through a regiment of 'red-coats,' "had they then stood in his way, taking his "broad-axe as an emblem of leadership and for "use, marched at the head of the company to "the powder-house. There that well-tried axe "opened a way through the door, and each man "shouldering his chest of tea, again fell into line. "They marched direct to the Market, and then "in single file around the old meeting-house, "where the pump now is, when Johnson's axe "opened his chest, and box and tea were on the "ground together. Each man as he came up did "the same, when, with his own hand, Johnson "lighted the pile and burned it to ashes; and on "that spot, without disguise, the ship-carpenters "of Newburyport destroyed the first tea that was "destroyed in America."

What will Boston say to this?

Bass-wood Paper.—Several papers refer to this article, as a recent invention. It is not so. As early as 1796, a newspaper prepared from bass-wood, was printed in Vermont, by the celebrated Matthew Lyon, bearing the title of *The Scourge of Aristocracy, and Repository of Important Political Truth.* It was in this paper that Lyon published the libel for which he was tried and convicted under the famous Sedition law. He was sentenced to an imprisonment in jail for four months, and the payment of a fine of *One thousand dollars*, and costs. Lyon died in 1822, and repeated attempts were made, after his decease, to obtain from Congress a remission of the fine and costs, but without success, till 1840; when it was voted to refund the amount, with interest, to his legal representatives.—*Salem Gazette.*

An Interesting Letter from General Scott.—Every reader, we doubt not, will agree with us that the subjoined letter is not only an interesting one, but that the concluding sentence of it makes it a remarkable one. It is an exact copy of a letter written by General Winfield Scott, then a Captain in the army, during a sojourn at his home in Petersburg, Virginia, on the 18th of June, 1811, just one year before the Declaration of War. The letter was addressed to an old friend in this city, and is now in possession of his son, J. L. Edwards, Esq.—*The National Intelligencer.*

"Petersburg, June, 1811.

"I believe we have very little village news to "give you, nor do I know what would please you "in that way.

"Of *myself*—that personage who fills so large "a space in every man's *own* imagination, and so "small a one in the imagination of every other— "I can say but little; perhaps less would please "you more. Since my return to Virginia, my "time has been passed in easy transitions from "pleasure to study, from study to pleasure; in "my gayety forgetting the student, in the stu- "dent forgetting my gayety. I have generally "been in the office of my friend, Mr. Leigh, "though not unmindful of the studies connected "with my present profession; but you will easily "conceive my military ardor has suffered abate- "ment. Indeed, it is my design. as soon as cir- "cumstances will permit, to throw the feather "out of my cap and resume it in my hand. Yet, "should war come at last, my enthusiasm will be "rekindled; and then who knows but that I may "yet write my history with my sword?"

"Yours, truly,

"Winfield Scott.

"Lewis Edwards, Esq., Washington."

Winter Perils of Old.—Looking through a copy of *The Boston Post Boy and Advertiser*, dated Feb. 8, 1768—only a hundred years ago—we find, under the date of "New York, Jan. "25," the following:

"A letter from *Montreal* dated Dec. 27, 1767, "advises that it is feared the couriers with the "mail from New York for that place are both "drowned in attempting to cross the river, [St. Lawrence.] "They were spoke with by a man "who came afterward to *Montreal*, who says that "three days after he saw them, he was informed "that they, with two countrymen, took a canoe "to cross at the Falls of *St. Louis*, three leagues "above *Montreal*, and that soon after there came "on thick Weather, and a heavy Fall of Snow, in "which he imagines that the Canoe was overset "by the Ice, and the People drowned, and they "have heard nothing of them since. There is "not the smallest Chance of ever finding the "Mail, as the River is very broad, full of floating "Ice, and the Current exceedingly strong for "many Miles down.

"Another Letter from *Skenesborough*," [now Whitehall] "of the 14th of January, confirms "the above account, and says, it is the Mail "which left *New York* the latter end of Novem- "ber: 'Tis added that twenty-four Persons have "suffered the same Fate within a Month past, by "a Thaw, that brought great Quantities of Ice

"down that rapid River—such as had not been "known at that Season in the Memory of Man. "Lake *George* has not been passable by Ice this "Season, though the Route to *Crown Point* has "been good ever since November."

The mail now goes through from New York to Montreal in fewer hours than the days required for the same service a hundred years ago, and that without drowning the carriers.

The Grave of Jefferson.—"I ascended, (writes one who some time since visited Monticello,) "the winding road which leads from "Charlottesville to Monticello. The path leads "a circuitous ascent of about two miles up a "miniature mountain, to the farm and the grave "of Jefferson. On entering the gate which opens "into the enclosure, numerous paths diverge in "various directions, winding through beautiful "groves to the summit of the hill. From the "peak on which the house stands, a grand and "nearly unlimited view opens to the thickly "wooded hills and fertile valleys which stretch "out on either side. The University, with its "dome, porticoes, and colonnade, looks like a "fair city in the plain; Charlottesville seems to "be directly beneath. No spot can be imagined "as combining greater advantages of grandeur, "healthfulness, and seclusion. The house is noble "in its appearance: two large columns support a "portico which extends from the wings, and into "which the front door opens. The apartments "are neatly furnished and embellished with "statues, busts, portraits, and natural curiosities. "The grounds and outhouses have been neglected, "Mr. Jefferson's attention being absorbed from "such personal concerns by the cares attendant "on the superintendence of the University, which, "when in health, he visited daily since its erection "commenced. At a short distance, behind the "mansion, in a quiet, shady spot, the visitor sees "a square enclosure, surrounded by a low, un-"mortared stone wall, which he enters by a neat "wooden gate. This is the family burying-"ground, containing ten or fifteen graves, none "of them marked by epitaphs, and only a few "distinguished by any memorial. When I saw "it, the vault was just arched, and in readiness "for the plain stone which is to cover it. May it "ever continue, like Washington's, without any "adventitious attraction of conspicuousness, for "when we or our posterity need any other me-"mento of our debt of honor to those names than "their simple inscriptions on paper, wood, or "stone, gorgeous tombs would be a mockery to "their memories. When gratitude shall cease to "consecrate their remembrances in the hearts of "our citizens, no cenotaph will inspire the rever-"ence we owe to them."

An Accidental Resemblance.—The Washington *Star* says: The original rough draft of the Declaration of Independence, in the handwritings of Mr. Jefferson, Dr. Franklin, and the elder Adams, is preserved in the State Department with great care. It has been framed and placed in a box of black walnut, hung against the wall, the door of which is of one piece about two feet square. At certain angles of the room, the grain and natural marks of which the door is fabricated, present a singular appearance. Without the exercise of any great fancy, a representation of the battle of Bunker Hill can be discovered, though some contend it has a great resemblance to the storming of Stony Point, or the attack on King's Mountain. It is quite a curiosity.

A Singular Historical Fact.—Alluding to the Battle of Bunker's Hill, which occurred on the seventeenth of June, the Boston *Post* remarks:

It is a singular fact, that on the eighteenth of June, 1775, there were few who would have cared to claim a share in the transactions of the previous day. The attempt to occupy so exposed a place as Breed's Hill was pronounced rash in the conception and discreditable in the execution; there was a deep feeling of disappointment and mortification in the Colonies at the result, and the complaints were loud and many at the lack of good conduct evinced somewhere. Years elapsed before any one claimed for himself, or for a friend, the honor of having commanded on the occasion; and other years elapsed before there was a general notice of the anniversary. Yet the bravery of its chief actors was so conspicuous as to elicit the warmest tributes; and intelligent sympathizers with the cause of freedom looked deeper than the outward sign of defeat. One of them, Governor Johnson, in a truly eloquent speech in the House of Commons, on the thirtieth of October, 1775, delivered the judgment of posterity. "To a mind" he said, "who "loves to contemplate the glorious spirit of free-"dom, no spectacle can be more affecting than "the action at Bunker's Hill. To see an irregu-"lar peasantry, commanded by a physician, in-"ferior in numbers, opposed by every circum-"stance of cannon and bombs that could terrify "timid minds, calmly wait the attack of the "gallant Howe, leading on the best troops in the "world, with an excellent train of artillery, and "twice repulsing those very troops who had often "chased the chosen battalions of France, and at "last retiring for want of ammunition, but in so "respectable a manner that they were not even "pursued—who can reflect on such scenes and "not adore the constitution of Government that "could breed such men."

Washington's Farewell.—The following extract, says the Washington *National Intelligencer*, is from a letter written by a lady upward of eighty years old, residing in Philadelphia, to her grandson, in Washington, District of Columbia:

"When George Washington delivered his "'Farewell Address,' in the room at the South-"east corner of Chestnut and Sixth-streets, I sat "immediately in front of him. It was in the "room Congress occupied. The table of the "Speaker was between the two windows on Sixth-"street. The daughter of Dr. C. of Alexandria, "the physician and intimate friend of Washing-"ton, Mrs. H., whose husband was the Auditor, "was a very dear friend of mine. Her brother "Washington was one of the Secretaries of Gen-"eral Washington. Young Dandridge, a "nephew of Mrs. Washington, was the other. I "was included in Mrs. H.'s party to witness the "august, the solemn scene. Mr. H. declined "going with Mrs. H. as she had determined to "go early, so as to secure the front bench. It "was fortunate for Mrs. C. afterwards Mrs, L. "that she could not trust herself to be so near "her honored grandfather. My dear father stood "very near her. She was terribly agitated. "There was a narrow passage from the door of "the entrance to the room, which was on the East, "dividing the rows of benches. General Wash-"ington stopped at the end to let Mr. Adams "pass to the chair. The latter always wore a "full suit of bright drab, with lash or loose "cuffs to his coat. He always wore wrist ruffles. "He had not changed his fashions. He was a "short man with a good head. With his family "he attended our church twice a day.—General "Washington's dress was a full suit of black. "His military hat had the black cockade. There "stood the 'Father of his Country,' acknow-"ledged by the nation—the first in war, first in "peace, and first in the hearts of his Countrymen. "No marshall, with gold colored scarfs, attended "him—there was no cheering—no noise. The "most profound silence greeted him, as if the "great assembly desired to hear him breath, and "catch his breath in homage of their hearts. Mr, "Adams covered his face with both his hands; "the sleeves of his coat and his hands were covered "with tears. Every now and then, there was a "suppressed sob. I cannot describe Washing-"ton's apperrance as I felt it—perfectly com-"posed and self-possessed till the close of his "address, then, when strong nervous sobs broke "loose—when tears covered the face—then the "great man was shaken. I never took my eyes "from his face. Large drops came from his "eyes. He looked to the youthful children, "who were parting with their father, their friend, "as if his heart was with them, and would be to "the end."

Jeff. Davis in the United States Army.—Jeff. Davis's appointment and commission as First Lieutenant of United States Dragoons, was found among his private papers, at his residence, near Jackson, Mississippi, on the eleventh of July, 1863, by J. H. Goldsmith, Company B. Fourteenth Regiment of Illinois Volunteer Infantry.

The appointment is simply a partly printed and partly written letter-sheet, with the blanks filled. It is dated June the fifth, 1834, and signed "F. C. "Jones," or "H. Jones," [*Roger Jones, probably,*] as nearly as I can make out. The commission is on parchment, dated May the tenth, 1834, is signed "Andrew Jackson, President," in a bold hand, and countersigned "Lewis Cass, Secretary "of War." The commission is much defaced by time and water.

Mild Winters.—The following is copied from the fly-leaf of a book in my possession, written, I believe, by the late John Targee, esq.

P.

"January, 1824.

"January 15.—This day arrived from Troy a "sloop, and the steamboat James Kent arrived "last evening from Coxsackie—the Kent having "been caught in the ice in the early part of the "season. The river had been closed as far down "as Poughkeepsie, but owing to the uncommon "mildness of the season the ice gave way, and "the above vessels came down to the city. Yes-"terday, the fourteenth, the weather was uncom-"mon windy and cold. Fifteenth, in the morning, "mild; afternoon, more cold—thermometer 31.

"Note.—The river closed again, and opened "on or about the eigthh of March, when the *Fire "Fly* steamboat arrived on the tenth of March "from Albany." *New York Tribune.*

Incidents in the Settlement of China, Maine.*

Messrs. Editors:—I wish to offer for publication some account of the first settlement of China, which commenced about ninety years ago, in the time of the Revolutionary war, by some people from Massachusetts, when this part of Maine was almost entirely an unbroken wilderness.

The incidents I am about to relate I heard from the mouths of those people, some seventy years ago—being now nearly eighty years of age. They settled on the easterly shore of the Twelve Mile pond, on a fine tract of land sloping westerly to the pond. Their nearest neighbors were in

* From *The Maine Farmer.*

Vassalboro', (Getchell's Corner,) ten miles distant. They passed the first winter, with which for severity our winters now would hardly begin to compare, in which they suffered extremely from want and cold. In the spring following, the men having planted some potatoes on a piece of burnt land, started off in quest of food. They proceeded down the pond, seven miles, to the outlet. Leaving their canoe, they proceeded four miles by spotted trees to Getchell's Corner; thence in a canoe eighteen miles down the Kennebec to Cobbossee Contee, where was then the only grist mill in the region, built by Dr. Gardiner in 1760. The corn was then all brought from Boston in vessels. Here they expected to get employment enough to buy a few bushels, get it ground, and return to their starving families; but to their dreadful disappointment the corn had been all sold, and they set out with heavy hearts for home, with their empty bags. After they got above tide water at Augusta, they had to pole their canoe up the rapids, twelve miles, to Getchell's Corner, thence homeward the way they came, having been gone a week. Their half-famished families saw them at a distance on the pond, and immediately put on their kettles with water to cook some pudding as soon as they should arrive. Their little ones ran down to the shore to greet them. They walked into their desolate homes, looking at each other in mute despair. Not a word was spoken for half an hour—their little ones crying with hunger. But how did they make out to live after this? is the natural inquiry. Well, they had to dig up the potatoes they had planted—perhaps not all of them—the fish, shad, and alewives, in the spring ran up to the outlet in such vast numbers that I have heard the old people say that they could have walked over the stream on the backs of them on snow-shoes. Then the moose were very abundant. They would wade into the pond in the night, and brouse among the lilies and water grass. The people would watch for them and go out in canoes and kill them with clubs. Then they got to keeping a cow or two, pasturing them in the woods and meadow, and cutting hay for them in the meadow. Thus they got along, placing their reliance upon a kind Providence, until the wilderness blossomed like a rose. There were fine farms, stocks of cattle, and diaries, more than sixty years ago, all in sight of the now pleasant village of China. Many a traveller has been charmed with the sight of these farms and of the beautiful sheet of water below them, now called China lake. Such were the hardships suffered by the pioneers of China, (formerly Harlem) but they have long since passed away.

FARMINGTON, ME. DANIEL SEWALL.

XIV.—NOTES.

THE MONUMENT OF BURROWS.—In the year 1815, an "OLD NEW-YORKER" (Matthew L. Davis, Esq.) was travelling through the town of Portland, Maine, where he discovered the grave of the gallant Captain William Burrows, of the U. S. Brig *Enterprize*—who was mortally wounded on the fifth of September, 1813, in a severe but successful contest with the English Brig *Boxer*—was without a head stone. Mr. Davis's patriotic liberality on this occasion was thus noticed by *The Portland Argus*:—

"A gentleman from New York, Matthew L. "Davis, Esq., while passing through town a few "days since, on a tour to the Eastward, had ac- "cidentally taken a walk into our burying "ground. His attention was attracted to the "neglected grave of the late gallant Captain "Burrows. The only guide to the spot, where is "deposited the remains of one who had so much "heroic merit and who deserved so much of his "country, was the tomb stone of his deceased "competitor, the British Captain, Blythe. This "was erected two years since by the surviving "officers of the *Boxer*. The thought was in- "stant. Mr. Davis immediately gave orders for "an elegant marble monument to be erected over "the grave of Burrows, to be finished by his "return, and without the sparing of labor or "expense. It is now completed and put up. Its "style of execution does much credit to the in- "genious artist, Mr. Bartlett Adams, of this "town; and the inscription is highly creditable "to the taste, judgment, and modesty of the "generous donor, and worthy the hero, whom it "is designed to commemorate."

The following is the memorial inscribed on the Monument:—

BENEATH THIS STONE
moulders
THE BODY OF
WILLIAM BURROWS,
LATE COMMANDER
OF THE
UNITED STATES BRIG ENTERPRISE,
who was mortally wounded on the fifth of September, 1813,
IN AN ACTION WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO INCREASE THE FAME OF AMERICAN VALOUR, BY CAPTURING HIS
BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S BRIG
BOXER,
AFTER A SEVERE CONTEST OF
Forty-five minutes.

A passing stranger has erected this monument of respect to the manes of a Patriot, who in the hour of peril, obeyed the loud summons of an injured country, and who gallantly met, fought, and conquered the foeman.

NEW YORK CITY. T. F. D. V.

A SLIGHT DIFFERENCE.—The State of New York has for many years had in its employ, as custodian of its archives, that eminent scholar and archæologist, Doctor E. B. O'CALLAGHAN. All the earlier manuscripts are in the Dutch language. Many years ago these manuscripts were translated into English, and last summer the Doctor had occasion to verify some of the papers. In one, it was stated that the Directors at Amsterdam, in sending to this country a lot of emigrants, had supplied each one with a *codfish hook*. By reference to the original, Dr. O'CALLAGHAN found that it meant each a *pea-jacket*.—*Grand Rapids* (Mich.) *Democrat*, Nov. 12, 1867.

PUNNING TRADES TOKENS.—Will. Rose, a publican, of Coleraine, in Ireland, issued trades tokens with a Bear, passant, on the reverse—EXCHANGE. FOR. A. CAN. (*i.e.*, of Beer!), and as if the pun was not ridiculous enough, there was a ROSE AS A REBUS FOR HIS NAME.

Thomas Dawson, of Leeds, perpetrated a similar pun on his token, dated 1670. It says,—BEWARE. OF. YE. BEARE, evidently alluding to the strength of his beer.—*Boynes and Akerman's Trades Tokens of the Seventeenth Century.*

W. J. F.

REMAINS OF EARTH-WORKS.—In Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ii., 1256, in regard to the wall of Severus, across England, from the Solway Frith to the mouth of the Tyne, it is said that "Hodgson, in his *History of Northumberland*, (iii. 276) states a fact "curious if *true*. 'A little West of Portgate, the "'earth taken out of the fosse lies spread abroad "'to the North in lines, just as the workmen "'wheeled it out and left it. The tracks of "'their barrows, with a slight mound on each "'side, remain unaltered in form.' It is scarcely "credible, however, that slight elevations of "earth, and superficial traces in it, should, for "more than a thousand years, have successfully "resisted the constant operation of the natural "agencies, which are sufficient to disintegrate the "hardest rock."

So says the writer in the Dictionary. But, after reading this, we were walking across what is called in Carolina, an "*old field*," grown over and swarded down with the hard rooted and tough stemmed broom-grass so common in this country, which had been last planted in corn, and ploughed deep, before being thrown out of cultivation. And we noticed, as often is the case, that the ridges will retain their height indefinitely long. When once coated over with roots and the growth of the grass, it is difficult to see how they can be levelled down as long as the grass lives. We find these ridges remaining even when the "old "field" has been grown over with the pines that so commonly return, with other trees, in old fields that are not under cultivation; and then the fallen leaves will help to preserve the ridges.

And doubtless we may find, along the lines of railroads, just such banks of earth wheeled out; and remaining just as left by the workmen. And so they will remain, as the turf is unbroken.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C. E. F. R.

QUERIES.

KNICKERBOCKERS. — Dickens' *Uncommercial Traveller*, after describing his lodgings in Bond street, says that the hatter's young man, when he "got his *Knickerbockers* on, was even cheerful."

Does he refer to Boots or Breeches?

NEW YORK. K.

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT.—Stone, in his *Life of Brant*, ii., App. vii., gives a Ballad, entitled *Saintclaires Defeat*, purporting to have been written "On Occasion of the Victory of the "Indians over that Officer, in 1791."

Can any of the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE inform me who was the author of that Ballad? Mr. Stone does not give the name of the writer.

ALBANY, N. Y. W.

REPLIES.

LOBSTERS AND NEW YORK.—[*H. M.*, II., ii., 182.] The story is not true. We did not need lobster planting here, for this favorite of the old Dutch aldermen is a native of the waters of New York. Vanderdonck, writing in 1642, says, "Lobsters are plenty. Some of these are very "large, being from five to six feet in length; "others again are from a foot to a foot and a half "long, which are the best for the table." If the "Sons of Rhode Island" can furnish specimens larger than these we will agree to eat them.

Will PRAWN be kind enough to give the name and date of the old New York newspaper referred to in his communication? SHRIMP.

XVII.—BOOKS.

1.—Recent Publications.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of The Historical Magazine, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "Henry B. Dawson, Morrisania, N. Y.," or to Messrs. Charles Scribner & Co., *Booksellers*, 654 *Broadway, New York City*, as shall be most convenient for them.]

1.—*Terra Mariæ*; or Threads of Maryland Colonial History. By Edward D. Neill. Phila: J. B. Lippencott & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 260.

If we do not mistake, the writer of this little volume was recently the Secretary of the State Historical Society of Minnesota, and author of a standard History of that State, He is now one of the Secretaries of President Johnson; and he tells us, in his Preface, that this is the result of his recreation, when not officially employed at the White House, while visiting the Congressional Library and rummaging the treasures of that fine collection.

In his treatment of the Colonial history of Maryland, he devotes Chapters, respectively, to George and Cecilius, first and second Lords Baltimore, the difficulties with Virginia, the advent of the Quakers and their influence, the disputes concerning boundaries, the Revolution of 1689, society during the Eighteenth Century, and the causes which led to the Declaration of Independence, and to the various Proprietaries.

In the treatment of his subjects, Mr. Neill has employed an easy, flowing style without wasting words for mere effect; and it will be readily seen, by the most casual reader, that, although the author does not pretend to be an expert in the History of Maryland, he knows where to look for the material, and how to employ it.

We have not seen any work, concerning the settlement and progress of Maryland, which, within the same space, contains so much substantial information on the subject; and, for that reason, we are glad to call the attention of our readers to its merits.

The publishers have issued it in a very neat dress; and it will form a very acceptable addition to the local History of Maryland.

2.—*Meditations on the actual state of Christianity, and on the attack, which are now being made upon it.* By M. Guizot. New York: C. Scribner & Co., Sine anno. Crown octave, pp. 390. Price $1.75.

Two years since, the great French philosopher published his volume of *Meditations* concerning the essence of Christianity; we have now, those concerning the actual state of the Christian religion, its internal and external condition, the elements which are actively adverse and antagonistic to it, and the impulse imparted to it by that antagonism.

It is not the province of this work to make an extended examination of the various important subjects to which this volume is devoted; but we cannot lay aside a volume from the pen of M. Guizot without reminding our readers that the great ability and high character of its distinguished author commend it to their highest respect.

3.—*Language and the study of Language.* Twelve Lectures on the principles of Linguistic Science. By William Dwight Whitney. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1867. Crown octavo, pp. xi, 489. Price $2.50.

Professor Whitney, the learned author of this work, has attempted to place before his readers all the facts regarding Language, which are most important. Among these he places its nature and origin, its growth and classifications, its ethnological bearing, its value to man, etc,; and in as simple terms as possible, avoiding as far as he can do so, all technical and metaphysical phraseology, he has executed his task with great ability. The volume will find a hearty welcome among students and instructors; and its handsome dress will secure for it a place in every well-balanced library.

4.—*Tales of the Good Woman.* By a Doubtful Gentleman, otherwise, James K. Paulding. Edited by William I. Paulding. In one volume. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1867. Crown octavo, pp. 402. Price $2.50.

5.—*The Bulls and the Jonathans;* comprising John Bull and Brother Jonathan and John Bull in America. By James K. Paulding. Edited by William I. Paulding. In one volume. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1367. Crown octavo, pp. 378. Price $2.50.

It is an injunction of the Almighty to "honor "thy father and thy mother;" and Mr. Paulding, the industrious Editor of these volumes, has earned for himself many blessings for the fidelity with which he has obeyed this heavenly law, in the work which is before us.

The first of the two volumes which we have named is a collection of several of the minor papers of Mr. Paulding; the latter embraces two works, responsive to the slanders against the United States in which various English visitors indulged, about that period; and both will be welcomed, especially by those who, thirty years ago, entered into the passing excitements of the day. These excitements and their attendant bitterness have been forgotten, except by the more venerable of our contemporaries, if they have ever been known to any others who now live —and it is well. therefore to revive such works as these, abounding as they do with that sturdy love of country and unmistakeable earnestness of expression which characterized that period more than this, in order that those who shall come after us may learn some of the influences which controlled the affairs of the Union at that time and

be enabled to contrast them with the prevailing ideas of our own day.

The Editor has faithfully carried the different works through the Press, with carefully prepared *Introductions* and illustrative Notes; and we hope that his labors will be rewarded with a generous support.

6.—*Prayers from Plymouth Pulpit.* By Henry Ward Beecher. Phonographically reported. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 332. Price $1.75.

Prayers to God considered as merchandise, and sold as such! Who but the late Secretary of the American Temperance Union, (so called,) would have entertained such an idea, even if two demons instead of one had prompted it? The fact exists, however, that for "several years," a grave and venerable Doctor in Divinity has listened, and thought of the "great loss" which he was experiencing in allowing so much ministerial supplication to run to waste, and employed, *as a commercial speculation*, an experienced phonographer to gather them, drop by drop, as they have fallen from Mr. Beecher's lips; that these Prayers to the Almighty, thus picked up, *in transitu*, have been subsequently peddled in the New York market; and that they are here, printed, at fourteen shillings per copy.

It is creditable to Mr. Beecher that he is not a party to so unholy a transaction; and we regret that such a house as our own honored publishers has so far violated all that is decent by allowing its imprint to appear on the title page of such a work—even to gratify "the Reverend Doctor "John Marsh."

7.—*Genealogy of the Van Brunt Family*, 1653–1867. By Teunis G. Bergen. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1867. Octavo, pp. viii, 79.

Rutger Joesten Van Brunt, a solid Dutch farmer, emigrated to New Netherland, in 1653, and was among the first settlers in New Utrecht, on Long Island. Like most other Dutchmen, he had a family; and his descendants are now widely scattered over the country, under the well-known names of Van Dyck, Pollock, Hegeman, Petersen, Ditmas, Vanderbilt, Stymets, Hendrickson, Winant, Stillwell, Denyse, Rapalje, Lott, Lefferts, Cowenhoven, Benson, Preste, Boice, Nafius, Voorhies, Bergen, Van Brunt, etc.

The volume before us, from the pen of one of our contributors who is well versed in such matters, contains the Genealogy of this widely-spread family, from its foundation in America until the present time; and it will prove very useful to the student and very interesting to those who now represent the original Rutger.

The labor which is necessary for the production of such a volume is very little understood by those who have never attempted such a work and we can very readily understand why, by reason of its details, it may be unduly neglected by the merely casual collector. It is, however, worthy of a better fate; and we earnestly hope it may have a renumerative circulation.

8.—*Mental Arithmetic;* or, oral exercises in Abstract and Commercial Arithmetic, with first lessons in written Arithmetic, for the use of Schools. By Charles S. Venable, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Virginia. New York: Richardson & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 176. Price 45 cents.

9.—*Arithmetic, Pure and Commercial.* For the use of Schools. By Charles S. Venable. New York: Richardson & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. 261. Price $1.

10.—*An Elementary Grammar of the English Language.* By Geo. F. Holmes, LL. D. Professor of History, General Literature, and Rhetoric, in the University of Virginia. New York: Richardson & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. 238.

11.—*The Southern Pictorial Fourth Reader.* For Schools and Families. By Geo. F. Holmes, LL. D. New York: Richardson & Co. Duodecimo, pp. 276.

12.—*Holmes' Southern Fifth Reader for Schools and Families.* By Geo. F. Holmes, LL. D. New York: Richardson & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 408.

The above form portions of a series of text-books prepared for schools in the Southern States, by Southern scholars, at the instance of a New York publisher, Mr. Richardson, who is known to many of our readers as the founder, and, for many years, the publisher, of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

It has been the purpose of the authors of these works to exclude from their pages whatever is calculated to keep alive the existing sectional animosities, either by invidious comparisons or partizan statements; and as the ablest minds of the South are engaged in the preparations of these the importance of the undertaking cannot be too highly regarded.

The series is intended to embrace, when complete, nine Readers, three Grammars, eight volumes of Mathematics, five on Geography and Astronomy, five on the French, and three on the Latin Language, etc., and it has been welcomed throughout the South, in the most flattering manner.

The several volumes are well printed, on fair paper, and substantially bound; and we commend them to those of our readers, North and South, who are interested in the education of the rising generation.

13.—*Hysteria.* Remote Causes of Diseases in general; Treatment of Diseases by Tonic Agency; Local or Surgical Forms of Hysteria, etc. Six Lectures delivered to the Students of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1866. By F. C. Skey, F. R. S., late President of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, Consulting Surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, etc. New York: A. Simpson & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 103.

This book is more especially interesting to our

medical friends; but it contains so much sound sense, and is withal so free from the technicalities that usually abound in medical works, that the general reader may profit by its perusal.

Mr. Skey is an advocate of the rational treatment of disease, i. e., that plan which makes nutrition and tonic medicaments the basis of the management of disease. His opposition to the spoliative and reducing system which so long held sway over the Medical profession, is bitter and undisguised; and founded as it is upon a right appreciation of the nature of disease, cannot fail to do good, while his immense experience gives to his opinions an almost judicial aspect that merely theoretical views cannot possess. The American publishers have done a good service by placing this little book within the reach of the reading public, and they have earned for themselves credit by the admirable typographical execution of the same.

14.—*Proceedings of the Meeting held at the Inauguration of Rutgers Female College, April* 25, 1867. New York: Agathynian Press. 1867. Octavo, pp. 59.

With all the elegance of tinted laid paper and rubricated title-pages, Doctor Pierce has here recorded the inaugural services with which the Rutgers Female Institute was introduced into the charmed circle of American Colleges.

As a matter of local interest, it will commend itself to the attention of Collectors; and the young house which printed need not be ashamed of its handiwork, in producing it, even when compared with the work of other and older offices.

15.—*An Early New England Marriage Dower, with Notes on the Lineage of Richard Scott of Providence.* By Martin B. Scott. Boston: 1867. Octavo. pp. 9.

A private reprint, in separate form, of a paper which appeared in a recent number of *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, from the pen of M. B. Scott, Esq., a descendant of Richard.

This Richard Scott was a brother-in-law of Anne Hutchinson, and among the earliest settlers of Rhode Island; and the leading paper in this tract is a deed of conveyance to his son-in-law, Christopher Holder, of the Island of Patience, in Narragansett Bay. This deed is followed with a certificate of Roger Williams; and the Notes of the Editor conclude the volume.

We have gone over these "Notes" with some care, and we find them to be just what the editor promised in his title-page—they are notes on the family of Richard Scott, the Quaker, who died in Providence, in 1681–2, embracing notices of his own life and character; corrections of errors into which Capron fell, while on the same subject, in 1817; a brief view of the persecutions to which his wife, Katharine Marbury, was subjected by the Puritans in Massachusetts, because of her sympathy with the Friends and the sympathy of her persecutors with barbarism and monarchy, etc.

We are glad to perceive that, even in the West, the taste for historical studies is growing; and that private gentlemen—business men and busy men—do not think it is necessary to let their legers and their counting-rooms employ all their energies or command all their sympathies.

16.—*No. I. Indian Bulletin for* 1867, containing a brief account of the North American Indians, and the interpretation of many Indian names. By Rev. N. W. Jones. New York: C. A. Alvord. 1867. Octavo. pp. 16.

We are informed by the author that "this "pamphlet has been issued to subscribers, for the "purpose of defraying in part the expense of an "effort to establish a National Professorship of "Indian Languages and Archæology;" but as the reader is not told any other particulars concerning this "effort," we suspect that it has been issued in order that its author may be the better enabled to get a living while he continues to spend,—as he must "often" have spent before, else he would not have been able to speak so positively of what is "often required" in that undertaking—"months of labor" to ensure "the correct inter-"pretation of a single Indian name." We do not object to such an employment of the proceeds of the sale of this tract; we only take the liberty of suggesting that there can be no necessity for a Christian minister to spend, "often," "months "of labor," in ascertaining "the correct interpre-"tation of a single Indian name," under the very queer supposition that he is thus engaged in an "effort to establish a National Professorship of "Indian Languages and Archæology;" and it is still more singular, that even after having thus "often" spent "months of labor" in interpreting "*a single* Indian name," there are still doubts, even in his own mind, concerning the correctness of the interpretations of "a few" of the names which he has introduced into this work.

With this confession of the author's ignorance of his subject, staring us in the face in his Prefatory Note, we have little prospect of entire satisfaction with the *Bulletin* itself.

On the fifth line of the first page of the text of the work, the reader is introduced to "the beau-"tiful Pocahontas," and to her salvation of Captain Smith, evidently in open defiance of our friend, Mr. Charles Deane, of Cambridge; and in the same paragraph, the Indian is said to have "furnished food, shelter, land, trade, and wealth "to hundreds and thousands;" to have been a "skillful mechanic, a successful physician, a "practical farmer;" and to have "left a liter-"ature far more copious than the Hebrew"—very

much of which will be news to our readers, especially since the ministerial character of the relator seems to furnish a guarantee of the correctness of the statements.

17.—*A Discourse preached in Warren* at the completion of the first Century of the Warren Association, September, 11, 1867, by Samuel L. Caldwell. Providence: 1867. Octavo, pp. 19.

The "Warren Association" is one of the oldest of the Baptist Associations in the country, and one of the most influential. It was the Centennial birth-day of this venerable body which called the Pastor of the First Church, in Providence, to deliver the address which is now before us.

In 1734, there were only fifteen Baptist Churches in New England; in 1767, seventy-nine; in 1784, a hundred and and fifty; in 1796, three hundred and twenty-five; in 1860, twelve hundred and ninety-one—such has been the progress of the denomination, during the past Century and a third.

Doctor Caldwell boldly confronts the testimony of modern, so-called, historians; and he tells us that this steady march to power by the Baptists of New England, during the eighteenth Century, was only because "the Truth was "mightier than the Law, than majorities, than "social customs and traditional education, than "all social forces against it;" and he does not hesitate to assert, in the most emphatic terms, that the Puritans were "intolerant" where they were in authority, and "inhospitable" to those who were unlike themselves. The Browns' unsuccessful attempt to use the Prayer-book, the refusal of the Elders to tolerate Presbyterianism, the Antinomian persecutions, the exile of Roger Williams, and the whipping of Obadiah Holmes, are among the instances referred to, to support this averment; and he very aptly cites Presidents Dunster and Chauncey of Harvard, Lady Deborah Moody, and Hansard Knollys, as early Baptists.

The early struggle with Puritan intolerance is also made the subject of a careful and elaborate survey. He also relates the origin of the Association at Warren, its progress to power, and its subsequent divisions for greater convenience; and he closes with a very excellent retrospect of the past Century.

We observe that Doctor Caldwell alludes to the Confession of Faith of the English Baptists, in 1643; we shall be glad to learn where it may be found. There are some persons who are not satisfied with the genuineness of *all* the Confessions of the Early Baptists in England, which the Hansard Knollys Society has issued; and we are quite sure that the particular Confession which possesses the greatest historical interest—the *first*—has not been truly presented in the Society's volume. We happen to own a perfect copy of the original edition; and we speak by the book.

18.—*The General Association of Massachusetts*, 1867. Minutes of the Sixty-fifth Annual Meeting, Greenfield, June 25–27, with the Narrative of the State of Religion, and Statistics of the Ministers and Churches. Boston: Congregational Board of Publication. 1867. Octavo.

The title-page furnishes a complete description of this pamphlet, and a most useful work it is to those who are interested in the local history of Massachusetts,

The Editor—probably Doctor A. H. Quint of New Bedford—has done his work with ability and good judgment; but we are not quite sure that the Minutes of the Maine Association, referred to in our last, are not more complete and therefore more useful.

There is, in this tract, a paper of considerable interest, because of its novelty—we refer to the "Report of the Committee on the administration "of Baptism in connection with admissions to "the Church."

It seems that the Pastors of some of the Churches in Massachusetts baptize persons "*before* assent "is given" [*by the baptized*] "to the Covenant," while others require a *previous* confession, "avouching *Personal* faith and consecration to "God and Christ;" and the object of this Report is to determine which of these practices is the best; whether an unbeliever—in which class we recognize *all* who have made no Profession of their faith—is at any time entitled to Baptism or may properly be Baptised, under any circumstances. In the solution of such a question, one would suppose no Orthodox Christian, nor even an Heterodox Infidel, could possibly differ in his conclusion from every one of his neighbors, if he has read and recognizes the binding obligation of the original commission to baptize or believes the narrative of its meaning as illustrated by the practice of the primitive Christians—that, for instance, of Philip, when the eunuch indicated his desire to be Baptized.

In this, however, notwithstanding its simplicity, it seems there is a difference; and the Report, after a roundabout story, without turning to the Commission or quoting a *primitive* authority, determines, very sensibly, we think, that "the "practice which has crept in of baptizing the "candidate before the covenant, that is, before "any confession of his PERSONAL *repentance*, "*faith*, and *obedience*, and after simple assent on "his part to a mere statement of doctrinal belief, "*was* AN INNOVATION UPON CHRISTIAN USAGE "*from the days of the Apostles*"—a determination which is perfectly in accord with the Bible.

Would it not be well for the Committee to extend its inquiry during the current year, and tell us, in the next issue of the Minutes, how it is with the "Baptism" of those persons who, with yet more grave impropriety, it seems to us, have neither "assented" "to a mere statement of doc- "trinal belief," nor "confessed" their "*personal*

"repentance, faith, and obedience," as required by the Committee? Of those, many are said to be baptised in Massachusetts every year—nine hundred and eighty-seven, in 1866, and eleven hundred and sixty-eight, in 1867, are reported on page 55 of this very tract;—and it seems to us that this intelligent Committee might reasonably inquire by *whose* authority they were "Baptized" at all; and just what difference there is between the so-called "Baptisms," thus administered to *unbelievers* and without even an "assent to a mere "statement of doctrinal belief," much more without "any confession of their *personal* repent-"ance," etc., and that lawless "*innovation upon* "CHRISTIAN *usage* from the days of the Apos-"tles," of which the Committee has made mention.

We trust Dr. Quint will promote the extended inquiry, thus invited.

19.—*Communication from the Counsel of the Corporation* in reply to Resolution of Inquiry in relation to the powers of the Corporation of the City of New York to issue Tavern and Excise Licenses. Board of Aldermen, October 7, 1867. New York: E. Jones & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 22.

We do not generally notice the papers published by the Corporation of New York, but this seems to demand a more careful consideration since it is mainly a historical and legal discussion concerning the ancient Charters of the city and the rights of the Common Council, under their provisions.

The learned Counsel of the Corporation traces from the days of the Dutch, more than two hundred years, the vested right of the city to license Taverns and collect excise duties; and he cites the Charters, subsequently granted by British authorities in confirmation of that "ancient right," and the decisions of the Courts, in the earlier days, on the inviolability of the Charter, to prove that the right to issue Licenses for Taverns and to collect Excise, is vested only the Mayor.

We have read the argument with considerable attention; and, in view of the incompleteness of his material, Mr. O'Gorman has done well. There is, however, very much more to be said on this subject of the right of the Legislature to interfere with the local concerns of New York; and we are looking forward to the Reports of the seven gentlemen to whom the Corporate authorities, last spring, appealed for information on that subject, to clear away the rubbish and establish the Truth—a result which will confirm to New York all the rights of self-government, without interference from abroad.

20.—*Forty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Mercantile Library Association of the City of New York.* May, 1866—April, 1867. New York, 1867. Octavo, pp. 48.

It seems that on the first of May, 1867, there were Ten thousand five hundred and thirty-one members in this Association; that its yearly receipts were $40,692 07; that Ten thousand and ninety volumes were added to the library during the year preceding that date, and Three thousand and four duplicates sold; and that it possessed "about Ninety thousand volumes," a fine Reading-room, etc.

It is gratifying to know that the Society is highly prosperous; and we trust that its prosperity will never be retarded by injudicious management,

21.—*Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America:* with an Appendix. Vol. XIV. A. D. 1867. New York, Presbyterian Publication Committee. 1867. Octavo, pp. 458—693.

We are indebted to our valued friend, Rev. Doctor Hatfield, for a copy of this volume, in which, carefully and judiciously arranged, are the statistics of the great denomination of New-School Presbyterians, scattered throughout our country.

The completeness of the record, in view of the wide extent of the Assembly's jurisdiction and the negligence of mankind wherein its *interest* is not apparent, is a monument to the industry, and methodical training, and businesslike habits of Dr. Hatfield, and may usefully serve as a model for those who shall come after him, in any department.

22.—*Insanity in its Medico-Legal Relations.* Opinion relative to the testamentary capacity of the late James C. Johnston, of Chowan County, North Carolina, by William A. Hammond, M. D. Second edition. New York. Baker, Voorhis, & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. 81.

This notable case of monomania has been so fiercely contested on either side that it is already known to both the medical and legal professions throughout the country; and to no others, except the parties directly in interest, is it of any importance whatever.

The Opinion of Doctor Hammond, adverse to the capacity of the testator, is very elaborate and very conclusive; and we know of no reason for discrediting his conclusions. We commend the work to those who are interested in such subjects.

23.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Yale College,* with a statement of the course of instruction in the various departments. 1867-68. New York: 1867. Octavo, pp. 74.

The Annual Catalogue of Yale College presents, in its five Departments, a noble array of Instructors, with a hundred and twenty-two students in Philosphy and Arts; one hundred and seven in the Senior Class, one hundred and twenty-eight Juniors, one hundred and thirty-two Sophomores, and one hundred and thirty-eight Freshmen, and

ample means for the efficient discharge of the duties devolving on the institution.

24.—*Colton's Journal of Geography and. collateral Sciences:* a record of discovery, exploration, and survey, issued quarterly. New York: G. W. & B. Colton & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 16. Price $1. per year.

Although the primary object of this work may have been to advertise the business of its Publishers, we hope it will be made as useful as possible to students and others who take an interest in this very interesting subject.

The number before us is well-printed and contains a paper on *Alaska* and one, by Professor Dana, on the *Geological History of North America.*

25.—*The Atlantic Almanac*, 1868. Edited by Oliver Wendell Holmes and Donald G. Mitchell. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1867. Royal Octavo, pp. 76. Price 50 cents.

This work has been prepared upon a plan and in a style entirely new in its country. It contains sixty-four royal octavo, double-column pages, over fifty of which are filled with *original* matter. The *literary* character of the Almanac is altogether superior to that of any similar Almanac ever before published, as will be seen from the following list of authors who have contributed to its pages: O. W. Holmes, Alfred Tennyson, Donald G. Mitchell, Alice Cary, the Author of *The Man Without a Country*, R. W. Emerson, James Russell Lowell, Gail Hamilton, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Elizabeth Akers Allen, Charles Dickens, William Cullen Bryant, Owen Meredith, George William Curtis, Mrs. Agassiz, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Thomas Hood, W. M. Thackeray, and J. G. Whittier.

It contains four full-page Illustrations, in colors, of *The Seasons*, reproduced from paintings by Mr. A. F. Bellows, and in addition to these, the text is profusely illustrated by the most skilful artists of the country.

In the general character of its literature, the *Atlantic Almanac* may be regarded as a Christmas number of the *Atlantic Monthly*; and a beautiful colored Cover adds to its attractiveness.

2.—Miscellany.

Maine in the War.—*The Lewiston Journal* says, Hon. J. L. Hodston, late Adjutant-general of this State, published during his term of office, six annual reports to the Legislature, averaging one thousand octavo pages each. Together they embrace a mass of statistical and biographical facts that can be found in no other State documents. The last volume of the series is in the hands of the binder, and will be ready for delivery to the Legislature at its meeting. From it we learn that Maine sent to war, seventy-two thousand, eight hundred and forty-five men. The total number deceased in the service was seven thousand, three hundred and twenty-two. There were five thousand three hundred and eighty-seven substitutes and representative recruits furnished by drafted and enrolled men, and men not liable to draft. During the war, the State furnished one million, nine hundred and sixty thousand, eight hundred and one dollars and ninety-nine cents, in aid to needy families of soldiers and seamen. This was distributed among forty-nine thousand and thirty-four families, consisting of one hundred and twenty-two thousand, one hundred and ninety-three persons.

Forrest's Campaign.—General Forrest publishes the following card:

"Memphis, Tenn., October 3, 1867.—In the "work now in course of preparation by the pub- "lishers, will be found an authentic account of "the campaigns and operations in which I took "part during the war for the independence of "the Confederate States. Believing it to be "proper that there should be a timely and "lasting record of the deeds and services of those "whom I have been so fortunate as to command, "I placed all the facts and papers in my pos- "session, or available to me, in the hands of "accomplished writers, who have done their "part with close and conscientious research, and "have endeavored to make up a chronicle neither "over-wrought nor over-colored, as I can testify. "For the greater part of the statements of the "narrative I am responsible; and all facts and "incidents derived from other sources are prop- "erly credited in the foot-notes. It is hoped "that justice will be found done in some degree "to the courage, zeal, fortitude, and other sold- "iery qualities of the men of 'Forrest's Cav- "'alry,' for that has been the main purposes "of the work. N. B. Forrest."

Peale's Portrait of Washington.—Messrs. Ball & Black have issued a circular announcing that they have for sale one hundred copies of Rembrandt Peale's portrait of Washington, drawn on stone by the artist, and carefully retouched by his own hand. Since Mr. Peale's death, the stone on which this drawing was made has been destroyed, and consequently these hundred copies, with a few that the artist himself disposed of, are all that can ever be offered to the public. Moreover, Messrs. Ball & Black declare that if at the end of ninety days—the circular bears no date—any of the prints should be unsold, they will be taken to Europe, and disposed of there. We are assured by several cotemporaries of Washington,

in a series of extracts from letters, written by them, and published at the end of the circular, that the likeness is a very faithful one. Chief-justice Marshall writes: "I have never seen a "portrait of that great man which exhibited so "perfect a resemblance of him." Judge Washington, ditto. Judge Cranch, ditto. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton: "It brought to my recollection his countenance such as it was at the "commencement of the Revolution;" and William Rush writes: "I have been in battle under "his command, have viewed him frequently on "horseback and on foot, walking, standing, and "sitting. I have modeled him in wood and clay "repeatedly, and I consider your portrait the best "likeness of him in the vigor of life, I have ever "seen on canvass." These witnesses are not to be disregarded, and there is no doubt that the drawing is valuable. But Peale was a very indifferent artist—a mere mechanic—and the portrait has about as much look of the living man as Mr. William Rush's models in wood probably had. It is impossible for us to agree with the extravagant estimate that Messrs. Ball & Black place upon this lithograph.—*Exchange.*

SCRAPS.—Whitelaw Reid, once AGATE of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, is writing a History of Ohio Volunteers.

—Marshall, the artist, has nearly completed his engraving of Grant. It is of the same size and form as that best of portraits of Mr. Lincoln which is so well known as the work of Mr. Marshall.

—We learn from the *Newark Courier* that the historical record of New Jersey in the war for the Union, authorized by the Legislature of 1866, and prepared by John Y. Foster, of that city, is now passing through the press, and the first edition will appear about Christmas time. For the sake of convenience in handling, the work is confined to a single volume of seven hundred and fifty royal octavo pages, and will be handsomely printed on heavy white paper, in large, clear type, and embellished—in addition to a superb steel portrait of General Philip Kearney—with numerous maps of the more important battle-fields of the war.

—We regret to state that it was a necessary act of the last Legislature, punishiug by fine any wilful writing upon, injuring, defacing, or destroying, any book, picture or statute belonging to any law, town, city, or other public library.—*Boston Transcript.*

—*Barnes' History of the Thirty-ninth Congress* is to be published by Harper & Brothers, who will bring out a new and enlarged edition of the work, splendidly illustrated, in a few days.

—The late Col. Alfred Mills, of the *Chicago Tribune*, left a manuscript history of McClellan's Peninsular Campaign, which contained so much that was startling, that the author did not deem it expedient to publish it at present; but it should see light ere long, as a valuable contribution to the history of the late war.

—Mr. J. Fletcher Williams, one of the editors of the *Saint Paul Pioneer* and the Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, is soon to publish a *History of St. Paul*, on which he has been at work for many years, and for which a large portion of his material has been collected through nearly eleven years of editorial life in the city of which he writes.

—The Astor Library has been in existence fourteen years, and now possesses one hundred and thirty-five thousand volumes, while the capacities of the present buildings are equal to the accommodation of three hundred and fifty thousand. Four thousand volumes were added in 1867, and additions are constantly being made; but great care is exercised in the present purchases so as not to fill up the library too rapidly. During the past year there have been about twenty-five thousand readers in the two halls, and about fifty thousand volumes read. Besides these, large numbers have been admitted to the alcoves – authors, statistical writers, members of the press, etc. Francis Schroeder, formerly American Minister to Sweden, and one of the most distinguished bibliopolists of the country; is the present Superintendent, and E. R. Straznicky, Frederic Saunders, F. A. Wood, and John Ebbets, are Librarians.

—J. S. C. Abbott, the author of the *Life of Napoleon*, is engaged on a *Life of Gen. Grant.* More 's the pity.

—Thurlow Weed promises to write a book of Political Reminiscences after the next Presidential election, with the assistance of some two thousand letters which have been preserved and indorsed by his daughter. These letters are from all the leading Whig statesmen and Republican politicians of the last thirty or forty years.

—The editor of the *Supreme Court Reports*, Oliver H. Barbour, had, years ago, a contract with Gould, Banks & Co., to furnish them to that firm, receiving one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars per volume. About the time of the completion of Volume XXIV, a change was made in the firm, the old firm assigning to the new this contract. Mr. Barbour declined to go on with the new firm, and made a contract with Little of Albany. The firm commenced an action against Mr. Barbour, claiming that the contract was assignable, and that Mr. Barbour had by his acts assented to the assignment. The case was referred, and the Referee found for the Defendant. The Plaintiffs appealed; and the case turns mainly on the question whether a contract for personal services is assignable. It

was recently argued, and the Court reserved its decision.

—*The Rebellion Record*, will be completed on the first of March next, by the publication of the twelfth volume. Persons having valuable material not already published in the work, will do well to inclose such to Mr. Frank Moore, the Editor, at the Bible-House, New York City.

XVIII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

Embury Monument.—A project is on foot to erect a monument over the ashes of Philip Embury.

When Mr. Embury died, in 1775, he was buried in a retired place on a neighboring farm in Camden, Washington county, New York, where his remains slept till 1832; they were then removed to the old Ashgrove burying-ground. There they remained till 1866, when the church having been removed to Cambridge (about two miles), the old burial place falling into decay and disuse, and many bodies being removed, it was thought best that the remains of the founder of American Methodism should be again removed. This was done during the Session of the Troy Conference, in Cambridge, April, 1866, Bishop Janes and Reverend S. D. Brown at the time delivering appropriate and eloquent addresses. These sacred relics now lie in Woodland Cemetery, near Cambridge, in a lot generously donated by the Cemetery Association for that purpose. The lot is one of the most eligible and beautiful in the large Cemetery, and is situated upon an eminence looking out upon one of the finest landscapes in the country. What is new needed is an appropriate monument —such an one as the Methodist Church is able and ready to erect over the dust of her God-honored founder.

The Troy Conference has appointed a Committee to secure, if possible, the erection of such a monument.

Scraps.—The death, at the age of eighty-seven, of the celebrated bibliographer, Jacques Charles Brunet, is announced. The son of a bookseller, born at Paris in 1780, he commenced his bibliographical labors at a very early age; and lived to witness the completion, in 1864, of a fifth and much-improved edition of the *opus magnum*, the *Manuel de Libraire*, which for more than twenty years has been the leading bibliography of the world. Eloquent orations were pronounced at his interment. M. Paul Lacroix quoted M. Charles Nodier as saying of Brunet: "Here is our "great teacher, who has written, and will write, "but one book; but to that he will devote his "life, and it will be a masterpiece." The prophecy has been amply fulfilled. M. Lacroix made but a brief allusion to the fine cabinet of books possessed by M. Brunet, the treasures of which he was at all times pleased to show to any one competent to appreciate them. He had some fine speciments of the *bindings* so much coveted by collectors; and his library, rich in other respects also, will, if it comes to the hammer, excite the most lively interest and most eager competition.

—An effort is being made among the friends of Fitz-Greene Halleck to raise an amount sufficient to erect a monument in Guilford to the poet's memory. James G. Wilson, Esq., of New York is engaged in collecting materials of Mr. Halleck's life, for a Memoir of him.

—A bundle of shingles taken from the wreck of a British transport that went ashore at Castine, in 1779, was as sound throughout as when it was shipped in England, although it has laid in the wreck nearly a hundred years.

—The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recommended that statues of the late ex-Governors Dodge and Doty, of that State, be placed in the niche assigned Wisconsin in the National Gallery at the Capitol, at Washington.

—The Vermont Senate has authorized the State Librarian to purchase portraits of all the Governors, paying not more than fifty dollars each.

—A number of fossil and other fish of the ante-carboniferous period have recently been dug up near Columbus, Ohio.

—*The New Orleans Republican* learns that Governor Flanders has applied to the Secretary of the Interior for the return to that State of Hiram Powers's statue of Washington, which was taken from Baton Rouge by General Butler, in 1862, and sent North. This work of art was sent to New York; but the ship on which it was placed became disabled at sea, and put into Chesapeake Bay. The statue was finally sent to the Patent Office, where it has been kept ever since.

—It is stated that Captain G. P. Cochrane of Augusta, Me. has one of the largest and most valuable private collections of minerals, Indian relics, coins, &c., in the State. The collection of minerals not only comprises all that are to be found in Maine, but contains many Southern and Western specimens of great rarity. The Indian relics consist of stone adzes, gouges, pestles, and other utensils, as well as arrow heads and various other implements of war, are; and were mostly obtained in Monmouth, Wayne, and neighboring towns, once in habitation of portions of the Androscoggin family of Indians.

—It is said that the British War Office has decided in future to include the subject of Military History by the creation of a special Lectureship for the Royal Military Academy, some other study of less importance being discontinued to make room for it.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. New Series.] NOVEMBER, 1867. [Extra Number.

WHAT OUR NEIGHBORS SAY OF US.

With the liveliest satisfaction, we have the pleasure of presenting to our readers the following testimonials of the intrinsic merits of The Historical Magazine, as a repository of important materials concerning "the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America."

It will be perceived that we have not hesitated to present, also, in their proper places, the outpourings of a very few who have found nothing in The Historical Magazine that is worthy of their commendation or approval. We have done so because the great body of our readers will not fail to perceive, from the judgment of the greater number and the stronger minds, the country over, that either ignorance, or bigotry, or some private grief, rather than intelligence and integrity, untrammelled, has controlled the adverse judgments; and because we have been taught that ignorance, and falsehood, and self-interest, even in their worst forms, are harmless while Knowledge and the Truth are free to combat them.

I.—Extract from the Records of the Maine Historical Society, at the Annual Meeting, August, 1867.

"The following resolutions were proposed by the Rev. Mr. "Dyke, and, on motion, were adopted.

"Resolved. That The Historical Society of Maine appreciates the value of 'The Historical Magazine,' published in New York, and desires to bear testimony to the "zeal and ability of its present Editor, in collecting and "preserving the materials for History, and the frankness "with which historical questions are discussed and considered in its pages.

"Resolved. That the interests of history will be promoted by the wider circulation of 'The Historical Magazine' in our State."

A true extract.

Attest,

Edward Ballard,
Recording Secretary.

Brunswick,
Aug. 16th, 1867.

II.—*From the* Hon. E. E. Bourne, *President of the Maine Historical Society.*

I have been a subscriber to The Historical Magazine, from its commencement, and have found it a very efficient aid in my Historical pursuits.

Some have objected to the spirit of the later numbers. But it is only by the warmth and zeal of those who are endeavoring to ferret out the truth or to maintain conclusions to which their own researches have led them, that the real facts of History are to be established. A magazine which is spiritless is of little value and will do little for the object for which it is set on foot. In this monthly there is nothing exclusive. Its management is of the most liberal character. Every one disposed to contribute to its pages or reply to its editorials, may infuse as much spirit into his work as he thinks proper. No replication will be rejected on that account. This I understand to be the position of The Historical Magazine; and I believe that no historical student will fail to find in the numbers for a year much which will help him in his pursuits.

E. E. Bourne.

Kennebunk, Me.,
August, 1867.

III.—*From* Rev. Edward Ballard, D. D., *Secretary of the Maine Historical Society.*

I fully concur in the expressions of commendation of The Historical Magazine, as given by Hon. Mr. Bourne; and believing it to be a valuable repository of the ungathered facts of American History, and open for free discussion of controverted points. I wish it may have a wide circulation.

Edward Ballard.

Brunswick, Me.

IV.—*From* Hon. William Willis, *formerly President of the Maine Historical Society, and author of* The History of Portland, etc.

Portland, July 31, 1867.

* * * * * * * * *

I do not lose sight of the Magazine, having been an original subscriber and an occasional contributor. I can truly say that it has not been more ably conducted nor better filled with varied and valuable matter than since you have taken it into your hands. But I must say that your trenchant manner of treating New England, and especially Massachusetts, has given offence to many persons in this quarter, among whom are present and former subscribers to the work.

Your historical researches are varied and comprehensive, and your criticisms are honest, very often just, although as often sarcastic and severe. They give life and character to the Magazine, but make enemies.

I am examining, as I have leisure, old MSS. relating to New York and Pennsylvania, and if I find anything that will be likely to interest your readers I shall not fail to communicate it. I am truly,

Your obedient servant,

William Willis.

V.—*From Rev.* N. Bouton, D. D., *Corresponding Secretary of the New Hampshire Historical Society; Author of* The History of Concord, *etc.; and Editor of* The Collections of the N. H. Historical Society.*

Concord, N. H., August 13, 1867.

Henry B. Dawson, Esq.

Dear Sir,

* * * I trust you will pardon me for saying, with all frankness and sincerity, that heretofore the criticisms in the *Magazine*, on New England, New England Institutions, and especially on Massachusetts men and books, have been so severe, and in my judgment, so unjust that I cannot endorse it for the future. I think a work of such a character as The Historical Magazine, should be emenently imparteal and true.

Very respectfully,
I am Yours, etc.,
N. Bouton,
Cor. Sec. N. H. Hist. Soc.

VI.—*From Captain* W. F. Goodwin, *U. S. A. Librarian of the New Hampshire Historical Society.*

This valuable monthly, the only one of the kind published in America, has recently passed into the hands of Henry B. Dawson, of Morrisania, N. Y., whose reputation as a historical writer and author is too well known to need mention. The Magazine has entered upon its tenth year, and has an established reputation among the best scholars of the world, sufficient to find a place in their libraries.

I can cordialy recommend this Magazine to the favorable consideration of the members of our New Hampshire Historical Society, and hope that they will, one and all, subscribe for it. (*From* The Statesman, *Concord, Sept.* 28, 1866.)

VII. *From Rev.* Pliny H. White, D.D., *President of the Vermont Historical Society.*

The undersigned having been a reader of the The Historical Magazine from its beginning until now, takes pleasure in attesting to its great value as a repository of American History and Biography, in which is contained much that cannot be found elsewhere, as well as much that can only elsewhere be found in sources quite inaccessible to the great majority of the students of History.

Pliny H. White,

Coventry, Vt., 12th August, 1867.

VIII. *From Hon.* Hiland Hall, *late President of the Vermont Historical Society, and formerly Governor of the State.*

I have been a subscriber to the Historical Magazine for nine years past, and concur in the above statement of the Rev. Pliny H. White.

Hiland Hall.

North Bennington, Vt.,
August 22, 1867.

IX. *From* Samuel G. Drake, *Esq., late President of The New England Historic Genealogical Society; Author of* The History and Antiquities of the City of Boston, Biography and History of the Indians of North America, *etc.; and Editor of* The Old Indian Chronicle, The N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register, *etc.*

Boston, 12th August, 1867,

Henry B. Dawson, Esq.

My Dear Sir:

Respecting the Historical Magazine, its great value and usefulness, there can be but one opinion among students in American History; and of your ability to conduct such a periodical, I do not think there has ever been a question. That there are those who express disapprobation of some of the statements and opinions is true; and I must confess I am among that number. Yet, at the same time, such statements (by some termed "sectional aspersions") and opinions, have not sufficient influence upon me to cause me to undervalue any historical facts, nor to underrate the ability of an Editor who has shown an acumen in intricate historical investigations seldom equalled, and rarely surpassed.

With my best wishes for your health and prosperity,
I remain truly yours,
Samuel G. Drake.

X. *From* John Ward Dean, *Esq., late Secretary of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, etc.*

Boston, August 1st, 1867.

I cheerfully recommend the Historical Magazine to the patronage of the public. Its present editor, Henry B. Dawson, Esq., possesses rare qualifications for that position, being a gentleman of extensive historical reading and great industry in research, while, at the same time, he possesses a clear and vigorous style. Though differing from him in some of his opinions, and disapproving the manner in which he has presented them to his readers, I believe him to be a conscientious writer, who, while bold in promulgating his own views, is always ready to open his pages to the communications of his opponents.

John Ward Dean.

XI. *From* William F. Poole, Esq., *Librarian of* The Boston Athenæum, *and Author of* An Index to Periodical Literature, *etc.—the celebrated* "P" *of* The Evening Transcript.

Nov. 9, [1866.]

Mr. Dawson,

Dear Sir: I have received several times a Circular from you on the supposition that this Library did not take The Historical Magazine. This Library has taken the Magazine from its commencement, and we value it very highly. We do not propose to do without it.

W. F. Poole, *Librarian.*

P.S. I have written the above that you might not think we were so stupid at "the Hub" as not to be aware of the merits of your Magazine.

W. F. P.

XII. *From* J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., *Author of* Landing at Cape Ann, *etc.*

20 Court Street, Boston,
Sept. 14th, 1867.

My dear Dawson:

I assure you that no more welcome page comes to my table than that of The Historical Magazine, with its rich anvaried miscellany of historical lore and monthly record of and tiquarian learning.

You rescue from oblivion original papers illustrative of every portion of our Republic, from the very beginning even until now. The existence of such masses of unnsed materials shows with what discrimination, if not skepticism, "histo-"ries," mere compendiums as they must be, should be received; and no writer can prudently omit an examination of the pages of the *Magazine*. Of course a *thorough* index of names of places, persons, and things, is indispensable; and the omission of this, in some of the earlier volumes, seriously impairs their usefulness.

Your Book notices are admirable; *they are honest;* and though sometimes a dissent may be entered, you always give "a reason for the faith that is in you," if not always conclusive.

That the editorial pen is not *nibbed* in Boston, nor the editorial spectacles furnished by Boston opticians, is *very* apparent; but why Boston nibs and lenses—not all alike—may not be quite as true and trusty as those of New York, is not apparent.

Your harsh words to us in the East are useless, more than useless, and cannot be classed under what Disraeli calls the "Amenities of Literature."

Wishing you the full success which exact and thorough learning, untiring diligence, historical acumen, and honest conviction, may rightly challenge,

I am, yours sincerely,
J. Wingate Thornton.

* *Vide, Historical Magazine* I, x, Supplement. 88, 89.

XIII.—*From Hon.* J. RUSSELL BARTLETT, *Secretary of the State of Rhode Island, Author of* The Progress of Ethnology; Dictionary of Americanisms, Report on the Mexican Boundary Line, *etc.*

The editorship of this periodical has again passed into the hands of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, a gentleman better qualified for the task than any of whom we have knowledge. Mr. Dawson has written and edited a large number of books and pamphlets upon American History, in which he has elucidated points which had previously been involved in obscurity; indeed, he seems to have a taste for those subjects of historical and antiquarian research which most writers avoid.—*From* The Providence Journal, *September 19th*, 1866.

XIV.—*From Professor* GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE, *Author of* Life of Gen. Nathaniel Greene, *etc.*

EAST GREENWICH, R. I. 18th Sept. 1867.

MY DEAR DAWSON:

You ask me for my opinion of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. I give it without hesitation or reserve.

I think that the impulsiveness of your nature leads you at times into forms of expression which irritate without convincing, and awaken opposition where your real object is to invite impartial research. This is particularly apparent whenever you speak of New England or New England men. I feel it as a New Englander; and I deeply regret it as a student of History and your friend. The bitterness of opinions is a dangerous element in the discussion of historical truth.

I have told you candidly what I disapprove in the Magazine. I will tell you with equal candor what I admire. I admire your vigor, your industry, the depth and the range of your inquiries. I think that you have succeeded in bringing together a large number of important documents which might otherwise have been lost—or what is equivalent to lost—have remained buried in private collections. I think that as a medium of enquiry upon historical questions your work is of inestimable value; and I should regard the suspension of it as a literary calamity.

Very truly yours,

G. W. GREENE.

MR. H. B. DAWSON.

XV.—*From the late* WILLIAM L. WEAVER, *Esq., the Genealogist of Windham County, Conn.*

The Magazine contains articles of real historical value, *From* The Willimantic Journal, *Sept.* 20, 1866.

The improved character of the work under the new management noticed in the August number, is continued. They contain much curious and valuable historical information. *From the same paper*, Nov. 1, 1866.

XVI.—*From Officers and Members of* THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, now in its tenth volume, has always had a special interest for me, and I therefore most willingly recommend that the members of the Long Island Historical Society should give it their support, particularly as the Editor proposes to report the meetings of our Society.

J. CARSON BREVOORT.

BROOKLY, October 13, 1866.

HEN. C. MURPHY,
GEO. S. STEPHENSON,
JOSHUA M. VAN COTT,
A. COOKE HULL,
E. S. MILLS,
CHAS. E. WEST,
J. GREENWOOD,
ALDEN J. SPOONER,
R. S. STORRS, JR.,
JOHN BLUNT,
CHARLES CONGDON,
A. M. WOOD,
THOS. W. FIELD

From the testimony of the gentlemen signing above, I feel free to commend the Magazine.

H. W. BEECHER.

XVII.—*From Officers and Members of* THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The undersigned have great pleasure in recommending to the favor and support of the public, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, which, under its present management, promises to surpass its former high reputation, and which, by reason of its Reports of Meetings, will be especially interesting to the members of The New York Historical Society.

New York, September, 1866.

FREDERIC DE PEYSTER,
BENJ. R. WINTHROP,
ANDREW WARNER,
GEORGE H. MOORE,
CHARLES P. KIRKLAND,
THOMAS DEWITT, D. D.,
JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD,
BENJ. H. FIELD,
ISAAC FERRIS, D. D.,
E. C. BENEDICT,
JAMES LENOX.

XVIII.—*From Officers and Members of* THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The undersigned cheerfully concur with the officers and members of The Long Island and The New York Historical Societies, in their good opinions of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and in their commendation of it to the favor and support of every scholar in the country.

THOS. EWBANK.
E. H. DAVIS, M. D.
HENRY T. DROWNE.
H. R. STILES, M. D.

XIX.—*From* THE CLERGY, *in the City of New York.*

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, under the editorial charge of Mr. Dawson has been enlarged and greatly increased in value. It is a periodical much needed, and in the collection of materials for History much industry and research are manifested. It has deserved claims upon a liberal and increased patronage in our community.

THOMAS DEWITT,
[*Senior Pastor of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church, N. Y.*]

I concur in the foregoing recommendation of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, considering it to be a very valuable and important work, and deserving of a liberal support.

MORGAN DIX,
[*Rector of Trinity Church, New York.*]

We concur with the foregoing recommendations.

E. H. CHAPIN,
[*Pastor of the Fourth Universalist Church, New York.*]
EDWIN F. HATFIELD.
[*Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.*]
SAMUEL OSGOOD,
[*Pastor of the Church of the Messiah, New York.*]
HOWARD CROSBY,
[*Pastor of Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church.*]
JOHN C. LOWRIE,
[*Secretary of Board of Foreign Missions.*]
THOS. D. ANDERSON,
[*Pastor of First Baptist Church.*]

XX.—*From well-known Gentlemen residing in the city of New York.*

NEW YORK, Aug. 19, 1867.

I have for some years been a subscriber to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

It contains a great amount of interesting and useful historical information, and may be consulted with advantage by all students of History, especially of the History of the City and State of New York.

Its present Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson, is fully qualified by his tastes, acquirements, and studies to render the *Magazine* hereafter, as it has been heretofore, a valuable acquisition to the student and the lover of our History.

CHARLES P. KIRKLAND.

We fully concur in the expressions of opinion of Mr. Kirkland, both as to the merits of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and of its present Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson.

JOHN COCHRANE,
[*Late Attorney-General of New York.*]
GEORGE OPDYKE,
[*Late Mayor of the City of New York.*]
HAMILTON FISH,
[*President of the N. Y Historical Society, late Governor of the State and Senator in Congress.*]

NEW YORK, Sept. 30, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have been a subscriber to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE from its beginning; and regard it as a most useful and val-

nable publication. As a permanent record of facts in respect to the early history of this City and State, which, if not now collected and preserved, would be liable to be lost forever, it supplies a necessity which no other journal fulfils; and deserves the encouragement and support of all who take an interest in historical researches, or feel a patriotic pride in the great Commonwealth or in the great Continental Metropolis to which we belong.

With much respect, and with cordial regard,

I remain, very truly yours, etc.,

HENRY. B. DAWSON, ESQ. S. J. TILDEN.

I concur in the above. JOHN T. HOFFMAN,

[*Mayor of the City of New York.*]

I also concur. The Magazine has greatly improved under the management of Mr. Dawson, and in addition to being a vehicle for the publication of valuable papers and historical documents, it seems destined to become the substitute in this country for *Notes and Queries*.

CHAS P. DALY,

[*First Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.*]

I fully concur with Judge Daly in the above recommendation.

G. C. VERPLANCK.

XXI.—*From Hon.* JOHN V. L. PRUYN, *Chancellor of the Regents of the University of the State of New York.*

ALBANY, August 19th, 1867.

The HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is a publication of great interest to all who are desirous to acquaint themselves with the History of our Country, and especially that of the State of New York. Great research is evinced in many of its articles, and its tone is manly and independent.

I hope that it will receive a liberal support from the public.

JOHN V. L. PRUYN.

XXII.—*From* BENSON J. LOSSING, *Esq., Author of* The Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, History of the United States, *etc.*

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., Feb. 18, 1867.

FRIEND DAWSON:

It will give me great pleasure, I assure you, to contribute any way that I may to the columns and the support of the Magazine. You are doing a great public service in saving from possible annihilation valuable papers relating to the early History of our State. Fire might strike those documents out of existence in MS. state: it would take many fires to annihilate them in your printed form.

As ever, your sincere friend,

BENSON J. LOSSING.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., Aug. 17, 1867.

H. B. DAWSON, ESQ.:

I have been a careful reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE from its commencement in 1857 until now, and I regard it as one of the most useful publications of the day, for it is a repository and safe custodian of some of the rarest treasures of American History. But for its service these might be lost or remain forever unknown.

I heartily concur in the commendatory words of the officers and several distinguished members of The New York Historical Society, saying that "under its present management THE "HISTORICAL MAGAZINE promises to surpass its former high "reputation, and which, by its reports of meetings, will be "especially interesting to the New York Historical Society." I will add that it is equally interesting to every student of American History.

BENSON J. LOSSING.

XXIII.—*From* EVERT A. DUYCKINCK, *Esq., Author of* Cyclopædia of American Literature, *late Editor of* The Literary World, *etc.*

20 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, August 13, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I learn with pleasure that you are continuing your efforts for the improvement and permanent establishment of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. I have always regarded it as an important enterprise, and heartily wish for its success. The series has already much valuable matter, which will in vain be looked for elsewhere. You have recently added to it many features of interest, in Reports, Reviews, the publication of original Essays and rare Documents. Such results challenge the support of all interested in American History and Literature. The value of the volumes must increase with time. A subscription, in fact, will be in more senses than one a sound investment.

I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

EVERT A. DUYCKINCK.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.

XXIV.—*From* DAVID T. VALENTINE, *Esq., the well known Antiquary; Author of* The History of the City of New York; *and Editor of the series of* The Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York, *etc.*

OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE COMMON COUNCIL,
8 CITY HALL, NEW YORK, Sept. 11, 1867.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq., *Editor of Historical Magazine.*

DEAR SIR:

I have been a subscriber for, and a careful reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for many years, and have been highly gratified to witness the display of talent, energy and industry exhibited in each successive number by its Editor. I sincerely trust the research, ability and impartiality manifested in the conduct of the work, meet with just appreciation from a discerning public, and that the pecuniary reward is fully commensurate with the value of the Magazine as a standard work of reference to the students and admirers of authentic American History.

Wishing you success, and a brilliant future for your valuable publication,

I am, dear Sir,

Truly yours,

D. T. VALENTINE.

XXV.—*From* JAMES PARTON, *Esq., the distinguished Biographer of* Aaron Burr, Andrew Jackson, Benjamin Franklin, *etc.*

NEW YORK, 303 E. 18th Street, Sept. 17, 1867.

MY DEAR MR. DAWSON:

My opinion of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE cannot be of very much value, for the reason that I am an interested party. Not one number has appeared in five years which did not contain at least one thing of use to me in my vocation. You might as well ask a carpenter what his candid opinion of the hammer is. All he could say would be, that he could not do without it.

Of all the persons connected with literature whom I have ever known, you are by far the most industrious and persevering. Often you say things in the Magazine from which I most vehemently dissent, but I like it all the better for that. It is always a comfort to find any one who *has* an opinion—whether wrong or right—and this is a solace which you afford your readers every month. I do not see how any one occupied with historical pursuits, either as writer, student, or collector, can afford to do without the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Very truly yours,

JAS. PARTON.

XXVI.—*From* JAMES RIKER, *Esq., Author of* Annals of Newtown, Queen's Co., N. Y.

HERKIMER, N. Y., August 24, 1867.

MY DEAR DAWSON:

Your favor of August 10th was delivered at my residence after I had left the city for a tour in the country, and has finally reached me at this place. I beg you to accept this apology for my delay in answering it.

I fancy THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has gained a reputation in the field of choice historical literature which cannot be essentially affected by anything which I may say in its behalf. But if my humble testimony to its permanent excellence be worth anything, I can give it very cheerfully and very honestly, too. Having taken the Magazine from its first issue, I have learned to appreciate it as an invaluable repository of rare facts relating to American History, culled with care and discrimination, and, I may be permitted to add, never more so, nor with more editor al ability, than under the present management. Its articles are uniformly interesting and of marked intrinsic worth, and its faithful reproduction of our early Records adds a feature to the

Magazine of inestimable value to the student and lover of ancient historical lore.

I trust the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE may ever enjoy a generous patronage, and its worthy and accomplished Editor be abundantly rewarded for his painstaking labors in the cause of historic truth.

I remain, dear sir, yours truly,

JAMES RIKER.

XXVII.—*From Rev.* E. H. GILLETT, D.D., *Author of* The Life and Times of John Huss, History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, *etc.*

HARLEM, N. Y. CITY, August 12, 1867.

MY DEAR DAWSON:

My heart is with you in your enterprise for extending the circulation of the Magazine. I regard it as indispensable to all historical students, and many a single article like that of Mr. Moore in the June number is worth, to persons investigating the facts of our Colonial History, ten times the amount of a year's subscription to the Magazine.

I do not know that I can say anything worth your using. But if a stranger asked me for my opinion, my reply would be something like this:

Mr. Dawson is an enthusiast in historical studies, with clear and definite opinions of his own, not by any means always accordant with those of perhaps the mass of his readers, and yet withal resolutely and boldly honest, disposed to give every one a fair hearing, and let the facts of History cut their way right or left, as Truth demands. THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, under his management, has become a valuable repository of curious and important matters, bearing upon the various phases of our Civil and Ecclesiastical History. No one who wishes to keep pace with the progress of historical investigation in this country, can afford to do without it. He has enlisted as collaborators in his work a large number of the ablest of our historical writers, and his enterprise should receive a hearty support and large patronage throughout the entire country.

Very truly yours,

E. H. GILLETT.

XXVIII.—*From* FRIEDRICH KAPP, *Esq., Author of* Life of the Baron Steuben, The Life of General De Kalb, *etc.*

4 WALL STREET, N. Y., Aug. 24, 1867.

MY DEAR MR. DAWSON:

I have always considered it my duty, and much more considered it so since your accession to the editorship, to do all in my power for increasing the number of the subscribers to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

I am sorry that you are thus bound to look out for new subscribers, as your able and energetic efforts ought to have secured to you the sympathy and coöperation of all students of American History.

Even in Germany, where they buy less books than in this country, almost every Province has its Historical Magazine, and besides, there is published an excellent Historical Quarterly—Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*—which outshines all similar publications known to me, by the brilliancy of its Essays and Reviews, and by the completeness of its criticisms and materials.

It ought to be the aim of every student to join you, and to make your paper, which is the only medium of historical reference in this country, still more interesting—more perfect—and an absolute necessity to every lover of History.

I thank you for your past services and trust that the future will bring you a greater success than the past.

Yours truly,

FRIEDRICH KAPP.

XXIX.—*From* CHARLES H. HUNT, *Esq., the Biographer of Edward Livingston.*

MORRISTOWN, N. J., August 15, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I trust the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is prospering in a business sense. Surely there are enough scholars and students in the country to give it good support; and what student or scholar can dispense with it? There is no other man who could fill your place as its Editor; and I am therefore anxious to hear that you are so satisfied with its prospects that there is no doubt of your perseverance in its publication.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES H. HUNT.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.

XXX.—*From* JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL.D., *Author of* Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, History of the Catholic Missions, *etc.; Editor of the series of* American Linguistics, the Cramoisey series of Jesuit Relations, CHARLEVOIX's History of New France, *etc.*

NEW YORK, Sept., 1867.

The successful manner in which Mr. Henry B. Dawson has not only sustained, but enlarged THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, demands the hearty support of all who take an interest in the History of the country; and who will say that the subject is indifferent to him? The increased amount of matter is not the only service rendered by the present Editor. He brings to the examination of historic questions a fearless, pertinacious research, that must tend to bring up the real facts of History, and in his pursuit of Truth knows no partiality or bias.

Yours truly,

J. G. SHEA.

XXXI.—*From* FREDERIC S. COZZENS, *Esq., Author of* The Sparrowgrass Papers, *etc.*

CHESTNUT COTTAGE, YONKERS, Aug. 15, 1867.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.,

Editor of Historical Magazine:

MY DEAR SIR:—I have not yet received the July and August numbers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Will you please forward them to me? I take a peculiar pleasure in reading this peculiarly American book. Although its criticisms are sometimes severe, yet one cannot help but admire its candor and courage. The old Iconoclasts, or image-breakers, when they hewed down some of the most magnificent sculptures of the Romish Church, managed to let in some chinks of light through the crevices of their destruction; and that light has illuminated the world, from their time down to ours. If you have broken down some of our American idols, with a little too zealous severity, yet on the whole, the air has become purer, and the tottering steps of American History are not a little firmer placed upon the eternal foundations of TRUTH! None of us like to accept unpalatable facts, especially those that contravene long-cherished opinions as to men and events of former days. But the mind of mankind finally adopts them, if urged with sincerity and supported by undeniable proofs.

Truly yours,

FREDERIC S. COZZENS.

XXXII.—*From* H. R. STILES, M.D., *Author of* History of Ancient Windsor, History of the City of Brooklyn, *etc.*

NEW YORK, Aug. 12, 1867.

FRIEND DAWSON:

* * * I am especially pleased with your new department in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE of OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS, which you have so happily inaugurated with a pleasant biography of the late David Dudley Field, D. D., Annalist and Historian. There is, as you know, much of interest and of profit in the lives of these humble laborers, who deal with the dry bones of Genealogy, and who wander, at will, among the byways and hedges of Local History—unknown to the public at large—but happy in their work, and in their modest thought that their toil is appreciated by a chosen few, and that it may, perchance, smooth the path of some greater and more famous scholar. I must confess no page of your Magazine will have so keen a relish for me, as those in which, from time to time, you enshrine the memories of the "rank and file" of our historic Brotherhood.

I must take this occasion, also, to say, that I am well pleased with the Magazine since you took charge of it, a year ago. Its old friends, many of whom, like myself, have read it constantly since its initial number, and who have known of all its ups and downs, have drawn pleasant auguries from the past year's pages, of its future success in your hands. You know we *workers* in historic matters cannot

well dispense with its monthly visits—its eleven volumes are among the best thumbed volumes upon our shelves—we look to its past with confidence, and we "hanker" after its editodical visits as one waits impatiently for a chosen friend. This, *I know*, is the feeling with which it is regarded by many others. Success to you in your endeavors to make it what you propose.

Yours truly,

H. R. STILES, M. D.

XXXIII.—*From* JEPTHA R. SIMMS, *Esq.*, *Author of* Trappers of New York, History of Schoharie County and Border Wars of New York, *etc.*

FORT PLAIN, N. Y., August 14, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

Permit me to say that any necessity that should compel you to discontinue the publication of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, I should look upon as a public misfortune. Under your able and fearless management of it, it is becoming invaluable to the historical student; and almost any late number is worth a year's subscription. The Magazine seems to supply a long-needed repository of historical questions and answers, memoranda of increasing interest, etc., and not a few of them, indispensable to the American writer, will of necessity find their way into it.

The inquiry arises in the mind—who should aid in sustaining the Magazine? I answer, every individual who would garner up the odds and ends of historic lore; every newspaper Editor; every Historical Society; every collegiate and classic School; as also every literary institute in the land; for they all will derive more or less benefit from its perusal. Indeed, every antiqurian needs it: besides, all who can afford to do it, should feel morally bound to aid in promoting so laudable an enterprise, and one calculated so liberally to benefit posterity.

Trusting that your ability, untiring industry, and devotion to the service of your country may meet with the recompense it deserves, I remain,

Your friend,

J. R. SIMMS.

XXXIV.—*From* FRANK MOORE, *Esq.*, *Editor of* Specimens of American Eloquence, The Diary of the American Revolution, The Rebellion Record, *etc.*

OFFICE OF THE "REBELLION RECORD,"
NEW YORK, Sept. 27, 1867.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.:

SIR: I congratulate you upon the success of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, since you assumed the editorial chair of that periodical, and hope you will meet with that further success which it really deserves. The material you are now garnering up is of the highest importance to those who desire to know the truths of History, not its special pleadings, and your associates in historical study must ever give you not only substantial encouragement but most earnest wishes.

Your friend,

FRANK MOORE.

XXXV.—*From* HENRY O'REILLY, *Esq.*, *the celebrated Pioneer Telegraphist, and Author of* Sketches of Rochester, *etc.*

24 PINE STREET, NEW YORK, Oct. 17, 1867.

HENRY B. DAWSON, ESQ.,

Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

MY DEAR SIR: Many of your friends, as well as myself, are highly gratified with the arrangements you are making for increasing the usefulness and circulation of your valuable Magazine. The new Departments of Antiquities and Biography cannot fail to awaken additional interest in historical research. The frankness and fearlessness with which you discuss all relevant questions, indicate so plainly a desire that nothing but the truth and the whole truth shall be allowed to pass under your imprint, that all minor differences of opinion should be merged in the respect due to your Magazine as a trusty repository of historical data.

With great regard, yours truly,

HENRY O'REILLY.

XXXVI.—*From* WILLIAM SWINTON, *Esq.*, *Author of* The History of the Army of the Potomac, The Seven Decisive Battles, *etc.*

NEW YORK CITY, September 28, 1867.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR: I have been an attentive reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE ever since you took its management, and have derived so much pleasure and instruction from its perusal that I cannot refrain from expressing to you my satisfaction. You have the courage, without fear or favor, to give a hospitable reception to whatever bears the impress of historical *truth;* while your bold, incisive editorial comments are of a character to shame our milk-and-water literature. Though it must need be that offence come to some of the weaker sort from your outspoken utterances, I know well that your course gives a lively gratification to all independent minds. I trust the *Magazine* will prove a permanent success, for it deserves to be. I have in my possession a large number of original papers relating to the late war, and if there are among them any that you would like to republish, it would afford me much pleasure to furnish you with copies of them.

With respect and esteem, yours truly,

WM. SWINTON.

XXXVII.—*From* CHARLES EDWARDS, *Esq.*, *Author of* History of Finger-Rings, Pleasantries of the New York Bar, *etc.*

NEW YORK, October, 1867.

MY DEAR MR. DAWSON:

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE really requires no recommendation at the hands of its readers. Still, I can understand how its excellence may not have reached many who, on knowing of its worth, would eagerly take it.

I most readily, as follows, give my own certificate by way of encouraging its circulation: It is edited and got together with great fearlessness, truth, tact and historical knowledge. There is always in it enough for present useful and interesting reading; while it lays down lines of matter which will, in future time, make it eagerly sought after—in the same way as is the *Gentleman's Magazine* of England—by antiquarian and historian. Old volumes must become valuable.

I, unhesitatingly, say all this; and with my best wishes for and belief in the continued success of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE while in your hands,

I remain, your friend,

CHARLES EDWARDS.

XXXVIII.—*From* E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, LL.D., *Author of* History of New Netherlands, *etc.; and Editor of* Documentary History of New York, Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, *etc.*

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL RECORDS,
ALBANY, 14th October, 1867.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.

DEAR SIR: I have been a subscriber to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE from its birth; and have so continued through all its vicissitndes.

England has its *Notes and Queries;* France, her *Intermediare;* Holland, its *Navorscher;* and even Spain supports a similar periodical at Madrid.

The United States can and ought to support respectably a like publication, which has hitherto usefully served those engaged in Historical researches as a means of intercommunication; supplying, at the same time, Historical Documents not otherwise easy of access; and furnishing to all a neutral ground where they can meet for mutual enlightenment and instruction, free from the acerbities of Politics and Polemics.

As the merits of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE improve, so I am satisfied will your industry and perseverance be rewarded by a large subscription list, which is the sincere wish,

Dear sir, of
yours, most truly,

E. B. O'CALLAGHAN.

XXXIX.—*From* WILLIAM L. STONE, *Esq., Author of* The Life of Sir William Johnson, *and Editor of* The Letters and Journals of the Baroness de Riedesel, *etc.*

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 30, 1867.

MY DEAR MR. DAWSON:

I have your favor of the 28th asking my opinion of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. You say you wish me to answer frankly; and frankly I will try to reply.

I consider that it is, as at present conducted, an invaluable aid to every one of Literary and Historical tastes; one that no person who desires to form correct opinions upon the historical events of the past and present days can safely be without.

I have thought, at times, that its tone has been, perhaps, one of too much acerbity, and that the ink with which the Editor's pen has been filled, has contained too great a proportion of gall. Still, in this age, which seems to be, *par excellence*, one of fulsome eulogy and flattery, this very characteristic may serve as a timely balance-wheel, or, to change the metaphor, as a wholesome correction to a false public sentiment.

Wishing you success in your laudable endeavors, believe me, Cordially yours,

WM. L. STONE.

XL.—*From Hon.* THOMAS EWBANK, *First Vice-President of the American Ethnological Society, formerly Commissioner of Patents of the United States.*

NEW YORK, October 7, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

It gives me pleasure to hear of the continued encouragement THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE receives under your management. Your industry, learning, and acumen are shown in every number. The work increases in interest; and I trust the support of those engaged in Historical studies will enable you to prosecute your plans with every advantage of success.

Yours truly,

THOS. EWBANK.

HENRY B. DAWSON, ESQ.

XLI.—*From Hon.* MILLARD FILLMORE, *President of the Buffalo Historical Society, late President of the United States.*

BUFFALO, Oct. 8, 1867.

MR. HENRY B. DAWSON:

DEAR SIR: I have your note of yesterday requesting my opinion of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and I take great pleasure in stating that I have the work from its commencement, and although I take several periodicals, there is none that I read with more pleasure and satisfaction than this. I regard it as a very useful publication, and should be happy to see its circulation extended.

Truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

XLII.—*From Doctor* D. G. BRINTON, *the celebrated Ethnologist.*

With the number for July commences the twelfth annual volume of this most interesting and valuable periodical. We doubt not many of our readers are familiar with it, and those who are not, and who take any interest in the History or Antiquities of their country, we earnestly counsel them to become so at once by sending in their names as subscribers. For many years it has been the chief and only repository of American Historical and Antiquarian knowledge. Bancroft, Everett, Sparks, Parkman, Shea, Schoolcraft, and nigh all the other distinguished writers on such topics have been contributors to previous volumes; and we venture nothing in saying that now no one can claim to be acquainted with the past of our country, who has not long and closely consulted its pages. Its present Editor is well known for his uncompromising impartiality and minute accuracy in the search for historical truth, and we need not fear for its continued excellence in his hands. (In the *Medical and Surgical Reporter*, for June 29, 1867.

XLIII.—*From Rev.* HOWARD MALCOM, *D.D., President of* The American Baptist Historical Society.

AMERICAN BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 16, 1867.

DEAR SIR:

No other periodical which comes under my notice can be relied on for honest notices of new publications. I rejoice that you dare to be singular.

Your fellow laborer,

HOWARD MALCOM.

XLIV.—*From* HORATIO GATES JONES, *Esq., Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, etc.*

PHILADELPHIA, August, 1867.

I have been a subscriber to and a constant reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE from its commencement; and I regard its continuance as of great value to all who are interested in the History of America. As a means of intercommunication, it is of the highest importance to historical students.

HORATIO GATES JONES.

XLV.—*From Hon.* BRANTZ MAYER, *President of the Maryland Historical Society.*

BALTIMORE, 19th August, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have been a subscriber to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE since its commencement, and prize the whole series very much, though a part of it was not equal to the promise of the beginning. But I must especially thank *you* not only for the revival of the Magazine's high character, but for the additional interest and permanent value of the papers you are now rescuing from destruction. The original articles contributed by yourself and your industrious correspondents, by your brave and candid criticisms, have given force and authority to the Magazine; and I cannot doubt that it will continue to receive a prompt and remunerative support from the students of local and national History, who are so greatly your debtors.

Most respectfully, your obt.,

BRANTZ MAYER,
President of Maryland Historical Society.

XLVI.—*From* GEORGE GIBBS, *Esq., the well-known Ethnologist, Author of* Memoirs of the Administration of Washington and John Adams, *etc.*

WASHINGTON, 24th Aug. 1867.

H. B. DAWSON, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR:

I am very glad to hear that you are about to push vigorously your periodical. It has always been a valuable one: it may be made invaluable. Very few even of our historical and literary students, comparatively speaking, are, I imagine, aware of the facilities that it affords for an extensive correspondence; that in a few brief lines of inquiry one can reach thousands of persons, some of whom can probably throw light on the desired point; or that it is an admirable receptacle where may be preserved detached facts.

It often occurs to every student to stumble upon important statements or incidents, not in themselves warranting an essay, or perhaps himself indifferent to the production of one, but none the less valuable to have preserved somewhere. In these two respects, independent of its record, it has no competitor in this country, and for these alone it deserves support.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE GIBBS.

XLVII.—*From Rev.* WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, Clerk of the House of Clerical and Lay Delegates of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America.

LITCHFIELD, Ct., Oct. 21 '67

MY DEAR MR. DAWSON:

Yours of the 7th came during my absence from home and I take great pleasure in acknowledging its receipt at the earliest possible moment.

For the variety and value of its articles, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE deserves the hearty and united support of all interested in historical studies. Under its present management, each number adds to the permanent value of the series, and no one who would keep up with the progress of historical investigation can afford to be without it.

With the assurance of my hearty regard and sympathy, I am Very truly Yours

WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY.

HENRY B. DAWSON, ESQ.,
MORRISANIA, NEW YORK.

XLVIII.—*From* B. H. HALL, *Esq., Author of* The History of Eastern Vermont.

TROY, N. Y., Oct., 17, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I am in receipt of yours of the 7th inst, and at my earliest leisure have much pleasure in returning a reply. I have been a subscriber for the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE since its beginning, and have received more general satisfaction from its perusal than from any periodical I have taken in, during its life.

The necessity for such a Magazine was very apparent to my mind when the HISTORICAL was undertaken, and that necessity not only continues but has increased ten fold.

When the January number appeared, in 1857, we as a nation had made, comparatively, but very little history. Since that time, in ten years, we have filled a page in the History of the World, which will be forever turned and read by all mankind. The little incidents, which are the unintentional but certain manifestation of men's motives, and which strewn along the pathway of this rebellion lie all ungathered, are in the future to be collected, and in this work THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE should properly take the foremost place.

In the treatment and discussion of Historical matters, fairess of statement, and a regard to the time, the circumstances, and to reason in reaching a conclusion, are absolutely necessary. During the greater portion of its career such a course has prevailed in the pages of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and a continuation in this course cannot but be rewarded with abundant success.

If I can be of service to you in increasing the circulation of the Magazine, I shall be glad to assist in this particular, and am Very respectfully yours

B. H. HALL.

XLIX.—*From* S. S. RANDALL, LL. D. Superintendant of Public Instruction in the City of New York.

NEW YORK, Oct., 21. 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

Permit me, as a subscriber and constant reader of your Magazine, to express my high appreciation of the ability with which it has uninformly been conducted while under your editorial supervision; and of the value and importance of its contributions to the past and present history of our Country. Yours very truly,

S. S. RANDALL.

H. B. DAWSON, ESQ.,

L.—*From Major-general* JOHN E. WOOL, U.S.A.

TROY, 11th November, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

Some time since I received the back numbers of your HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. These I have perused with great interest. They prove what has been frequently asserted that it requires many years to arrive at the truth of history. The many reminiscences and letters which your HISTORICAL MAGAZINE contains, relating to those who occupied positions and rendered important services during the period of our revolutionary struggle, prove conclusively that we have yet much to learn of those who offered "their lives, their fortunes, and "their sacred honor," to secure freedom and independence to the people of the United States.

A periodical, the object of which is to maintain and secure the truth of history, deserves to be encouraged by all who desire the correction of historical errors and the interstices of history to be filled, and, above all else, the history of the causes which led to the recent bloody rebellion——the end of which is not yet. The pillars of our once prosperous Union are crumbling. Ten States have been declared out of the Union and placed under Military rule. How long will it be before the thirty-six States are placed in a similar position? Very Truly Yours

JOHN E. WOOL

HENRY B. DAWSON, ESQ.,
Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

LI.—*From Hon.* WILLIAM B. REED. *Author of* The Life of President Reed, etc., *and recently Minister of the United States to China.*

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 8. 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

Permit me to add my testimony to that of many better witnesses to the value of your Magazine. You know very well how highly I estimate it. As an editor and historiographer you are honest and more than that, brave. Social influences do not controul you; and even in your Anti-New-England tendencies, which I admit should not be carried too far, and of which some of your friends complain, you show courage. I sincerely wish you all manner of success.

Verv truly yr
WILLIAM B. REED.

H. B. DAWSON ESQ.

LII.—*From Professor* WILLIAM C. FOWLER, LL. D. *Author of* History of Durham, Sectional Controversy, *ect.*

DURHAM CENTER, CONN.
Oct. 19. 1867.

H. B. DAWSON ESQ.,

DEAR FRIEND:

* * * * * * * *

The periodical arrival of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is always welcomed, freighted as it is with facts which would be lost, many of them, if not recorded in your bill of lading. In your own reasonings, speculations, and descriptions, you furnish proof that the muse of history is your muse, inspiring you with her own love of truth.

Very Sincerely, yours,
W. C. FOWLER.

LIII.—*From Doctor* THOMAS H. WYNNE, *Editor of* The Wendover Papers, *etc.*

RICHMOND VA., Nov. 3. 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have read every number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE which has been issued since the war with an amount of satisfaction and pleasure which I do not enjoy in the perusal of any other Journal. So far as it is possible, it seems to be edited with a degree of fairness towards all persons and parties of whom it treats, and evidently aims to assist those who are in the search of the truth in regard to disputed points in our country's history.

Wishing you and it all possible success, I am
Very truly
THOMAS H. WYNNE.

What the Press Says.

I.—*From* The Press *of Maine.*

1.—Established first as a medium of intercommunication between historical students and scholars interested in the Antiquities, History, and Biography of our Country, it has come to be a necessity, and we are glad to learn that its subscription list is largely increasing. In its pages will be found a large amount of information, upon the neglected, though important points, of American History and Antiquities, Biographies of eminent Americans, &c.—*Maine Farmer* (Independent), Augusta, March 21, 1867.

2.—We have perused it with much interest, and commend it to the attention of those who take an interest in the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America.—*Daily Eastern Argus* (Democratic), Portland, August 27, 1867.

3.—It continues to show the marked improvement in interest and value which has characterized it since it came into the hands of the present Editor.—*The Portland Daily Press* (Republican), August 24, 1867.

4.—The *Historical Magazine* for February contains a great amount of interesting historical and antiquarian matter, together with the usual Notes and Queries. * * * This Magazine is a valuable publication, and should receive the hearty support of all interested in historical pursuits. It is well conducted, though we notice that its Editor seems to have a spite against Massachusetts, and is disposed to go out of his way to gratify it.—*Portland Transcript* (Republican), March 16, 1867.

5.—We find it full of interesting matter.—*Waterville Mail* (Republican), Waterville, Aug. 30th, 1867.

6.—This Magazine belongs to no party nor clique, but aims to be just to all without fearing any, which is the only way to conduct any periodical. *The Evening Star* (Republican), Portland, Aug. 30th, 1867.

7.—This Magazine is of peculiar interest to the Antiquarian. To those who would know the History of America, its Antiquities, and other points of interest, it is indispensable.—*Evening Journal* (Republican), Lewiston, August 28, 1867.

II.—*From* The Press, *of New Hampshire.*

1.—Mr. Dawson has had the editorial charge of the Magazine for the past year, and has conducted it with equal ability and independence. We say, *independence*, because that quality is required in managing such a periodical as well as in those of an unhistorical character. Members of the New Hampshire Historical Society should have it.—*Nashua Gazette* (Democratic), June 12, 1867.

2.—It contains much valuable historical reading, and is well conducted. It preserves many historical papers of value that would otherwise be buried in oblivion.—*Portsmouth Journal* (Republican), August 31st, 1867.

III.—*From the* Press *in Massachusetts.*

1.—The Magazine contains much interesting and valuable matter relating to early American history.—*The Daily Spy* (Republican), Worcester, Sept. 17, 1866.

2.—Mr. Dawson is placing on permanent record in this Magazine a mass of perishable material relating to American annals, which without the thoughtful care he has exercised would soon be utterly lost.—*The same paper*, Worcester, October 27, 1866.

3.—The Historical Magazine always has a valuable table of contents, but the pleasure we should otherwise take in its perusal is greatly marred by the anti-North, or *more especially*, anti-Massachusetts tone which pervades it. The Editor's bitterness toward Boston betrays singular weakness, and the Preface to its last volume is in exceedingly poor taste.* With these exceptions we esteem the Magazine highly, and are always repaid for reading it.—*The Congregationalist* (Orthodox), Boston, March 1, 1867.

4.—Some very instructive excerpts of a fragmentary sort, and some more elaborate and exhaustive pieces of historical interest fill up the number of the Magazine before us. It is evident that many diligent pens are engaged in providing for the monthly contents of these pages, which are most sure to engage the gratitude of readers the more free they are from especial pleading in behalf of the wrong side of our living politics.—*The Evening Transcript* (Radical), Boston, Nov. 30, 1866.

5.—* * This sketch of the contents of this single number will convey to our readers some idea of the quality of the Magazine, which, albeit, sometimes to our taste, over sharp, and scarcely fair in some directions, has yet a recognized, and, indeed, unique value, in our literature.—*The Congregationalist and Recorder* (Orthodox Congregational) Aug. 30, 1867.

6.—The enterprising and very able Editor of The Historical Magazine has given us the memorable sermon of Rev. John Wheelright, one of the ministers of New England in its earliest history. In so doing he has conferred a great obligation not only upon the historical public, but especially as it enables us to see more clearly the grounds of the great Antinomian contention, which so agitated and rent the Churches of Boston and its vicinity.

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We greatly regret that we are obliged to omit Mr. Dawson's learned Introduction which fastens severe censure on Winthrop and his party.—*The Panoplist* (Religious), Boston, July, 1867.

7.—The Historical Magazine is now in able and accomplished editorial hands, in correspondence with the best historical writers in all parts of our country, and conducted as it will be without any taint of partisanship, it is of the first value to every historical scholar and student.—*Watchman and Reflector* (Baptist), Boston, May 9, 1867.

8.—This valuable periodical has again passed into the hands of Henry B. Dawson, as Editor and Proprietor. Its speciality is the discussion of topics relating to the History, Antiquities, Biography, and Standard Literature of America. In carrying out this, it publishes much that is interesting, curious, rare, and valuable, and which is not easily to be obtained in any other source.—*Roxbury Journal*, Sept. 15, 1866.

9.—This Magazine contains much valuable historical reading, and is well conducted. It preserves many historical papers of value that would otherwise be buried in oblivion.—*The Salem Gazette* (Republican), August 27, 1867.

IV.—*From* The Press *of Rhode Island.*

1.—This Magazine cannot fail to please a large circle of readers.—*Newport* (R. I.) *Daily News*, Oct. 26, 1866.

2.—We have perused its contents with great interest and pleasure.—*Providence Press*, Sept. 15, 1866.

V.—*From* The Press *of Connecticut.*

1.—If rightfully conducted, (and it seems to be now) it cannot but form an addition to the Magazine literature of the world.—*New Haven Palladium* (Republican), Aug. 18, 1866.

2.—The *Historical Magazine*, as usual, is full of interesting matter.—*The same*, Jan. 26, 1867.

3.—This Magazine fills a very valuable place in our current literature, and deserves a generous support. It is calculated to achieve a very wide circulation. Americans care too little for History; and this fact makes it the more incumbent on those who properly appreciate the value of a periodical devoted to so important a subject, to properly sustain its Editor in his conscientious and successful efforts to make a valuable historical magazine.—*The same*, Sept. 27, 1867.

4.—As we have before said, this work has a field unoccupied by others, and is doing good service by placing on record waifs of History and Biography, which otherwise would be lost.—*Evening Farmer* (Democratic), Bridgeport, Nov. 12, 1866.

5.—The Magazine is of great value to all interested in historical antiquities.—*Bulletin* (Republican), Norwich, Sept. 17, 1866.

* In that Preface we referred to the *repudiation of their debts* by some of the leading men in Massachusetts, because the Magazine had ceased to flatter Boston and Massachusetts. These debts have since been paid, *with here and there an exception.*—Ed. Hist. Mag.

6.—It is full of very interesting matter relative to our earlier history.—*The same*, Feb. 19, 1867.

7.—Of the usual interest to delvers into old historical matters.—*The same*, Mar. 28, 1867.

8.—*The Historical Magazine*, under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, brings together a great deal that is curious and interesting to historical students. The Notes and Queries are the most entertaining part of the Magazine.—*Evening Press* (Republican), Hartford, Oct. 31, 1866.

9.—*The Historical Magazine* for December is a readable number, filled with matter that will attract the attention of all historical students, with very much in it of popular interest. —*The same*, Jan. 24, 1866.

10.—The industrious Editor of *The Historical Magazine* constantly digs up interesting material and makes each number lively and readable.—*The same*, Mar. 8, 1867.

11.—The contents of *The Historical Magazine* for March will interest and "stir up"as many people as its issue usually does. * * * The Magazine shows continued industry.—*The same*, Mar. 26, 1867.

12.—Its Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America are always interesting and valuable for future reference, and show a large amount of able and patient research. —*Daily Courant* (Republican), Hartford, November 24, 1866.

VI.—*From* THE PRESS *of New York.*

1—*The Historical Magazine*, under its new Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson, shows unwonted vitality. The August number, which has just appeared, is especially interesting and valuable.—*N. Y. Daily Tribune* (Radical), Sept. 18, 1866.

2.—*The Historical Magazine* for July contains numerous articles of antiquarian and historical interest, combined with frequent incidental political discussions and allusions, strongly reflecting the personality of the Editor, who is a zealous advocate of the theory of State Sovereignty.*—*The same paper*, Aug. 24, 1867.

3.—Full of matter that will be regarded as valuable by antiquarians and historical students.—*Evening Post* (Republican), New York, Sept. 18, 1866.

4.—*The Historical Magazine* has for its second title "Notes "and Queries," but in its general character has more merits than the English journal of that name, dealing less in trivial matters, and giving better considered and more important papers. It is an excellent Magazine, and is necessary to the student of history.—*Day Book* [Ultra-Democratic], New York, Oct. 6, 1866.

5.—*The Historical Magazine* is a serial of much value and little pretence, and is an absolute necessity for the literary table.—*The same*, Dec. 22, 1866.

6.—The January number is beyond doubt a "golden num-"ber."

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Following Brodhead's article, we have a reply by the Editor to some strictures of *The Boston Transcript*, which is less a dissection than a flaying of the subject—a flaying in which a considerable portion of the flesh is taken from the bones of the victim, leaving him writhing *in terrorem*.—*The same.* Mar. 23, 1867.

7.—Mr. Dawson's Magazine is worthy of the support and confidence of students of American history. There is no substitute for it.—*The same*, June 15, 1867.

8.—A more useful, interesting, and truly valuable Magazine is not to be found either in Europe or America. Its editor is Henry B. Dawson, Esq. so long, well, and favorably known to his fellow-citizens of this town and to the public at large, as a gentleman and scholar. * * *We cordially recommend it so the patronage of an enlightened and discriminating public.—*Westchester Journal* [Democratic], Morrisania, Feb. 16th 1867.

9.—Mr. Dawson is an indefatigable worker in the department of history to which he has devoted so large a share of his life; and we cannot doubt the readers of the early history of our country—and all should be readers and students of it—will find this Magazine a mine of most valuable information.—*Peekskill Messenger* [Republican], Feb. 2d, 1867.

10.—The *Boston Transcript* is not pleased with Mr. Dawson's *Historical Magazine*. * * * The trouble with the Magazine seems to be that it has mistaken the object of history, and conceived it to be to throw dirt at Massachusetts—a Commonwealth that can stand the operation BETTER THAN ANY OTHER STATE ON THE GLOBE, and much better than the Editor of the Magazine.—*Daily Union* [Radical], Brooklyn, Feb. 25th, 1867.

11.—The *Historical Magazine*, under the editorial direction of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, is filling an important place in periodical literature.—*Daily Eagle* [Democratic], Brooklyn, July 16th, 1867.

12.—Its great *forte* is the correction of History and the furnishing of Documentary evidence elucidating historical statements. Mr. Dawson is a careful writer, and is well "post-"ed," as the phrase goes, in American History.—*Daily City Press*, Newburgh, Aug. 7, 1866.

13.—It contains matter very important to all who would have correct knowledge of the History of our Country.—*Troy Press*, Aug. 11, 1866.

14.—We advise all who are interested in Antiquities to take it.—*Journal*, Fishkill, Oct. 18, 1866.

15.—*The Historical Magazine*, under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, increases in interest with every number. Mr. Dawson is perfectly at home in historical matters, and considers anything in that line as a labor of love. He could not fail, therefore, to infuse new life into *The Historical Magazine*. The first number issued under his superintendence, evinced the presence of a new and experienced hand in the chair editorial, and in each succeeding number the interest has been kept up. *The Historical Magazine* should have a place in every library.—*Yonkers Gazette* [Democratic], Nov. 3, 1866.

16.—This Magazine is now edited by Mr. Henry B. Dawson, who has made this particular line of literature his study for years, and has gained a high reputation for his historical researches. * * The Magazine deserves success, and should be in every scholar's library.—*Yonkers Statesman* [Republican], Nov. 22, 1866.

17.—It shows the industry and research for which the Editor is remarkable. * * The number altogether recommends itself to the student of American History.—*The same*, Jan. 31, 1867,

18.—There are few if any persons living better qualified in every way for the compilation and editorship of such a magazine, than is Mr. Dawson. The subject of History has been his study for years, and he has consequently become perfectly conversant with everything in connection therewith. In his own article he fearlessly tells the truth about men and their acts, though to do so may to some seem irreverent.

The Magazine itself is worthy the support of all lovers of History; and we believe that none of this numerous class would be without it if they could peruse the number before us.—*Westchester Times* (Republican), Morrisania, Feb. 15, 1867.

19.—No student of History should be without this work. Its researches are truly wonderful.—*The same*, Aug. 23, 1867,

20.—From the appearance and contents of the July number, which is before us, we have formed a high opinion of its character and value.—*Christian Enquirer* (Unitarian), New York, Sept. 6th, 1866,

21.—This Magazine contains a great deal of curious, valuable, and interesting matter; and in the rich but almost neglected field of American Antiquities is a gleaner whose monthly sh..af is more than welcome.—*The same*, Sept. 20th, 1866.

22.—The *Historical Magazine* is now under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, than whom no one is more competent for such a task. It appears in the handsomest typography, and its contents, which are exactly the sort for which their is never any place in a daily newspaper, are in their kind, fresh and interesting to a degree never reached in former numbers of that old and valuable periodical.—*Daily World* (Democratic), New York Nov. 3d. 1866.

23.—Bancroft is skinned alive and likewise grilled in the June number of *The Historical Mayazine*, which periodical, Mr. Dawson makes as readable as a daily newspaper, by

* Vide *Revised Statutes*, Part I, Chap. I, Title II, Sec. 1, 2, 3—Fourth Edition, 1 77.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

treating the dead as if they had once lived, and were of flesh nd blood and human passions, and by treating the living, who ought to be dead, in a way that must assist them in the discharge of that duty.—*The same*, New York. July 23d, 1867.

24.—Under Mr. Dawson's judicious management this publication has greatly increased in interest.—*Journal of Commerce*, (Commercial), New York, Oct. 30th, 1866.

25.—It is a well-conducted monthly periodical, devoted to the exposition of the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America. It lately passed back under the control of Henry B. Dawson of Morrisania. With him are associated many writers of eminence, who have the ability to render this magazine very useful to the progress of historic research. It is handsomely gotten up, and each number contains a large amount of curious and interesting matter.—*Christian Intelligencer*, (Ref. Dutch) New York, Nov. 1st 1866.

26.—*The Historical Magazine* edited by Henry B. Dawson, Esq., has a peculiar value, and is entitled to the particular patronage of that large public which is interested in historical inquiries.—*The Same*, Aug. 1st, 1867.

27.—It is full of interest and variety.—*Episcopalian.*

28.—This is a very interesting and valuable periodical, and one which must find an entrance to every library.—*The Sunday Mercury*, New York, Feb. 3d. 1867.

29.—This important periodical, which is devoted to the collection and preservation of the Antiquities, History, and Biography of our country, has recently passed into the hands of Henry B. Dawson, Esq., who is devoting himself to its interests with all the enthusiasm of a genuine antiquary. The volume which was closed with the December number, has many original historical papers of great importance, which but for this channel would probably have perished. The Magazine is one which, for the general interests of National Literature and History, should be sustained by the pens and the subscriptions of men of letters.—*Observer*, (Presbyterian) New York, Feb. 7th, 1867.

30.—The publication now commences its eleventh year with a new series; and the lovers of true History and valuable Antiquities will do well to subscribe at once.—*American Baptist*, New York, Feb. 19th, 1867.

31.—It is a valuable publication, and shows great research.—*Turf, Field and Farm*, (Sporting), New York, March 30, 1867.

32.—A very useful, and, we are glad to learn, pecuniarily successful work.—*Daily Times*, (Republican), Jan. 21st, 1867.

33.—The Editor of *The Historical Magazine*. Mr. Dawson, of *Federalist* notoriety, is displaying a good deal of enterprise in making that publication a repository of things rare and curious. He is exhuming from their archives ancient documents which throw new light on the history of the past.—*Evangelist*, (Presbyterian) New York, May 23d, 1867.

34.—The Magazine is well worthy of an extended patronage. The Editor has some theories not very generally shared by the community, but he gives every party a fair hearing, and succeeds in bringing together a large mass of curious and valuable historical material from a great variety of sources.—*The same paper*, Sept. 5, 1867.

35.—This Magazine contains much curious and valuable information.—*Protestant Churchman*, (Episcopalian), New York, July 18, 1867.

36.—It shows the careful and enterprising editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson. The number contains many very valuable papers, and a mass of interesting facts.—*Commercial Advertiser*, (Republican), New York City, Aug. 23, 1867.

37.—This Magazine very faithfully adheres to its own peculiarity, which, however, is a subject of such extent and variety that there is no danger of necessary sameness in its matter. The Editor is not at all deficient of positive opinions nor of the courage to assert and maintain them. It is a publication that evinces real ability. * * * Altogether the Magazine is a work that no one who is interested in American History can afford to do without.—*The Christian Advocate*, (Methodist Episcopal), Aug. 29, 1867.

38.—It is difficult to estimate too highly the historical value of many of the original documents gathered up from unexpected quarters and preserved from oblivion in the pages of this Magazine. To those who desire to acquire a correct knowledge of facts relating to the early history of the country without taking the trouble of consulting old authorities and musty volumes, to those who find amusement in contrasting the homely dwelling-places and familiar haunts of their forefathers with the changed aspects wrought in these localities by wealth and civilization, and to others whose pride of family leads them to find gratification in seeing the names of their progenitors honorably mentioned in records dating back two centuries ago, the present work will prove an interesting repertory, which will become every year more valuable. * * * The selections are carefully made, and there is a mass of information collected in this work which may be referred to in after times by all who seek for archæological information about persons, places, and things belonging to New York.—*The Round Table* (Bibliographical), New York City, Aug. 31, 1867.

33.—It is now a valuable repository of many original papers, printed for the first time, and of articles and notes relating to disputed points in the history of this country that find no place so proper elsewhere.—*The Nation*, (Republican), New York, January 31st, 1867.

40.—The contents will compare favorably with those of any other publication of its class in the country.—*Daily Register*, Hudson, Aug. 6 1866.

VII.—*From the* Philadelphian Press.

1.—It especially recommends itself to those who take an interest in our own country's past history.—*Philadelphia Inquirer, August* 13, 1866.

2.—One of the most useful of American publications. * * It contains a large amount of most interesting, curious, and rare information. It is a Magazine which should be subscribed for by every scholar and gentleman of literary attainments.—*Sunday Dispatch*, (Literary) edited by Thompson Westcott, Esq., the Historian, February 17, 1867.

3.—It is one of the best, most useful, and instructive periodicals issued in this country.—*The same paper*, Sept. 21, 1867.

4.—We are glad to call the attention of those of our readers, who take an interest in such matters, to this valuable periodical. It is, by all odds, the best publication of the kind that has appeared in this country, more nearly resembling, in a single department, the English *Notes and Queries*, than any other. It appears monthly. Its Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson of Morrisania, is a thorough master of the details of American History, and entirely free from those social and political influences which have twisted the judgment of many a student. If he encounters a stubborn, well-attested fact, he gives it. He is entirely catholic in his judgment; and, best of all, he is absolutely free from the wretched New England influence which has done so much, and will, if not checked, do more, to poison the wells of historic Truth.—*The Age* (Democratic), Philadelphia, March 16, 1867.

5.—One of the most interesting publications of the day is The Historical Magazine. * It is a handsome square octavo, of sixty-four pages, and the typography is all that could be desired by the most fastidious. Henry B. Dawson is the Editor, and strives with his utmost power to make the Magazine acceptable to its patrons. Such a work cannot be too widely extended, when the small price of the annual subscription—five dollars—is considered. We commend it to all who have any interest in American History.—*The Daily Press*, edited by Col. J. W. Forney (Republican), Philadelphia, March 26th, 1867.

VIII. *From the* Southern Press.

1.—This monthly is specially valuable as discussing and settling questionable statements that may have become current as History. While dealing with subjects that may not attract popular attention, it must, if it fulfils its peculiar mission, be regarded as a valuable Periodical among literary persons. It is very difficult to make such a Magazine what it ought to be. We wish it abundant success in its laudable labors in behalf of Truth. *Christian Advocate*, (Methodist) Richmond, August 23d, 1866.

2.—The December number is on our table, so beautifully printed that the very types seem to say, "Read," "Read." * * * The other articles have interest; and there is many a dainty morsel for bookworms scattered through its pages.—*The same*, January 31st, 1867.

3.—It is indispensable to all historical students.—*The same*, August 15th, 1867.

4.—We have no hesitation in strongly recommending this Magazine to our readers. It is always full of information that cannot be got elsewhere, and it is of an impartial and honest tone that is wholly relieved of sectionalism and prejudice. We know of no Northern publication more fair toward all parts of the country than this. It is a high ascription of praise to say this in these days of partisan and sectional malignity.—*Daily Examiner*, (Democratic), Richmond, September 18th, 1866.

5.—This Journal being National in its character and patriotic in its spirit, and with an eye single to Truth in all its investigations, is entitled to the patronage of all who desire to see the scattered fragments of our History garnered up and preserved.—*The same paper*, February 19th, 1867.

6.—In the notices of new publications the Editor deals severely but justly and fearlessly. This sterling Magazine is admirably conducted, and it should be patronized by every one who feels the least interest in his country's history.—*The Same*, June 12th, 1867.

7.—An admirable periodical. We with pleasure recommend it to the Public, and to Southern readers in particular. * * The design and scope of the work are admirable; and it seems to be edited with industry and discriminating ability.—*Daily Enquirer*, (Democratic), Richmond, September 20th, 1866.

8.—It pleases us. We like its style of getting up. Many of its papers are selected, and prepared from rare historical volumes and manuscripts, and evince care and research. * The design of this Magazine is good. Its numbers are not only worth reading as they are issued, but valuable to file.—*Field and Fireside* (Literary), Raleigh, N. C., September 29th, 1866.

9.—An able and highly valuable periodical. * * The American public owes to Mr. Moore and to Mr. Dawson, the trenchant and most vigilant Editor of this Magazine, its most grateful acknowledgments for their good services in the cause of Justice, History, and Truth.—*The Mercury*, Charleston, February, 1867.

10.—It is worthy of the support of all who are interested in historical truth; and the Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson, is in every way admirably well qualified for his position.—*The same paper*, Sept. 4th, 1867.

11.—It makes valuable contributions to the historical literature of the age. It is not the organ of any party or clique, and deserves, we think, the most generous support. * * * The Book Notices also are particularly clever, generally discriminating, and therefore a valuable feature of the Magazine.—*Daily Enquirer and Examiner*, Richmond, Va., August 26th, 1867.

12.—We have watched this periodical with great interest, and have to express our high appreciation of the eminent judgment and general ability with which it is conducted. It deserves the warm support of all the friends of American historical and antiquarian research; and no person claiming special interest in this department of knowledge can afford to do without it. It seems to be managed with the greatest independence, every subject entertained in its pages receiving that calmness and carefulness of consideration which belongs to historical research. We commend this Magazine to the attention of all historical scholars in an especial manner; and to all the cultivated public as well.—*National Intelligencer*, Washington, D. C., September 16th, 1867.

13.—The Historical Magazine comes to us freighted with its usual sterling variety of American History and Biography.

Mr. Dawson, the editor, is as indefatigable as he is judicious and penetrating in his analysis. There are in the present issue no less than eighteen different captions, representing as many different topics, and these in their turn, representing almost as many different sections of country, all of which appeal, in interest, more or less to the nation at large. We repeat our recommendations to the students of American history, by all means to possess themselves of this valuable periodical.—*Charleston (S. C.) Courier.*

14.—The Historical Magazine, conducted by Henry B. Dawson, of New York, is a monthly, comprising notes and queries concerning the antiquities, history and biography of America. This book is essential to the statesman, the politician, and the historical student. Its collection, already made, of American materials, ancient records, documents, correspondence, etc., is of singular value. Its editor, Mr. Dawson, has greatly distinguished himself as an antiquarian and historical critic, and, with a dissecting process wholly his own, not forbearing the scalping knife and tomahawk, has served up a goodly host of the humbugs in our history, who, under false pretences and by the trickeries of certain sections, have acquired a celebrity and a reputation for good performances of which they were wholly innocent. It is delightful to see how deftly he can strip the barn door fowl of all its peacock feathers.—*Southern Society*, Baltimore, Md.

Addenda.

1.—The good opinions that have greeted The Historical Magazine from learned societies and scholars all over the country, are familiar to all who have taken even a moderate interest in the details of American history. The nation's history is crowded with events from its earliest days; it has run through a period so marked by strong opinions, free intelligent criticism of men and ideas, and with these such novel governmental problems have been in process of solution, that the documents illustrative of this history deserve most careful preservation. The collation of these documents, so as to display conflicting opinions with fairness, is the chief duty of an Historical Magazine. Mr. Henry B. Dawson, of Morrisania, who assumed the charge of the Magazine with the new series, is a gentleman whose scholarly acquirements and candor are unquestioned.—*East Brooklyn Gazette.* November, 1867.

2.—We have read a large majority of the articles and find them of exceeding interest, discussing, as do their authors, subjects not only of the past but of the present. Such a magazine is of great value, not only in bringing to light the occurrences of days gone by, but in setting right many controverted points. Historical students are great workers and great controversialists as well.—*Brunswick* (Me.) *Telegraph*, October 4, 1867.

☞ See next three pages for specimens of this work.

Camp; and that, until Washington had been formally invested with authority to command the troops from Rhode Island, by Rhode Island's own local authorities, he had less authority among them than any Corporal of their number. Yet such were the facts.

Again: when General Greene would arrest David Mathews, a prominent Loyalist of New York, he did not presume to do so, even by his own troops, until he had obtained a warrant for the arrest, from the local civil authorities; yet the Author of this work sees nothing in that notable instance of his grandfather's recognition of the supremacy of the civil over the military power, even in the midst of a war, as worthy of a syllable of comment, notwithstanding he is very profuse in his admiration of what, in the same case, he regards as "the domination of the strong "hand and absolute will" of his ancestor. Very much stronger than "the strong hand," in this instance, we submit, was General Greene's implicit obedience to the Civil law, even when dealing with a public enemy, in time of Civil War.

We will mention only another instance—that, on page 193, in which the Author speaks of "the "Park, then open ground and frequently used "for drill and parades," on which the General is said to have first seen Hamilton; without indicating *where* that "Park" was. As New York City had not been referred to, for many pages, no one who was previously unacquainted with the facts would have suspected that that acquaintance was formed, if Professor Greene is correct, on what was then the Common, now "the Park," in New York City.

We mention these as instances of the Author's forgetfulness that the usefulness of his volumes may be greatly impaired by the omission of a very few lines, which are absolutely necessary to enable the general reader to understand the details of the narrative; and we venture to express a hope that this fault may be avoided in the volumes which are to follow.

The typography is very good; but a work of this importance, one would suppose, might have secured a steel-plate portrait of its subject, instead of an ordinary photograph.

6.—*Military History of Ulysses S. Grant, from April, 1861, to April, 1865.* By Adam Badeau, Colonel and Aide-de-camp to the General-in-chief, Brevet Brigadier-general U. S. Army. Volume I. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1868.

This volume is the first of a series in which only the professional career of General Grant is to be noticed; and it is from the pen of a member of his personal staff having the free use of all the correspondence and documents at Head-quarters and the War Department, including the papers of the enemy which were captured at the close of hostilities. It brings the subject down to the promotion of Grant to the Lieutenant-generalship; and as it is issued with the General's entire personal approbation, it may be considered as nearly Autobiographical.

The authority of this volume, under these circumstances, as far as its relation of facts is concerned, cannot be disputed, even if the expressions of its Author's judgment shall sometimes be open to dissent; and it will continue to be regarded through all time to come, as one of the leading authorities concerning the War of Secession.

It is very beautifully printed, on good paper; and the profuse use of authoritative Maps renders the text much more intelligible to the non-professional reader than is usually the case.

7.—*History of the American Civil War.* By John William Draper, M.D., LL.D. In three volumes. Volume I. containing the Causes of the War, and the events preparatory to it, up to the close of President Buchanan's Administration. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1867. Octavo, pp. 567. Price $3.50.

In this handsome volume, we have the first of a series in which the learned Author proposes to treat of the causes which led to the recent Civil War, and of the events connected with it, not, he says, in a partisan, but in a philosophical and impartial spirit; which every one will admit is as unusual as it is commendable.

Although this volume is merely introductory, the learned Author unfolds in it the leading features of his system; and, except in his description and discussion of military affairs, we are already enabled to judge of the general course of his reasoning and the general character of his work.

The Doctor maintains, for instance, that the History of the United States may be divided into three distinct Divisions, each relating to a distinct period of what he styles the "American National "Life"—the first concerning the period during which the leading feature was "an earnest ac-"ceptance of the Idea of Political Unity;" the second concerning the period in which was manifested a tendency to a "Decomposition of the "Nation which had arisen from that Idea, into "two Geographical and Opposing Political pow-"ers, the North and the South, or the Free and "the Slave;" and the third concerning "the Con-"flict of those two Powers for Supremacy." In the volume before us, the Doctor discusses the first two of these subjects; and that of the third is left for the second and third volumes of the series.

In the consideration of this work it may be well to ascertain, First, the standpoint from which the Author has surveyed the Past of our Country and undertaken to describe it, *historically*—for this work claims to be a "*History* of

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE;

AND

Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America.

This Magazine was commenced in January, 1857, for the purpose of furnishing a medium of intercommunication between Historical Societies, Authors, and Students of History, and supplying an interesting and valuable journal—a miscellany of American History. On the first of July, 1866, it passed into the hands of the undersigned, by whom it is still conducted, with the support and aid of a large body of intelligent readers, and the assistance of the foremost historical writers in the country.

Among the contributors to the past volumes are Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. George Bancroft, Jared Sparks, LL.D., Hon. Peter Force, Hon. James Savage, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Wm. Gilmore Simms, Esq., Henry R. Stiles, M.D., Geo. Gibbs, Esq., Hon. John R. Brodhead, J. Carson Brevoort, Esq., Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esq., Benson J. Lossing, Esq., Hon. Henry C. Murphy, Samuel G. Drake, Esq., Sebastian F. Streeter, Esq., Alfred B. Street, Esq., E. B. O'Callaghan, LL.D., Prof. W. W. Turner, Buckingham Smith, Esq., Evert A. Duyckinck, Esq., Brantz Mayer, Esq., Hon. John R. Bartlett, Samuel F. Haven, Esq., Dr. R. W. Gibbs, John W. Francis, M.D., D. G. Brinton, M.D., George H. Moore, Esq., John G. Shea, LL.D., Rev. E. H. Gillette, D.D., John Ward Dean, Esq., Henry O'Reilly, Esq., Rev. Pliny H. White, Hon. E. E. Bourne, and Hon. Thomas Ewbank.

The eleven volumes already published contain an immense mass of matter relating to American History and kindred studies, such as cannot be found collected elsewhere, rendering it a work absolutely necessary in all libraries. Few historical works now appear that do not acknowledge indebtedness to it.

The Contents of the Historical Magazine may be generally classed under the following heads:

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HENRY B. DAWSON, Morrisania, N. Y.

THE

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I.—THE RICHARDSONS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

A Letter from John P. Richardson to Doctor Joseph Johnson.

Clarendon, September 29th, 1845.

My dear Sir:

Allow me to offer you a very sincere apology for so long an interval as has elapsed, between the date of yours of the 4th ult. and this reply.

In addition to other circumstances, which I will not trouble you by stating, a very severe attack of bilious fever, from which I am but still partially recovered, has unavoidably increased the causes of delay.

No subject, I assure you, could be more interesting to me, than that to which you have adverted; and there is no one into whose hands I would more cheerfully confide the record of my ancestor's revolutionary services and merits, than in yours.

As full as our family chronicles are, of legends and traditionary incidents of the most important and interesting character, yet, in the absence of all living testimony, and received as they now necessarily are, from secondary or hearsay witnesses, I exceedingly regret my inability at this instant, to present them to you in that authentic and historical form, in which it is most desirable they should be published.

In the meantime, I feel sufficiently authorized by all concurrent evidence to give you the following brief sketch of my grandfather's biography and public services:

General Richard Richardson, Senior, was by birth a Virginian; of highly respectable parentage; with large family connections in that State; possessed of as good an education as the times and circumstances of the country then afforded; and, like General Washington and most of the youth of *that day* and *State*, more particularly qualified by the character of his studies, to pursue the occupation of a Surveyor, at that time regarded the most honorable as well as the most useful.

His habits and predilections in that line of life, first induced him, perhaps, to visit South Carolina, as the best field to gratify both his professional and speculative ardor, and where the spirit of enterprise and emigration in Virginia were then chiefly directed. His judgment wisely and happily guided him in the choice and location of lands, so large in extent, and so valuable in quality, as at once to elevate him to wealth; and which, even in the long culture and multiplied subdivisions of his numerous descendants, are still possessed of adequate and exhaustless resources of fertility. His remarkable qualities of prudence, firmness, dignity, benevolence, frankness, and self-possession, united to a fine and commanding exterior, agreeable temper, and amiable and courteous, but grave, deportment, soon won for him the confidence of the whole interior of the State, a large portion of which was then comprised in the "County of Craven," in which his residence was situated. Perhaps no one but General Washington himself, at that time, possessed the affections and confidence of his fellow-citizens in this portion of the State, to the same profound and unlimited extent as General Richard Richardson. He was often the voluntarily selected judge and arbiter of most of the feuds, strifes, bickerings, and dissentions among his fellow-citizens, embracing a sort of judicial jurisdiction, extending from the Santee River to the North Carolina Line.

His dwelling frequently presented the aspect of a place of Assizes; and few if any were ever known to possess the moral hardihood to appeal to another or higher tribunal. The remains of that strong personal impression, made on the minds of men by the force and rectitude of his character, is still remembered by many of the older inhabitants of Lancaster, and has often been kindly and favorably manifested towards his descendants, on occasions of seeking the confidence of that People.

He commanded the military forces of the State, in several Campaigns against the Indians, where his reputation as an officer was first acquired.

In addition to the services recorded in Drayton's *Memoirs*, his influence, both as a citizen and an officer, was actively exerted in counteracting the Tories of the interior, and rallying assistance for the protection of the city.

He held a high and distinguished command under General Lincoln, in the Campaigns succeeding the capture of Savannah ; and which, disastrous and discouraging as was their commencement, and dark as the fortunes of the South then were, finally terminated in raising the first Siege of Charleston, and the retreat of the British forces under General Provost to the Islands on our Southern Coasts.

In the capitulation of Charleston, he was made a prisoner with other General officers in command of that station, and was permitted to return under a Parole to his family and his residence.

The forced construction of allegiance, subsequently placed by the British Commander on these terms of capitulation, revolted his sense of duty and good faith, and added energy and bitterness to the counsels which he imparted to his countrymen. When Lord Cornwallis, therefore, in the military excursion of the ensuing summer, discovered that the presence and counsels of General Richardson among his fellow-citizens of the interior, were still exerting an unhappy influence on the Royal cause, he proposed, in a conference held with him in the presence of his family, that he should either unite himself to the Royal standard, with a *Carte Blanche* for any baronial possessions, or titles, or offices, in the power of the Crown to bestow; or that he must otherwise submit to the alternative of being subjected to close confinement. The former was rejected with disdain, and in such dignified terms as to elicit an involuntary expression of respect and admiration from his Lordship, for the character of a man so sternly adhering to his principles. His reply is *authentically* reported in these words:—"That he "had, from the best convictions of his mind, em- "barked in a cause which he believed to be right- "eous and just; that he had knowingly and wil- "lingly staked life, family, property, and *all* up- "on the issue ; that he was prepared to suffer, or "triumph with it; and that he would rather die "a thousand deaths, than betray his country or "deceive his friends."

In submitting to the alternative, his health pined away under the influence of a sickly climate and a loathsome prison-house ; the infirmities of old age (then in his seventy-sixth year), increased rapidly upon him; and death was so near and so inevitably approximating, that he was permitted, in the September following, to leave the Island, to linger out his last remaining hours at his residence in Clarendon.

His remains had been interred but a short time before Tarleton established his Head-quarters on the premises, and disinterred the body, under the double pretext of gratifying his curiosity by examining the features of a man of his reputed character and of searching for hidden treasures. After this inhuman and brutal desecration, he permitted it, at the entreaties of his family, to be again sepultured.

Such property as could not be pressed into the British service, was wantonly and sedulously destroyed. Provisions and Houses were burnt; stock of all descriptions slaughtered or driven away ; negroes captured or decoyed ; until, at last, nothing but the dwelling-house remaining, he *personally* directed the torch to be applied to it, with the avowed intention of making it the funeral pile of a widowed mother and her "three "young rebels." The humanity of one of his officers interposed to rescue them from the flames ; and his earnest remonstrance finally succeeded in allaying the savage determination of his superior.

During the sojourn of Tarleton and his Corps in the neighborhood, with a view of counteracting the operations and influence of General Marion, the family of General Richardson were obliged to subsist on the voluntary charity of a few faithful and affectionate servants, leaving their hiding places at night, to furnish them food by stealth. Greater instances of kindness, disinterestedness, fidelity, and devotion, were never, perhaps, exemplified in any of the relations of life.

Colonel Richard Richardson, Junior, was made a prisoner with his father, but immediately after the death of the latter, escaped from the Island where he was confined, and joined the American forces under Marion.

Having for the reasons that actuated many others (arising out of the constructive allegiance, which the British Commander pretended to regard all prisoners under Parole as resuming to the Crown), violated the bounds and terms of his imprisonment, his life was, of course, forfeited and by the direction of the officer in command of the station from whence he escaped, diligently sought after by the Tories and Loyalists in the vicinity. And never was search after the life of human victim quickened and impelled by a more vindictive and persecuting spirit. Surprise, treachery, and death lurked everywhere around him: and the only places of comparative safety were the Camp and the Battlefield.

Hence he was always and unremittingly in the service; in every action or skirmish with the foe, in which Marion was engaged; and even in the intervals of relaxation, when the great body of that officer's Troops were obliged for security, by surprise, the scarcity of provisions, or in the absence of any pressing service, to be temporarily dispersed, he was still among the few to remain with the General, ready for future enterprise or organization.

On one rare occasion of indulgence to his domestic feelings, being permitted to pay a short visit to his family, he was directed by General Marion to be accompanied by a small guard, for greater security and protection. He had scarcely

arrived at his dwelling, before a large force of British Troops and Tories was discovered advancing rapidly down the avenue, in hot and eager pursuit of their hated victim.

To remount the wearied steeds from which they had just alighted and rush precipitately down the steep acclivity at the opposite side of the House, with the almost impervious swamps at its base, were the only means of safety left to them. *One* only of the small party, (a man by the name of Roberts) was captured in the effort to escape; and while being summarily executed on a walnut tree but a few paces from the door, the wife and family of Colonel Richardson were rudely forced out of the house to witness the terrifying spectacle.

In the savage gratification of the moment, she was directed to behold the dying struggles of one of her husband's partisans, and to meditate on the doom which, they assured her, they designed very soon to subject him. She replied "that she did "not doubt the capacity of men who could deliberately outrage the feelings of a woman, to "perpetrate any act of cowardly treachery or "inhumanity on a brave but unfortunate foe. "But conquer or capture my husband first, if you "*can*, or *dare*, before you presume to boast of "your savage triumph and cruelty; and let me "tell you in the meanwhile, that many or most "of you will be in the condition to implore his "mercy, long before he will ever have need to "supplicate, or will deign to accept yours." And it did indeed retributively and historically so happen in the stirring and changeful incidents of the times, that the lives of some of these very brutal and inhuman monsters were generously spared and protected by the clemency of Colonel Richardson, from the revenge and retaliation of his own zealous and excited partisans.

During this scene of horror and suffering, Tarleton was present, and apparently a pleased, although a silent spectator. His only remark was, "that he commisserated the trials and en-"durance of the heroic women; but that his "sanction of such acts of signal and exemplary "severity was necessary to the success of the "Royal cause."

In the progress of his useful and active service, Richard Richardson rose to the rank of Colonel, under Marion, and was always regarded as one of his most cool, daring, and confidential officers.

At the Battle of the Eutaw when the Militia under Marion was deputed to commence the action, Colonel Richardson was posted on the right of his line, as the place of honor and of danger.

To the surprise of the whole army, these comparatively undisciplined troops, urged by the voice and example of their officers, withstood the hottest and most galling fire of the enemy, and not only spiritedly commenced, but gallantly sustained, the brunt of the action to its successful termination.

During the trying incidents of this (perhaps the best and hardest fought) battle in the South, Colonel Richardson was seen encouraging and leading on his troops with a cool and desperate valor, that won for him the personal admiration of the whole American Army, and the distinction of being one of the most conspicuous heroes of the day. In the course of the engagement, he was wounded in the leg with a musket ball, by which his horse was at the same time killed.

But he had scarcely been disentangled from his dead steed, before he mounted another, and regardless of suffering, as he was reckless of danger, resumed his active and zealous participation in the contest, with apparently greater ardor and effect.

He reached a ripe old age; was always unambitious; would never voluntarily allude to his personal adventures or interest in the important events of the war; heartily forgave the persecution of his adversaries; often protected them in after times from the vindictive feelings and criminations of his less generous Whig friends; and always endeavored to palliate the motives of their misguided conduct. Possessed of a mild and agreeable temper that scarcely any of the ordinary incidents of life could ruffle, yet even in his old age, if ever the heroism of his life and character was for a moment forgotten, by any one impertinently or rudely daring to trespass on his rights or his feelings, it was but for them to see the spirit of the lion flash in his eye, or to hear the language of warning and defiance in his calm tones of dignity and self possession, to quail under the rebuke and forbear in an instant the offence.

He has left numerous descendants, occupying the most respectable places in society.

Captain Edward Richardson held a commission in "Thompson's Rangers," and was engaged in most of the partisan services of that Corps. He was a man of commanding person, brave, generous, of great purity of character, fine taste, and sprightly intellect.

I have thus, my dear Sir, endeavored to give you a brief and hasty sketch of my ancestors' lives and public services. The only merit or interest that I can presume to claim for it is the truth and authenticity of such things as I have stated *as facts*. I have been careful to derive them from the best sources, and have sedulously abstained from including any thing of an apocryphal character, although often possessed of a much higher interest than any which I have narrated.

You will oblige me by giving as full an account of their services as the prescribed limits of your work will permit. It will be the first time that any thing like historical justice has ever been done to them. And even now, it can be but par-

tial—for most of the memorials of their lives and usefulness are already lost in the forgotten incidents of an age, fast fading from the memory of man, and beginning to be substituted by false and imaginary traditions and events.

With the highest regards,
Yrs Dr Sr Very truly
& respectfy
JOHN RICHARDSON.

Doctor Joseph Johnson.
Charleston.

II.—REMINISCENCES OF "OLD BROOKLYN."—CONCLUDED.

READ BEFORE THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 16, 1867, BY COLONEL THOMAS F. DE VOE.

We turn to THOMAS EVERIT, SENIOR, who appears to have come from an old stock of Butchers, as we find early in 1698, Edward Everitt, Butcher, obtained a Freeman-ship to commence business within the City of New York. Soon after, he removed to Long Island, from which place he attended the New York Markets, irregularly.

Afterwards appeared in the same line of business, a Richard Everit, supposed to be his son, who, in 1730, built or repaired a Slaughter-house, on a small creek which put up from the East river, in the Town of *Brookland*. The location now would place it at the intersection of Columbia and Doughty-streets. In this building, about 1720, Thomas Everit, Senior, commenced his profession, as it appears, without the assistance of Negro Slaves, his help being the white servants, whose time he had purchased, and his apprentices, with whom he attended the New York Markets almost daily.

In 1763, the press says, "There was killed by "Thomas Everit, a Cow raised and fatted by "Col. Benj Treadwell of Great Neck, whose "weight was (meat, hide and rough fat) 813 "pounds. This perhaps exceeds any killed in "this Province."

In 1769, we find Everit in receipt of the property of Samuel Skidmore, a Butcher, previously noticed, who "gave notice to his creditors "to show cause why an assignment of his estate "should not be made to Thomas Everit, also of "Brooklyn, on Nassau Island, Butcher, and he "be thereupon discharged."

On the breaking out of the Revolution, "A "meeting of the 'Company of Light Horse' of "Brooklyn, was held on the 15 of September, "1775, at Adolph Waldron's, Inn holder, at "Brooklyn Ferry, when Thomas Everit was "elected 2d Lieut: in the month of March following (1776) he signed the Declaration and took up "his Commission."

Onderdonk informs us, that the members of this Troop were first in service under General Greene, who ordered them to seize all the fat stock of the disaffected for Commisary Brown. They next drove off stock under General Woodhull; and, after the defeat at Brooklyn, in August, 1776, as they were proceeding Eastward to join Colonel Livingston, they were ordered off the Island by Colonel Potter. Everit, however, returned; and, in the month of November, following, renewed his allegiance to King George. He was a man of considerable talent, strictly honest, and possessed a very kind heart. His sons, Thomas, William, and Richard, were also Butchers, and will be noticed in their proper order.

THOMAS EVERIT, JUNIOR, was born in Brooklyn, in 1764. When a boy, he was remarkable for his quiet and studious habits; and, for those war-like times, he became an excellent scholar. He served with his father until he mastered his profession, when he took charge of his father's stall and business in the old Fly Market, in New York, where he continued until about the year 1796, when he quit the market; became engaged in farming, near Hempstead; and joined the Society of Friends. After the lapse of a few years, he returned to Brooklyn. Here, with his old bosom-friend, John Doughty, he formed a partnership in the Tanning and Wool business, and established a successful and extensive trade; after which his partner retired from the firm.

Mr. Michael Trappel, yet living, once a Brooklyn Butcher, informed me that he worked for Everit during more than twenty years, in this Hide and Wool business; and that he always knew him to be the same honest, unpretending, good man, whose simple habits, dress, and speech were fully and faithfully carried out, in his new faith. He was always seeking to do his fellow man some service, either by advice or assistance, and this, too, in the most unassuming manner; as many will bear testimony, even at this late day. He continued business, many years, in Brooklyn, from whence he afterwards removed it, to No. 32 Ferry street, New York, where yet remains his son Valentine, continuing his predecessor's business.

Thomas Everit died in the year 1841, leaving many relatives and friends, the latter of whom yet speak glowingly of his many virtues.

His brother WILLIAM, in 1775, joined the Troop with Thomas, as a private, and continued with it until it left Long Island; and afterwards, it is stated, he was engaged in the Commissary Department of the American Army. We do not, however, find him again, until the year 1786, when he appeard in the Fly Market, and was a resident of the City of New York.

Richard Everit, another brother, also attended the same Market, and resided with his father, at Brooklyn, until his marriage, when he removed quite near the Ferry. He afterwards became one of the first Board of Trustees of the First Methodist Episcopal Meeting-house, established here, in 1794.

In 1796, we find advertised, at private sale, a large plot of ground and several houses, in Brooklyn, besides three or four rooms to let, in a house fronting on the East river. "For particulars "enquire of Richard Everit or John Doughty, in "the Fly Market, No. 47." He did not, however, remain long after this in the old Market, as he was stricken with the Yellow Fever; and died in the calamitous year, 1798.

Matthew Gleaves, we introduce in the year 1755, at which time he appeared to be serving, or was engaged with, one of the Horsfields. The preparation for war with the French and Indians, at this period, demanded an Express-rider from Brooklyn, to convey the necessary papers to the Magistrates at the East end of Long Island. Gleaves became thus employed by the Government officers; and for the service he received the sum of five dollars.

We soon after find him as one of the Butchers of the old Fly Market, where he became engaged in a large and profitable business.

In 1760, he married Miss Margaret Rote, and purchased a fine property in Brooklyn, just on the rise of the hill, and lying near the old Ferry road.

At the commencement of the Revolution, Gleaves, with John Carpenter, was supplying the Continental troops with beef. This incident I have already referred to, in the sketch of Carpenter, from information received through their Petition to the Continental Congress; and thus this interesting fact has been handed down to us.

After the Revolution, Gleaves was again found in the old Market, and residing in Brooklyn, with a handsome property,

In the description of the property belonging once to Alexander Colden, it is said to have joined, "The land lately sold by Timothy Hors-"field to John Kingston," which was on the South side of Fulton street, from high water mark, up, over the Hill. Another plot was said to have been "granted to John Tallman, by the "said Timothy Horsfield, in a Deed bearing date "the third day of October, in the year of our "Lord, One thousand, seven hundred, and fifty "three." One other piece of land was said to be "lying to the South-east of a dwelling house, "about five or six rods distant, bounded on the "North, by the land belonging to *Matthew Gleaves*; "South by the land of John Carpenter; and "on the West by a road leading to the highway."

In the year 1786 or 7, in an old brick house, on Fulton-street, a Protestant Episcopal service was performed; and among the officers of the organization, we find several Butchers, of which Matthew Gleaves was one, and a member of the Board of Trustees. He then resided on or near the Bedford road, just on the boundaries of the fire limits.

Matthew Gleaves is described by those who knew him well, as a finely formed man, as well as a finished gentleman, and one of the best dressed in the profession. He regarded personal appearance with particular care and precision. One of his associates says—"he invariably looked as if "he came out of a *band box*, when he arrived at "the Fly-market for daily business." He usually wore silk breeches, with buckles to match, which also fastened up the pearl-white silk stockings which covered his well-formed limbs, and in addition to these, another pair of large silver buckles garnished the highly polished shoes which completed this portion of his *understanding*. Above, on his cranium, he wore a well-powdered wig, which fell in a curling roll around his shoulders; while on the top of all, gracefully rested his neat three-cornered hat.

He died about the year 1800; a true gentleman of the olden school.

Back again, about the year 1760, we find John Doughty, Senior, with several other Brooklyn and New York Butchers petitioning the Corporation of the City of New York, "to oblige Mr. "Nicholas Bayard (the lessee of the Public "Slaughter-house) to keep it in order, as well as "to arrange the Regulations that all could be "accommodated, or else to indulge the petitioners "with the privilege of erecting their own build-"ings, in such places as they shall provide and "which this Corporation shall approve of." The latter clause, at least, was not granted to them.

The object of the Brooklyn Butchers in signing this Petition, at that period, appears to have been, that Long Island did not wholly produce a supply of live stock for the markets of New York; besides, in certain seasons, the East-river became closed with ice, or heavy fogs, or storms, when it was as much as they could accomplish to get passengers across; to say nothing of Cattle or Teams, which occasionally were waiting for weeks before they could be passed over the river with safety. Again, a scarcity of Cattle would sometimes send the Butchers travelling through the other Counties of the Province, to purchase stock—this was before Drovers were in existance—which were driven down to the City, where in this objectionable public building, the Butchers were obliged to prepare their meats.

Doughty continued in the Fly Market during the Revolution, assisted by his son, John, where, for a period, we lose sight of him.

I am inclined to suppose that John Doughty Senior, was a member of the Society of Friends

and a son of Charles Doughty, Senior, who joined the Society about the year 1730. This Charles Doughty was proposed by some Friends in a document, now in my possession, which reads as follows:

"And at ye request of Robert Murrey, a liver "in this place we have to say, that he has Ex- "prest his desire to come under ye notice of "Friends for near twelve months in and before "which time he hath frequented our meetings, "and been of a pretty orderly conversation, as far "as we know, which we refer to your considera- "tion, also there are two men at *York Ferry* "who have in like manner behaved and desire "to come under Friends notice if Friends think "proper, their names are Charles Doughty and "Samuel Hiks."

We now turn to JOHN DOUGHTY, JUNIOR, who had received a liberal education, and began business with his father in the Fly Market, about the period of the Revolution.

The subject of a Fire Company had been considerably discussed among several of the prominent Townsmen; and it was decided to call a meeting at the house of the Widow Moser, near the Ferry-landing, on the thirtieth of April, 1785, when it appears that John Doughty, Junior, who was of an active turn of mind, with his time not wholly occupied with business, was elected one of the seven members of a Fire Company, which afterwards became known as "WASHINGTON COMPANY, No. 1." In this Company he served eight years.

In 1790, he appears to have been one of the three Assessors for the Town, and continued in this office, three years in succession. In 1796, he was placed in the responsible position of Town-clerk, which office he held, year after year, for the space of Thirty-four years, and gave general satisfaction.

In the several years about the period of 1800, when the Yellow fever visited the City of New York, provisions were generally scarce and high; in fact, in the seasons of its prevalance, country people would not approach the City with their produce, and consequently the Markets were either deserted or the few who were left, removed to some more healthy portion of the City. Many Butchers, especially those from Brooklyn, discontinued attending the New York Markets until the fever had abated.

In 1796, we find John Doughty had supplied one Nathaniel Foster with fresh meat, which appears in have been charged, the Beef and Mutton at eight pence, and the Lamb, ten pence per pound; and the next year, the price had risen two pence per pound, on each of these items, which prices were then considered very high: and the reason given was, that stock was scarce and high, and occasionally with a supply so short that many Butchers were absent from their stands for several days or weeks together.

It was then a law that Butchers who failed to personally attend their stalls for a period of fourteen days were dispossessed, unless they could give satisfactory reasons for their absence. In the month of September of that year, Doughty was ordered to appear before the Board to answer such complaint. He attended, and gave sufficient reasons for such absence.

In the same year, we find the first humane act on record, towards the abolition of slavery in the town of Brooklyn, by the manumission and setting free of a colored slave, which was done by John Doughty, on the fourth day of March, 1797; and, afterwards, he gave to others their freedom.

In the performance of his duties as Town-clerk, perhaps he witnessed more manumissions from Slavery than any other individual in the Town or Village; in fact the duties of his office about this period required a greater portion of his time, as the "Act for the gradual abolition of Slavery," was passed in the month of March, 1799, after which time all the Births and Names of the children of Slaves were ordered to be recorded in the Books of the Town-clerk. To afford an idea of this circumstance, the record appears: "I "Certify that one negro child was born on the "thirteenth of July, 1799, according to the law "passed to be recorded and named, William "Lambert Suydam." Again: "That I, Teunis "Tiebout, had a male child born, the fourth of "December last pass'd, named Anthony Brist, of "my slave, which I do request to be recorded. "Witness my hand this twenty fourth of Decem- "ber, 1799.

"TEUNIS TIEBOUT."

The various duties imposed upon Doughty continued to increase very fast, and as the public duties could not be neglected, it occasionally became quite onerous to him, as his daily business at the Market called him before daylight and usually ended at noon; then the crossing of the Ferry, followed with a hasty meal, when official or other duties began, which sometimes kept him constantly employed even unto the midnight hour. Four hours duty, from ten to two, did not then, as now, constitute an official day's work; but the business daily presenting itself was daily attended to; and Doughty performed all the required services satisfactorily.

In 1812, the duties of "Overseer of the High- "way" was placed upon Doughty; and again, in 1819, the same office is found in his possession.

Again: in the year 1812, we find Doughty a "Fire Engineer," with the additional duties of Clerk and Treasurer of the Fire Department; and when the office of Chief Engineer was established, which took place in 1816, John Doughty

was the first one chosen to represent that office, but resigned it the next year, no doubt from various duties imposed upon him. However, in 1821, he again occupied the position, and retained it until 1823; when an Act was passed, incorporating the Fire Department, and he, by unanimous consent, was chosen President.

A prominent point in the character of Doughty was the early interest he exhibited in the cause of Public Education. We find him, therefore, in 1801, a Commissioner of Public Schools for that portion of the Town known as "*The Ferry*," which office he held several years; and when, in 1816, "DISTRICT SCHOOL No. 1," was organized, he was selected as its Clerk.

The Town of Brooklyn, in 1816, was changed into a Village by incorporation; and among the the Trustees named in the bill we find Judge Garrison and John Doughty. In 1819, Doughty was again selected as a Trustee; and this office he held until 1829, a portion of the time as Presiding officer. One year after this, the responsible duties of "Collector of the Village" were performed by him. In fact it may be said, that through a long and well-spent life, Doughty held nearly all the various positions of a public and private character that belonged to the Town and Village; and the manner in which he performed these various duties was amply illustrated by the confidence reposed in him by his fellow townsmen, who so persistently showered upon him so many services as to bewilder the intellect of any but an extraordinary man.

In all the various public offices and professional attention to his business, for a period of over Fifty years, he never thought of *gain to his coffers*, but was ever anxious to be a public benefactor, as well as an honest, faithful, Christian man; and with this character, he yielded his spirit to his Maker, on the sixteenth of May, 1832.

The Authorities in consideration of his great public worth, attached his name to one of the streets in this place.

GEORGE POWERS, SENIOR, is another name which demands from History, at least a line of record. Although tradition says, he was a Hessian soldier, who during the Revolution, came over with the British Troops to help quell the patriots, my examination of the subject has convinced me, that he was not one of those hirelings; but, on the other hand, he was among those who suffered much for their love of country.

I find him, before the Revolution, a Butcher in the old Fly-market, from which, in 1774, he thus advertised a "run-away":

"A white boy named George Wilmot, twenty "years old, of a thin visage, light colored hair, "with a mole on his left cheek. Had on when "he went away, a light drab jacket, blue duffil "trowsers, and a hat. All persons are hereby "warned from harboring, or giving him any cre- "dit on my account.

"GEORGE POWERS,
"Butcher in the Fly Market."

On the breaking out of the Revolution, he took sides with "the Sons of Liberty," and joined a Company called "The Brooklyn Troop of Horse," under Captain Adolph Waldron, who was an Innholder, at Brooklyn Ferry,

The services of this Company have been previously described, but when they were ordered off Long Island, Powers and several others crossed the Sound, from Huntingdon to Norwalk, leaving their horses behind, which were lost to them; and we find those men in Duchess County, in October, 1776, in destitute circumstances; when they received their pay from the Convention.

In 1782, before the termination of the War, although it was known to be near, Powers returned to Brooklyn, where he again commenced business, as we find, on the twelfth of October, of that year, the following:

"Ran away from George Powers, Butcher, at "Brooklyn Ferry, a young negro fellow named "Cato,—for which he offers two guineas re- "ward."

Early in 1784, he also gave "Notice, that all "persons indebted to George Powers, Senior, of "Brooklyn Ferry, are desired to pay their respec- "tive debts to no person but himself, likewise "not to trust any person on his account."

Powers' early return gave him many advantages. First: in establishing a profitable business before the British Troops left the country; then, there were offered many opportunities for investing a small amount of money in various ways, as in teams of horses and cattle, wagons, etc., which the retreating British Troops could not carry away with them. These investments, after a few years, returned large profits. His gains were laid out principally in landed property in the Town, wich afterwards became very valuable.

In 1785, an Independent Meeting-house was incorporated in the Town, in an old brick house now located about No. 43 Fulton-street, In this building, the Protestant Episcopal Service was read: and from that beginning afterwards originated ST. ANNE'S CHURCH. Among its first officers appear George Powers, as Secretary, and John Carpenter, as Treasurer.

Two years after, Powers became a Church-warden, which office he held until his death, which occurred in 1826, when he was aged eighty-two years. In the meantime, Powers was frequently a Lay Delegate to the Diocesian Convention. He was also one of the Vestry, as well as one of the most liberal benefactors of the Church, giving one thousand dollars on one occasion. He however was considered wealthy; being in possession

of a large and valuable property which afterwards proved so, when his estate was sold for about five hundred thousand dollars.

The Episcopal Service appears to have been only irregularly held during the early part of the Revolution, and perhaps then only among the British officers, whose Chaplains officiated on these occasions; while the Dutch Reformed Congregation, who had worshipped so many years, prior to the Revolution, in the old Brooklyn Church, was driven from its church-edifice, or, at least, deprived of its use, in consequence of its being taken for other purposes, when the British Troops had taken possession of the Town.

We find, however, that, in 1778, an arrangement was made, by which both Congregations could worship in this old Church. It was thus announced:—"On Sunday morning, the fifth "inst. to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, "the Church at Brooklyn was opened and divine "service, according to the ritual of the Church "of England, performed by the Revd Mr. Seares [*Sayres*] "who preached an excellent sermon, and "baptized a *child*, which was the *First infant* ad- "mitted to that sacrament within said Church, "where there will be prayers and a sermon next "Sunday and on Good Friday, also on three "Sundays following. Every fourth Sunday af- "terwards the Church will be occupied by the "Dutch Congregation."

John Garrison, better known as Judge Garrison, was another old Fly-market Butcher.

Born at Gravesend, Long Island, in 1764, and while a boy removed to Brooklyn, he served his time in that town, with Matthew Gleaves; and commenced business about the year 1785, from which time to the day of his death, he was identified with the interests of both the Town and Village of Brooklyn.

Among the public and private positions which he occupied, was a Fireman in 1787, '90, '91, '93, and '94; Overseer of the Poor, in 1803 and '4; Justice of the Peace, for many continuous years; Commissioner for Schools, in 1806 and 7; one of a Committee of the Board of Health, in 1809; Trustee of the Village, in 1816 and '26; and a Judge of the Municipal Court; the last of which offices he held until his decease, which occurred in January, 1831.

In early life, Judge Garrison became attached to the First Methodist Episcopal Society in Brooklyn, which appears to have been incorporated in 1794, at which time he was elected one of the Board of Trustees; and for a succession of thirty-six years, he was annually elected to that position.

In the year of the Society's incorporation, it proceeded to erect the First Methodist Episcopal Church, afterwards called the Sands-street Church. Before this building was finished, after his return home from the laborious duties of his Saturday's attendance at Market, which often detained him until after eleven o'clock at night, Mr. Garrison, with his worthy help-mate, would repair to the unfinished building, for the purpose of clearing away the rubbish and cleansing the sacred edifice, for the reception of the congregation for Sabbath service. The congregation then numbered twenty-four white, and about fifteen colored, persons.

Judge Garrison, in person, was a man of remarkably large size, great strength, and active physical powers; his stature was erect to a fault: in height he measured six feet, two inches. His son, John F., often weighed his father, whose weight was three hundred pounds, at the time he was engaged in the old Fly-market. In the latter part of his life, he was inclined to corpulency; but always retained his early activity and erectness.

As a citizen, Judge Garrison was not only regarded as an honest, and upright man, but also as possessing a very liberal and generous mind. To the poor, more especially, his liberality was very great; and I find recorded, that he was, "one of the kindest hearted and purest minded "men whom Brooklyn ever saw."

We turn now to one of Brooklyn's most remarkable and eccentric characters, found in the person of Jacob Patchen, who was long known and is yet remembered, especially for the persevering efforts, displayed in the various law suits against the authorities, in attempting to retain his ancient habitation taken from him for public purposes.

As early as the year 1784, we find him residing in one of "Two houses in the *Ferry-street*" [present Fulton] "in *Brooklyne*, one now occupied "by Nicholas Adrianse, and the other by Jacob "Patchen, both containing 66 feet in front and "73 feet in the rear, and 106 feet in length— "Then in the possession of Robt. G. Living- "ston."

Having served a regular apprenticeship, at tailoring, Patchen, about this period, was closely engaged in that business; but as the needle, lap-board, and goose, were not conducive either to his health or his peculiar ideas of what constituted the duties of a man, and being acquainted with the stalwart Garrison and Doughty, and several other Butchers, he, by an arrangement with one of them, changed his business, for one which was, perhaps, more disagreeable, but which he found was more congenial to his health and purse.

Shortly after the year 1790, he was found attending the old Fly-market, some two or three times a week, as a "Shirk" or "Shark" Butcher; although in a petition dated August, 1795 he states that he "is by trade a Butcher, and has "for a number of years been employed in that

"business in the City of New York, and has long "been solicitous to procure a license for a stand "in the Fly-market. To obtain that, your petitioner "presented a petition upwards of two years since, "but has not yet been able to procure the said "license." The following persons "Certify that "they are acquainted with him, and know him "to be an industrious and sober man," Cortland "V. Beuren, Wm Tredwell, Wm C. Thompson, "Benjn Gatfield, Townsend & Nostrand, and "Wm Post."

This petition came before the Authorities, who upon examination, became satisfied that he had not served a regular apprenticeship, so as to thoroughly understand the business, and, therefore, was not a competent person to hold a license from the Mayor, as a Butcher; but he was permitted to sell *small meats*, by the quarter, in the Country-market; and thus he continued for two years.

After this delay, Patchen came to the conclusion to out general the Authorities by introducing a Stall in the lower Fish-market, where he was found one winter morning, with a well furnished stall, ready for business. The records state that the Mayor, in the month of December, 1798, announced—"That he had removed Jacob "Patchen from the Market, because he refused to "remove a stall by him set up in the Fish Market, "when required by the Clerk of the Market; "which was approved of by the Board": and it was only sometime after, that he was permitted to sell meat again in the Fly-market.

An old friend yet living, who became intimately acquainted with Mr. Patchen, at an early period of his life, thus speaks of him: "Jacob Patchen "was a most remarkable man; and although "strictly honest, industrious, and punctual, he "was strongly self-willed and persisting, which, "through the course of his life, often brought "him in opposition to the laws; especially when "they did not conform to his peculiar ideas of "right, he invariably resisted their power with "his whole force. In person, he was quite tall, "straight, and well-formed, with a somewhat ex-"pressive face, although it usually bore a stern, "rigid, and selfish expression.

"He well understood the business of a small "meat Butcher, being an excellent judge of small "stock, more especially calves, which, after hand-"ling, he could almost invariably guess their live "weight within three pounds; and he thinks he "was the first Butcher who introduced the system "of buying calves, which came from Long Island, "by weight; in fact he would seldom buy in "any other manner.

"When casting up accounts, either in buying "or selling, the greasy right-knee of his leather "breeches was raised, upon which an abbreviated "rule of Arithmetic was satisfactorily performed.

"His dress was seldom varied or replaced; each "article,—a part of which he made himself—"always bore the same appearance. The round-"crown'd felt hat, with a broad brim roll'd up "all around, sat firmly down upon his head, "much lower behind than before; and this at "times was ornamented with a well-smoked pipe, "secured under the band. Then he presented the "short kersey coat, cut in a sort of semi-quaker "style, covered with metal buttons, the size of a "Spanish dollar; a single-breasted waistcoat, "buttoned up to the throat, containing two pock-"ets large enough to shelter his doubled hands, "clutching and guarding their sterling contents, "the sinews of his business. Glancing down-"ward, your eyes met his stout-formed nether "limbs, encased with ancient buckskin, remark-"able for its high polish, by an adhesive grease "and other matter, which had rendered it "waterproof; while below it appeared those "common but comfortable articles which our "*Great-grand-dames* were so famous in produc-"ing, by the employment of their leisure hours, "while sitting by the high blazing piles of *Hick-"ory*, on a winter's evening; which articles, some "of our modern delicate *dames*, squeamishly call "*Hose*, but which those old-fashioned, *unintelli-"gent* producers, broadly and *vulgarly* called "*Stockings*. These necessary articles were usually "gray in color, and stout in texture; and Patchen "fastened them below the knee by the compres-"sion of the ties of those famous leather breeches. "A broad and thick pair of cow-skin shoes, "fastened on the top with large steel buckles, "completed his attire." "And this was his "dress," says one of my informants, "when I "first saw him, and the last, after an acquaint-"ance of some twenty years." His dress, however, was partially modified at a later period, when corduroy's occasionally changed place with the leather breeches, and high boots took the place of shoes.

In the several public positions held by Patchen, in Brooklyn, we find, in 1787, he was "Road-"master to the Ferry;" in 1798, an Assessor; in 1802, "Commissioner of Highways;" then, in 1811, he again held the same office, to which might be added several minor duties, with which he at intervals was intrusted, until the year 1831, when he was honored by being elected a Trustee of the Village.

Mr. Patchen's suits at law began in 1825, with the Trustees of the Village, for taking his old homestead, in which he had resided more than fifty years, for public purposes. This location is the present York, formerly Market-street, running from Fulton to James-street.

Patchen employed some of the best Counsel of that day, who, after several years of litigation, in which many interesting and laughable incidents occurred, succeeded in recovering the premi-

ses, arising from the fact of their having been taken from him by illegal process. In the end, however, the authorities obtained the property, several years after Brooklyn became a city.

In the meantime, Patchen continued, with persistent efforts, through his Counsel, to raise new issues on various points of law, until his death, which occurred in 1840; and thus, with his death, ended the earthly trials of Jacob Patchen.

We turn to BURDET STRYKER, another old Brooklynite. Although born and brought up in the place, he was never prominent in public office, yet he was a most willing and useful resident.

He served a regular apprenticeship with the highly esteemed Thomas Everit, Junior. Before he left his service, he joined the First Methodist Church; and, in 1794, became one of its Trustees. Two years after, he purchased Stand No. 60, in the Fly-market, for which he paid three hundred and ten pounds; and, soon after, he engaged in the business of a Tallow-chandler, in Brooklyn.

In 1799, the press notices "a gang of villains "stole two horses from the stable of Burdet Stryk-"er, of Brooklyn. One of these was a favorite "horse which he kept for the saddle, and occa-"sionally to parade with when ordered out with "the Brooklyn Troop of Horse."

A grand celebration took place on the Fourth of July, 1804, when all the uniformed corps, consisting of the Brooklyn Troop of Horse, Republican Riflemen, Artillery, Washington Fusileers, and the Rising Sun Company, formed on Brooklyn Heights, where they performed various evolutions, under Colonel Jeremiah Johnson. In the afternoon, the officers dined together, and among the toasts offered on that occasion, was "Those "hardy sons of Freedom, who died on board of "the *Jersey* Prison Ship; their bones have sever-"ally had a grave, while their patriotism has "merited a monument; may their memory be "held in the highest veneration, until the end of "time."

Whether it was this toast then offered, or the daily conversation on the same subject, but from that moment, Stryker became very much interested in the matter. Being somewhat patriotic and liberally disposed, with feelings strongly in favor of "old-fashioned Republicanism," which cause he was ready at all times to advance, without seeking rewards or office, he, with Benjamin Romaine, John Jackson, and others, became co-laborers in getting up a grand procession, and in removing the bones of martyrs from the Waalbogt, to a large vault in Jackson-street, which took place on the twenty-sixth of May, 1808, under the direction of the Tammany Society. Stryker then became the custodian of this vault, which to this day contains the thirteen coffins filled with those martyr relics of the Prison-ships.

When the War of 1812 commenced, Stryker was elected Captain of the Brooklyn Republican Rifles, who offered their services, and were accepted; and after performing their term of duty at New Utrecht, Long Island, they returned home with much credit.

Stryker had previously established himself in business, first in the little Brooklyn Market, and afterward in Ferry (now Fulton) street, where he remained until his death, which occurred in the year 1825.

The Liberty-pole being near his place of business, he was induced also to take it in charge; and on all proper occasions the Stars and Stripes were flung to the breeze in a most ceremonious style. While the Liberty-pole existed, the town and village were satisfied, that he should remain its custodian. In the course of time, the old or first Liberty-pole became much decayed, and it was thought dangerous, when Stryker appealed to the Brooklynites to have it replaced with a new one. Many responded very liberally; yet there was a deficiency, or not enough collected to obtain such a one as would be a credit to the Village. There were many residents who belonged to the "Society of Friends," and were opposed to Liberty-poles; and they would not subscribe. However, Stryker thought that all the patriotism had not left the breast of his old "Bos," Thomas Everit, and he appealed to him. Friend Everit at once told him that he was opposed to all Liberty-poles; but, at the same time, he would give ten dollars to assist in taking down the old one. This, indeed, was a new idea, which Stryker afterwards advanced toward some others who held the same views as his old "Bos;" so that, in the end, sufficient means were furnished to save a second subscription from Stryker and the friends of the new Liberty-pole.

We have a few words also to say of DAVID SEAMAN, another prominent man in the profession, as well as a co-laborer in the affairs of Brooklyn.

As early as 1795, when making an application for a Stand in the old Fly-market, Seaman appears to have been highly recommended as an honest, worthy man, by some fifteen of the most distinguished men of that period. In a petition, he states that he "has served a regular apprentice-"ship with John Doughty, Junior, Butcher, who "also endorses him, a practical Butcher, and an "honest man."

With all these vouchers, Seaman appears to have been then unsuccessful; but the next year, he purchased at auction, Stand No. 71 Fly-market, for which he paid two hundred and ninety pounds, and became known as a "Beef Butcher," who slaughtered and sold only the largest animals.

He was a great patron of prize or extraordinary cattle, the first of which we find noticed in the month of April, 1799, as "Two very extraordi-"nary Beaves," with which he graced his stall;

and again, in 1805, he purchased a remarkably large pair of twin cattle, fattened by Hewlet Townsend, of Oyster Bay, which were slaughtered at Brooklyn, from which place he daily brought his meats in large row boats, direct across to the Fly-market.

At an early day, Seaman became much interested in the growth of the town; and being naturally gifted with a quick and active mind, he greatly assisted in the formation of a Fire Department and the establishment of better Ferry accommodations. He was elected a Trustee of the Town for the years 1810, '11, and '12; and he became also one of the Fire Engineers, which office he held several years.

After Seaman moved to the City of New York, he joined its Fire Department; became an Alderman, when that office was held by worthy men; and, afterwards, was sent to the Legislature, where, by his acts of firmness and independence in the discharge of his duties, he was complimented by a series of resolutions passed by a citizen's meeting, held in the Park, on the nineteenth day of May, 1824.

The synopsis of names of the historical period of the City of Brooklyn, presented to you this evening, illustrates the noble traits of character, the honest zeal, the highly moral and Christian attributes of good men and faithful citizens, who, by their distinguished examples largely aided in establishing the dignity of the now prosperous City of Brooklyn.

The people of Brooklyn have reason to be proud of these recorded names; and I am free to observe, that the old Fly-market of New York furnished from the ranks of professional Butchers, more men of worth—the names of but a small portion of whom I have here portrayed, in their relation and connection with old Brooklyn—than has ever been given to any community, by any similar institution in any other part of the civilized world. Why, I may be permitted to ask, why should not the memory of such men live, not only as offering a bright example of the simple honesty of our progenitors, as well as for the purpose of an illustration of the innate zeal, the honesty of purpose, so well established, in the discharge of the public duties and service for which the confidence of their fellow Townsmen selected or elected them?

So important were the position and the duties of the professional Butcher esteemed, in the early and middle periods of our history, that it was held paramount that he should exhibit evidence of good character, sobriety, professional ability, and practical skill; and these had to be certified or endorsed by two or more good men, as a security that he could and would fulfill all the duties of his craft, faithfully, in preparing and selling wholesome, healthy meats. In addition to this, he was compelled to submit to a previous apprenticeship, under the supervision of an honest, reliable, skillful, established master Butcher. With these well-certified credentials he could then, and not till then, receive his diploma or license, to kill and sell in the public markets, such meats as were at all times, fit food for human beings.

But how is it now, amidst the modern science of political "Rings?" How are the affairs of the public managed, by scientific, political favoritism, in connection with public plundering? Now, all the safeguards of the public welfare are absolutely destroyed; and the time-honored principles of honesty and integrity—safeguards which protected the house-keeper in her marketing, and at the same time the character, position, and, as a public benefactor, the usefulness of the professional Butcher—these have been all destroyed by the Market Laws of 1843; and in place of these high toned, intelligent men of integrity and respectability, we find these same Market Laws have engendered and brought forth in almost every nook and corner, of every filthy street, disgracing our cities, a class of men called *Butchers*, many of whom are the exact opposites of the men whose names and incomplete history afford our humble record.

Thanking you for your kind patience and attention to my paper, I now respectfully close.

III.—RELATION OF WHAT BEFEL THE PERSONS WHO ESCAPED FROM THE DISASTERS THAT ATTENDED THE ARMAMENT OF CAPTAIN PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ, ON THE SHORES AND IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE NORTH.—Concluded.

Translated from the XXXVTH Book of the "Historia General y Natural de las Indias," by Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdez.

Chapter VI.

The following day, when Alonzo del Castillo had returned to where his companions, Cabega de Vaca and Andres Dorentes, were awaiting him, they set out to meet the people whom the negro was conducting. These presented what they brought, their bows and arrows, blankets of cowhide, the skins of deer, many gourds, and some beans, all which the Spaniards gave to those bringing them there, who went back contented. With these despoiled, their journey was destined to their houses, five or six leagues distant, by that river, where they planted; but little was got, considering the number of inhabitants, for the extent of soil was limited and very rough. They con-

ducted the Christians up that stream to a group, of four towns. There was little to eat, only beans, pumpkins, and a small quantity of maize. Possessing nothing in which to cook, the natives made gruel in a large gourd. Having kindled a fire, they put in many large, clean pebbles, and pouring water into the calabash, threw in the burning stones, causing the water to boil, then they added the flour of beans, and threw in other stones, until the pottage was done, when they ate it.

Here the Christians were told that there would be no more such food found until the end of thirty or forty days journey northward, whence the Indians brought the maize and beans, and the inhabitants whereof, until coming there, were in a state of destitution: that they ought rather to go northward by that river, nine or ten days in that time, finding nothing to eat, when they should cross the river, and marching toward the sunset the remaining distance, until coming where maize was plenty, which would also be found on the right hand, to the North; and that farther on, though all that country would be downward, towards the coast, as afterwards appeared, and though the way was much longer, the inhabitants were all their friends, speaking one tongue. This people had already presented many blankets of cowhide, among other articles; but which the Christians would gladly have exchanged for the rolls of Utrera, for they received nothing to eat, nor was there anything, except a matter the natives call Massarones, which were very bad, gathered from trees, and not fit for beasts, being eaten after they are ground with stones and then are all woody. The Spaniards lived upon bits of deer fat they carried on their backs. Few people were found on the way, and these stated that the others had gone to eat cattle, three days journey from there, on some plains between the mountains, and came down towards the sea, and they too, were going in that direction.

Thus did the Spaniards march along that river, upward, for fifteen days journey, without resting, because of the great need of food, and thence they went westward for more than twenty days longer to the maize, through a people somewhat in want, but not so like the others, for they eat the powder of weeds, and killed numbers of hare, of which the Christians ever had more than enough. On this travel, they rested at times, as they had been accustomed to do; and having arrived at the first houses, there was maize, which may be more than two hundred leagues from Culuacan, (which was), where Nuno de Guzman was forming a settlement, was a town, and the Indians were peaceful, and there they received much of that grain, and parched flour, beans, and other seed, pumpkins, and the articles that were customary to give. These Indians had some small houses of earth, made with flat roofs of tapia, the greater number were basket-work of palm.

In this manner, they marched more than eighty leagues, and in every two or three days time, they came to towns, resting a day or two at each. From these, many blankets, of cotton were given, which were good, bestowing everything, and among the rest, some turquois; all which, directly as they came to their hands, were again given. So many were the sick, that the attention to them was an affliction and a wearisome burthen; for the population was numerous, and the Christians had to rub and heal all. Those who were omitted believed that they must die, and people came from a circuit of ten and twelve leagues to bring their infirm, and followed on, a thousand or fifteen hundred persons, and at times over three thousand, until coming out in the plain nigh the coast, eight months after entering the mountains, where, until then, they had not issued.

On all the minds of those different people, the Christians imposed and impressed the idea that they should incline to heaven, and thither lift their eyes; and placing the hands together, kneeling when they were in any want, they should commend themselves to the Almighty. And thus they did, believing these men came from heaven, and were rejoiced when things was related to them of that place; but for the want of language it was not in their power to make this known as they would; had it been, from the confidence and love with which they listened and followed the Christians, the few errors and superstitions they possessed, it was the opinion that without doubt, they might have been made good Christians. So great was their sensibility that when these men took their departure, equally those wept who went on with them as those that were left. Some women with child, and others who had lately given birth, with infants in their arms, came to take their leave, giving the babes three or four grains of maize in their hands, that they might present them, believing thereby, if taken, they could never become old or have any ill.

The mountains having been passed as stated, the four Christians, who were the three men, and the negro Esteban, arrived at three small towns together, in which may have been as many as twenty houses, like the others, and close together, not here and there one, as in the peaceful country they afterwards saw. They were visited by people from the coast, twelve or fifteen leagues distant, as they were given to understand by signs, and to this town, or rather these towns, together, the Spaniards gave the name Villa de los Corazones, for there they were given more than six hundred hearts of deer, which had been split and dried. The men among all these people, from the houses where was the first corn, the men go naked, without covering any part of their persons; and

the women very modestly attired with mantles of deer-skin coming to the feet, with the skirt touching the ground somewhat behind, and open before, laced with skin cord. Beneath they wear, where that is open, a shawl of cotton, and over it another, with kerchiefs about the neck, entirely covering the bosom.

Those Indians said that northward, along all that coast of the South, (which can, and ought to be called North) were numerous people, much food, and much cotton; that the houses were large; they possessed many turquois, which were got from them through exchange; but they had no knowledge of any gold, nor had they heard of any ore. The Spaniards concluded from what they were there told, and from what they had seen before entering into the mountains, that the hawkbell and shawls of cotton that were given them, came from above, from that other sea and coast that have been spoken of, stated to be very populous and abundant in provision; and it likewise appeared to them that those little earth houses, and the fashion of the females in going so decently dressed, they took and learned from these; since from there to this place, and onward, were those houses and that dress, the distance of full three hundred leagues between them, and to a river discovered by Nuno de Guzman, and afterward not, the houses being made of palm and of straw, the women with shawls to the waist, and some, more delicate, to the knees.

Passing this town, they went thirty leagues to that river, where they received the welcome, accompanied by the Indians. The rain fell there for fifteen days, about Christmas, so they were obliged to stop. Though many people had come from a great distance, they remained, and never after left them.

There Castillo saw, worn as a jewel about the neck of an Indian, the small buckle of a girdle or band, and a rivet, which he took; the Indian being asked by the Christians what those things meant, he said, that men like them had been there with horses, lances, and swords; then he showed how they lanced and slew the Indians. The comers were recognized at once to be Christians; the three Spaniards and negro, even before their arrival, had, by signs, been told that an Indian was there, come from where were men out of vessels, to whom he would take them; and this was said many times. The natives were alarmed, and were not then understood; but afterwards it appeared, from what the Spaniards in Culuacan said, that the Indian was one of several sick and fatigued men, whom those of Guzman there left behind.

From there, because of this news, the Christians began to move on with keen interest and delight: the natives were never tired of telling them about the Spaniards ahead, as a topic that gave pleasure. The Christians would have controlled their emotions had they been able, dreading that on coming to that frontier, they should be turned upon with ridicule. From the place where the rain fell to where the Spaniards were, was a hundred leagues or more. From the town of Corazones thither the journey lay continually along ten or twelve leagues distance from the coast. In some places food was found, but in others, so great was the scarcity, that the bark of trees was eaten, roots, and any casual vile thing. The inhabitants were become, in consequence, so thin and skinny, it was painful to see them. The famine was stated to be caused by the Christians who had thrice invaded the country, taking away the people and destroying the towns. The timid Indians were so alarmed, they would not leave the protection of the mountains, saving one here and there, covered with a mat, who took no repose, nor dared to plant. Nevertheless, for all these fears, they came out together to receive these few Christians, holding them to be sacred and divine things, men sent from heaven to conduct them. That little mat, customarily borne across the shoulders, and about under each armpit, and which is also the bed, they brought to present; so where the Spaniards looked for the greatest danger, it is remarkable they received the most consideration, and were most honored. In this manner they went to a town about forty leagues from Culuacan, seated upon a steep rock, very high and craggy, for fear of the enemy, where the Christians were welcomed with great pleasure, and many persons were drawn together from all quarters to receive them. The next day, they sent messengers forward to other towns—distant three days journey—that the inhabitants might build houses and ranchos for the Christians, and the people come together to meet them; but the Indians, when they arrived, found no one, for Spaniards were going about making slaves, and then at night they were nigh and looked at them. The next day the messengers ranged about in the neighboring forests, and discovering no Indians, as these had gone far off, they came back and related what they had seen. They were so troubled and agitated they could hardly speak, and the rest were likewise so affected, and in such great fear, that many, taking their leave, went back. Those who remained there, these fortunate Christians told not to be alarmed that the Spaniards whom they dreaded they would make return to their homes, without doing injury, and be their friends. At hearing this, the inhabitants were delighted, and promised to obey: they had not dared to live in their houses, nor plant, and they were dying of hunger. Thus assured, they bore the Christians company, with the other Indians, coming from more than eighty leagues behind, who said they would never leave them.

Thus the Christians went on their way, and when they arrived at the town, no Spaniards were to be seen. They found their ranchos: two days were gone by since they had left. They resolved to go after them, and sent on word that they should wait or return to them. Cabeça de Vaca was at the pains to follow, taking with him the negro and a dozen Indians. The two Christians who remained sent out to seek the people dispersed among the forests, thickets, and bushes. The next day, more than three hundred souls, male and female, arrived, and reported that the following day more would come in, who had sped to a greater distance. Thus others were drawn out, who were scattered, more than four hundred of the absent being brought together, besides those who had come with the Christians.

The Treasurer followed all day until night on the track of the Spaniards; and the next day arrived where they were tarrying, seated on an eminence near a river. They numbered about twenty mounted men. For fifteen days they had not made a slave, nor seen a native, and knew not in what direction to turn. They were affrighted when the Christian came up to them, but far greater was the astonishment when he spoke. Having told them of the many countries through which he had passed, the many languages and people, they thanked God, our Lord, for making known to them this strange and very mysterious providence.

The hidalgos asked proof of the manner of their arrival, the bringing with them those natives peacefully, and the following them of their own free will. Such was given to bear faith and credence: the certificate was sent to Their Majesties. * * * They remained there a day with that people.

As many days had passed since any one had been captured, and the horses having need of food, these wanderers were besought to send for some of the people who, of fear, were concealed about the woods. The messengers were directed, as had been customary along the march, and the next day six hundred persons came in, of both sexes, some of them women with children at the breast, bringing pots of maize, having the mouths closed with clay, and which they had concealed in the forests out of the way of the Spaniards. * * *

We will return to the narrative of these hidalgos, which states that after the people who wandered about had been brought together by their command, they were asked by the Chief of the troop they had come upon, to tell them to occupy their towns, and work their fields as usual, for the Spaniards would do them no harm, nor give offence, their only wish being, when they should come by their residences, they would give them and their beasts subsistence. This they were given to understand, and permission was allowed them to go with promise of security to their houses; but they did not wish to leave, nor be seperated from the Christians, asking if they had not served well, and borne them company as they should have done. At last, Cabeça de Vaca and his companions told them to go in peace, as they were going where the master of the Christians was, whom they should ask that the Indians should not be persecuted nor annoyed. So the Indians departed in peace, and the Christians set out with three mounted men who accompanied them to the town of Culuacan, built by Nuno de Gazman, on the western coast of the South Sea, full thirty-five leagues distant. The Captain, with the squad of men, went off towards the mountains to make slaves.

These Christians having arrived in safety, within eight leagues of the city, in an inhabited valley, the chief Alcalde of the place, Melchoir Diaz, came out and received them kindly, giving thanks to God for the marvelous deeds he had worked through them. As there were many towns near, the people of which had not gone off to the mountains, the Christians sent two or three Indians lately made slaves, with a sign, with which to call together all the people who had left their dwellings, bidding them come in security, that they should receive no injury. The messengers went with that sign, a calabash, of which each Christian had been accustomed to carry one in his hand, and was gone five or six days, returning at the close with three lords, or principal Caciques, and fifteen or sixteen Indians. These brought with them beads, turquois, and very elegant feather-work, which they presented to the wandering Christians, before the chief Alcalde. Melchoir Diaz caused them to be addressed, giving them to understand that these Christians came from the sky, and had traveled through many parts, teaching the inhabitants that they should look to heaven, where was the creator of all things, who gave glory to the good, that after death, those who had not well loved him, or believed in and served him, as their only Almighty God, he would give to the punishment of eternal fire. Those few Christians had come there to tell others that they should do no harm, nor offend, nor kill Indians, who must settle in their towns, believe in God, and erect churches, in which he might be served, putting up crosses in the towns which they also should bear, so that when any Spaniards should pass through their country, they should come out to them with a cross, before which all would bow, and none would offer injury, and thus all would be held to be brothers. They understood the speech well, said they would comply, and departed. Then they began to come down from the ridges, to inhabit, building churches, and raising crosses, as they were commanded. * * *

These hidalgos, in giving relation of what this

history had recounted, have written that throughout all the country over which they traveled, they witnessed neither idolatry nor human sacrifices, nor was there any knowledge of such things, as far as Compostella, a town built and populated by the Governor, Nuno de Guzman.

IV.—JOSEPH BOWKER.

READ BY HENRY HALL, ESQ. BEFORE THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT WINDSOR, JULY 1ST AND 2D, 1863.

If we consult our published histories for a knowledge of the leading actors in the drama of Vermont's colonial and revolutionary struggles, we shall find none whose appearance is so weird and spectre-like, as that of the Honorable Joseph Bowker of Rutland. He glides before our vision, the incumbent of the most important official stations; he vanishes—and we seek in vain for the faintest vestige of his antecedents or subsequent destiny.

It seems as if he were like the mystic Melchisedec, without father, without mother, without genealogy; and like the divinely buried Moses, no mortal could tell the place of his burial.

Appleton's *New American Cyclopedia* contains ample columns, descriptive of obscure Indian agents, worthless military officers, and insignificant politicians, but it does not even name him, who in a modified sense, was the John Hancock of Vermont.

As Bowker died seventy-nine years ago; as his only surviving heirs were two married daughters, whose descendants are said to be in the far West; as his official files in the County-clerk's office were probably burnt half a century since, with a mass of other papers, as useless lumber, there remains only brief documentary and oral evidence, from which to gather a few scanty facts, that, woven into far too beggarly a wreath, are brought as a votive offering on the altar of that American historic muse, who has, in our sister States, swept through fame's marble halls, with her garments all trailed in light, albeit, in our humble State, she has worn rather the lowly guise of crusading pilgrim, with palmer's staff, cockle shell, and sandal shoon.

An intelligent lady contemporary told me that Bowker was early left an orphan—brought up in the family of a Mr. Taintor, a prosperous farmer, —privately betrothed to his daughter Sarah, drafted into the army during the French war, in the garrison at Ticonderoga one or two years,—and returned with so good a reputation that he soon became the son-in-law of his quasi guardian.

The time and place of his birth are as yet unknown. According to one who came to Rutland three years after Bowker's death—the late Honorable James D. Butler: no mean authority on any subject of which he ever spoke—Bowker came from Sudbury, Massachusetts, or near there; a section of country that has abounded in Bowkers and Taintors for nearly two centuries.

In October, 1773, we find Bowker in Rutland, with the title of Captain (military titles *then* were not prejudicial to one's reputation for capacity or integrity;) Moderator of a Proprietors' Meeting; one of the Committee to find the center of the town; Chairman of the Committee to inspect Proprietors' titles; &c., and, with his wife, becoming a member of the Congregational Church, then and there established.

He soon appears a general office-holder, for Town, County, and State; one of the Committee of Safety; a magistrate very generally sought, for the execution of conveyances, for the adjudication of legal rights, and for the trial of Tories; Town Treasurer; Selectman; Town Representative; member of the Governor's Council; on all Committees —financial, political, ecclesiastical or legislative;—member of the Board of War; Commissioner for the sequestration of Tories' estates; Judge of the Probate and County Courts; and Chief-judge of a special Court, appointed by the first Legislature.

About 1780, Bowker, Claghorn, Henry Strong, and John Smith built a saw mill about eighty rods from the main North and South road, on Handpole, Moon's, or Tuttle's Brook. A portion of his farm abounds in clay; and an inventory of his estate shows a note of three pounds, against John Forbes, for three thousand brick. Thus he seems ubiquitous, everywhere present, in all the political, legal, religious and business operations of society, sympathizing with and participating in all the efforts of the infant Colony, for defence, organization, and improvement.

The nature of some of his miscellaneous services for the public, will appear by extracting a few items from his account, viz;

"STATE OF VERMONT,

"To JOSEPH BOWKER. DR.

"Nov., 1777, to attending vendue "one day,	6s
"July, 1778, to attending vendue "one day,	4s
"To writing three leases,	3s
"To one day in leasing Rockwell's "lot,	2s
"To cash paid Gideon Cooley for "boarding and transporting the fami- "lies of Perry and Shorey to the lake,	£2 6s
"Sept., 1778, to cash paid to Daniel "Washburn for boarding the family of "Robert Perry 5 weeks,	£2 0s
"To journey of myself and horse to "Tinmouth and attending the trial of "John McNeal,	9s

"Jan., 1780, to journey to Manches-
"ter of myself and horse, 38 miles, 13s 4d
"To 8 days service in drawing a lot-
"tery, at 7s per day, £2 9s
"To two dollars paid to widow Wel-
"ler, for house room and fire wood, 12s
"To 6 bush, Indian corn for use of
"the State, 18s
"To journey to Sunderland to at-
"tend the Council, 42 miles, 13s
"To one day's services, 7s
"To one day of myself and horse to
"Castleton, 9s
"To 1 day weighing bread and for-
"ward provisions, 4s
"To 1 day of man and horse to trans-
"port provisions to Pittsford, 9s
"To cash paid Nathan Pratt for
"transporting tory women to the
"Lake, £22 0s 2d
"April, 1780, to paper to Captain
"Parmlee Allen, £5 3s 2d."

On the twentieth of October, 1779, he received from the State Treasurer, eight pounds and eight shillings, for "examining accounts of a committee "to build a Fort at Pittsford;" and on the twenty-second of February, 1781, six shillings "for "examining a muster roll."

The following are significant:

I.

"Clarendon, Jan. 21 1778.

"Received of Joseph Smith, Commissioner of "Sequestration, four pounds, one shilling and "five pence, L. M., for my time setting with "the Committee to try tories.

"Joseph Bowker."

II.

"In Council, 25th Nov., 1777.

"Capt. Bowker.

"Sir: The confusion and multiplicity of business "occasioned by the unhappy war in the northern "department since the appointment of this Coun-"cil, has prevented their being able to get the "Constitution printed, which obliges us, this "Council, to desire you to call together the old "Convention, to meet at Windsor, on Wednesday, "the 24th of December next, which you will not "fail to do.

"I am, Sir,
"By order of Council,
"Your most ob servant,
"Thomas Chittenden, President."

III.

"In Council Bennington, }
"Feb. 17, 1778. }

"To Capt. Joseph Bowker,

"Sir: Whereas, complaint is made to this Coun-"cil, by Deacon John Burnap, that Moses Olmsted, "and ——— Owen of Pittsford, did, in De-"cember last, take from him about twelve hun-"dred weight of iron, which is detained from "him: he therefore desires this Council that they "would direct him in what manner he may ob-"tain his property again. Therefore, this Coun-"cil recommend to call together the members "of the several Committees in Rutland and the "neighboring towns to the number of five, to "judge and determine the case pending between "the above parties, according to justice and "equity.

"By order of Council,
"Thomas Chittenden, President,"

If the remuneration for the above named services seem paltry, we must remember the penury of the people, the exhaustive effects of the war, the scarcity of money—there being then only one bank in the nation and but little specie; State orders and individual notes being the chief circulating medium; also a custom prevalent among the public men of those days, as among the early invalid visitors to Clarendon Springs, namely, that of carrying their provisions in their portmanteaus and trunks, and therewith boarding themselves. Perhaps, also, the patriots of the Revolution hungered and thirsted after the public treasurer with less greed than the army contractors, *et id omne genus*, do now.

But the positions, in which Bowker is the best, or only known, to the general public, are that of President of those Conventions that asserted the State's independence and framed the first Constitution, and that of Speaker of the House of Representatives. Was it any honor to preside over such assemblages? What was the character of their members? We need not be told that the early settlers of Vermont were not Chevalier Bayards nor Sir Philip Sidneys in scholarly and courtier-like accomplishments. Chiefly tillers of the soil, only a very few among them possessed either wealth or professional culture. The Supreme Court had dispensed Law to the State almost a decade of years before the election of Nathaniel Chipman as Judge, the first lawyer ever on that bench. Yet, were not the people, generally, thoroughly educated as to their legal and political rights? Gage, the last British Governor of Massachusetts, wrote to the Home Government that every subject in his Province was a lawyer or a smatterer of Law. Edmund Burke, on the twenty-second of March, 1775, told the British House of Commons that the fierce spirit of liberty was stronger, and the supply of Law more general in America, than in any other country in the world; that he was informed by the bookseller that, after tracts of popular devotion, Law books were most eagerly sought for by the

Americans; and that about as many copies of Blackstone's *Commentaries* on the English Laws were sold in these Colonies, with a population of two and a half millions, as in England with seven and a half millions of people.

If the four Colonies of New England were settled by some of the best blood of Old England, was not Vermont settled by some of the keenest intellects and strongest reasoners, as well as by the bravest soldiers, the best shots, and the best farmers of the seaboard Colonies?

Summon before you in dense array from memory's archives, the soldiers, statesmen, politicians, Governors, Judges and Executive officers, generally, that adorned Vermont's earlier history, and say, was it a slight compliment to be always called upon to preside over the solemn councils of such heroes? Why did not some of his talented and ambitious compeers at least once, achieve that honor? Does not his invariable election as presiding officer, bespeak him pre-eminently familiar with parliamentary usages, self possessed, courteous, impartial and quick of apprehension?

Let us turn our attention to his pursuits and tastes. In 1774 he bought one hundred and fifty acres of land and sold fifty acres. This was his only trading in Rutland lands; and thus, during the last ten years of his life, he owned and occupied one hundred acres of land. In his deed, he modestly styles himself a yoeman, while some of his brother farmers, in their deeds, call themselves gentlemen; yet at his death only thirty acres of land were improved—his official duties perhaps occupied more of his time than his farming.

When we see that the Treasurer of the State, on the twelfth of February, 1779, paid him twenty-four pounds bounty, for killing three wolves, we might infer him to have been somewhat of a Nimrod; but this is at least partially negatived by turning to the inventory of his estate, where we find neither gun, pistol, nor sword.

He was such a general business man that we should naturally conclude he must have had library enough to post himself in all political, legal, financial and ecclesiastical affairs; yet we have no evidence that he died the possessor of a single volume.

There is oral, but no recorded, evidence that he was an officer of the Church; and he died as a Christian might wish to die—in the midst of a religious revival.

He built his house of plank when about all the the other houses in town were of log, and added thereto a leanto or semi-veranda; yet his residence could scarcely have been palatial, for it was appraised at only forty pounds, just the appraisal of the saw-mill of which he owned one-quarter, while his barn was valued at twenty-eight pounds.

His style of housekeeping could not have been very aristocratic, for all his household furniture was worth only about fifty dollars.

Admire the selection of his home in this wilderness. His farm, lying on the East side of Main-street road, extended one hundred rods South, from about Green-street, to and including a part of Handpole Brook; and a half mile East of said road, he located his dwelling, fronting towards the South, about half way down this noble slope of a pleasant hill (although now undervalued and desecrated by unfit tenements;) and there, during the last ten years of his life—ten years of highly useful and honorable exertion—with the mountain majesty of Killington on the East; Otter Creek on the West; and the deep forests everywhere, he saw a State rise out of political chaos; peace between the United States and Great Britain; courts and churches duly organized; and the foundations laid for a framed Court-house and Church, in the town which had most honored him, and had been most honored by him.

Prominent as Bowker was, why was he not, like his townsmen, Sylvanus Brown, John Smith, and Peleg Sunderland, denounced, out-lawed, and a price offered for his head by the Government of New York? As he was a modest, unassuming man, of few words, probably his tastes did not incline him to engage in those acts of forcible resistance to the belligerent and official Yorkers, then deemed such efficacious and medicinal remedies against oppression.

We know also that he was no land speculator; bought no land in Rutland, until 1774; and died seized of no real estate but his home farm, if we omit one right of land in Starksboro, and another in Medway or Mendon.

Bowker died between the tenth of April and the second of September, 1784.—There was no burial ground in Rutland then, except the one at Center Rutland; and some where in that public acre his remains were buried. The Reverend Jacob Wood, a revivalist, attended his funeral. The funeral procession had nearly completed its walk of two miles, when Mr. Wood suddenly leaped upon a stump, and turning towards the mourners and their friends, cried, "Hark! at the "day of Judgment it will be an honor to be a "Christain;" then jumped down, and silently walked with the rest towards the grave yard.

We regret that the grave of Vermont's great Jurist, Nathaniel Chipman, is unhonored by any monument, obelisk, tablet or slab, yet that disgrace *can* be removed; but our regret is sadder, because unavailing, when we consider that the grave of the President of those Conventions that gave Vermont her political existance and form, is not only unhonored but literally unknown.

Notwithstanding the numerous and responsible offices held by Bowker, he died as almost honorably poor as Aristides—his whole estate being ap-

praised at about one thousand, seven hundred and fifty dollars, a very moderate competence, even in those frugal days. But whatever else he left, or failed to leave, the fragrance of a good name emblems his memory; tradition breathes not the slightest mist upon his fair fame.

Mrs. Mercy Smith, a member of the first family settled in town, declared him to be "one of the "finest of men, and religious."

William McConnell, a neighbor, asserted that "he was the only man around here that knew "any thing—Justice, Judge, Representative, Dea- "con, etc."

The late Henry Strong, another neighbor, said, "Joseph Bowker was one of the Committee of "Safety; he was greatly looked up to for coun- "sel, much esteemed for his great and excellent "qualities, for many years the most considerable "public man in town, and during the troubles of "of the war and the negotiations with Canada, he "was always resorted to, solely for counsel and "advice."

The Reverend Doctor Heman Ball, who came to Rutland about twelve years after Bowker's death, leaves on record this casual testimony: "Judge Bowker, who was often mentioned to "me in language of much respect."

Who does not wish that photography had been invented by Adam, and never since a lost art, that we, degenerate moderns, might gaze upon the features of the mighty dead of all ages? If we imagine Bowker standing before us, about five feet and seven inches in height, stoutly built, dressed in his favorite suit of blue,—blue coat, blue overcoat, blue vest, blue breeches, sometimes varied with cotton and linen breeches,—long stockings, silver buttons, silver stock buckle, silver bosom broach, silver knee buckles, and silver shoe buckles, we shall perhaps have the best likeness now attainable of "this fine old "New England gentleman, all of the olden "school."

V.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—Continued.

82.—General Morgan to Governor Harrison.*

Winchester 29th Feb 1784

Sir

When I was at Richmond last fall I spoke to your Excellency respecting a Saddle &c furnished me by Saml Beal—You were kind enough to tell me it should be paid on the arrival of Capt Young, on which I request Mr Holmes a young gentleman to apply to Capt Young for the money and if he could not get it from him, to apply to your Excellency——Mr Beall writes me he is not paid and pushes me for the money which I have not to pay him or I would withal my heart, as Mr Beall advanced every shilling of it, and has lay out of it a long time.

I beg sir youl interest yourself so far in this matter that Mr. Beall will get his money which I shall esteem a favour done me as well as pure justice done Mr. Beall

I have the Honor to be
Your obedt Hble Servt
Danl Morgan

[*Addressed.*]
His Excellency
Benjn Harrison
Governor of Virga

83.—Major Benjamin Tallmadge to Colonel Aaron Stockholm.*

Col. Stockholm.

Washington City, Jany 1 1803,

Sir,

Before I left home I wrote to you on the subject of Highlander; the English Mares, & Colts, to which I have rec no answer. Perhaps the Letter miscarried. Since that time I have sold & sent off Harlots' two colts, & if I had known your mind on the subject, would have endeavoured to have sold Rachels' also.

I shall be very glad to learn from you whether you suppose Highlander would do well in your Quarter, & on what terms you would take him the ensuing season. I wish to know whether Fair Rachel is in foal, & what is the prospect respecting her two colts. A line from you will oblige

Your most Obedt Servt
Benjn Tallmadge.

[*Addressed.*]

Free,
B. Tallmadge.

Col. Aaron Stockholm,
Hopewell, near
Fishkill,
State of N. York.

84.—Samuel Mather to his Son.†

Boston, May 8th 1760

Samuel, My Son, My Dear Son,

Yesterday I sent you a small chain of letters by your Brother Thomas. When he shall arrive, I

* From the collection of John F. McCoy, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y.

* From the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

† From the collection of George Brinley, Esq., Hartford Conn.

think you will do well to carry it in the most tender and obliging manner towards Each other for this will be Your mutual honour and Comfort,

Thro' the great goodness of God towards us, our Family is all well. Your Aunt Welsteed who had been ill for a long time when I wrote unto you last now seems to be on the mending hand. Your Cousin *Nabby Prout*, who has bro't forth a little boy called *John* after her Father is now sitting up for visitors.

May 10th, Mortality still takes its Course among the Younger as well as the Elder. Yesterday in the Forenoon died *Mrs. Betsy Jarvis* the Colonels' agreable daughter. It is said she was to be married in the Fall to Young *Dumaresque* who is with the Colonel her Father. But she fell into a Consumption which in about three months carried her off. Your Mama and I are invited to attend the funeral of this faded flower.

May 13, There was a very large meeting to House Representatives; and as Messieurs *Ting* and *Prat* had voted for the going of the Province Ship to fetch the Money in England and carry the Governeur home, the Towne were so disgusted at them as to drop them, and by a very great majority chose Parson *Wells* and Deacon *Philips* in their Room.

May 16th. Yesterday the Governeur held a Council; when he informed them that he should not tarry here until the Election. And as our new Governour's (Govr Bernard's) commission is not yet come, it seems probable that the North End will be favoured with the great Show at Election. * * * *

Your most loving Parent
S. Mather.

To Mr. Samuel Mather
Commissary at Fort Edward.

85.—Major-general Jacob Brown to Governor Daniel D. Tompkins.*

Brownville Janry: 1 1815.

Sir

I have the satisfaction to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellencies Letter of the 25th Ultimo. inclosing the Resolutions of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New-York approving my conduct and that of the Officers and Soldiers of the gallant Army of Niagara—Every Officer and very man entitled to particepate in the honor considered will hold in great estimation the approbation of the Representatives of this enlightened and highminded State.

I do not know how to express my sense of the obligation I feel under to your Excellency for the very favourable manner in which you have been pleased to notice my conduct. As I am proud of the approbation of those I esteem, so I shall always hold in high estimation the good opinion of your Excellency, and I will endeavour so to demean myself as to merit the continuance of your regard.

I pray you Sir, to accept the assurance of the very great respect and consideration with which I have the honor to remain your Excellencies

Most obedt humbl Servt
Jacob Brown.

His Excellency
Daniel D. Tompkins

* From the original belonging to the Editor.

86.—Robert Morris to Baron Steuben.*

Phila Jany 29th 1785.

Sir,

Before Colo Humphreys departed for Europe I took with him the arrangements for procuring The Swords & Medals which had been ordered by Congress for various deserving Officers who by their Conduct had drawn the particular attention of their Sovereign, and as I gave a Credit on the Public Banker to defray the Cost, it may be expected that the Colo will not delay the Execution of a business which must prove agreable to many of his Friends & acquaintance. I wish you may soon have the pleasure of receiving a Sword to your liking, & remain very Sincerely Dr Sir

Your obedient hble Servt
Robt Morris.

The Honble
Major Genl Baron Steuben
at or near
New York.

87.—James Buchanan to F. Byrdsall.†

Wheatland, near Lancaster,
4 November 1852

My dear Sir

Absence from home on political excursions has alone prevented me from sooner acknowledgeing your favour of 21 ultimo. And first, I desire to extend to Mr Clover & yourself a cordial invitation to pay me a visit such as you propose—You shall have a most hearty welcome—I shall be necessarily absent during the whole of the next week; but after that I expect to be at home for Several weeks. Still you had better drop me a line two or three days before you start so as to render it certain that we shall meet—

What a Waterloo defeat the Whigs have sustained! Laus Deo! And thus ends the race of

* From the original in the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

† From the collection of John F. McCoy, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y.

Presidential candidates from the regular army : "A consummation devoutly to be wished". Whether our success will put down the Slavery agitation is a question, I fear still in doubt. The Whigs may re-appear in the Northern States as regular free Soilers : this would be a worse aspect than they have heretofore assumed—

from your friend
very respectfully
JAMES BUCHANAN

Mr. F. BYRDSALL

VI.—THE BATTLE OF COW-PENS.

COMMUNICATED BY PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL, OF DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

[The following traditionary account of that battle was prepared by a gentleman who has often heard the facts given stated by those who had been eye-witnesses and actors in what they described. The account, as we have given it, is almost entirely in the words of the person above mentioned, who collected and arranged what he had heard reported among his friends and acquaintances, concerning that battle, which in its issue, gave a favorable turn to the American cause. And permit me to say that to the same gentleman, the public have been indebted for many facts of interest, before communicated. And if all those, who belong, in like manner, to the past, rather than to the present generation, would record what they knew on such matters, either personally or by tradition, they would deserve well of the present and of future generations. The writer does not profess to give a full account of the battle, but probably some things will be found in it, that the common histories do not contain. It will be remembered that General Cornwallis was at Winnsboro', just before this action; General Greene at Cheraw, seventy miles North-east; and General Morgan some fifty miles North-west of Cornwallis, who marched up between the Catawba and Broad Rivers, to cut him off.]

At your request, I will now proceed to give you all the intelligence within my knowledge, relating to the battle of the Cow-pens. I am not able to inform you where Morgan was, immediately preceding the battle, but he was near enough to the British Head-quarters to draw the attention of the British officers. Colonel Tarleton requested Lord Cornwallis to place one thousand of the Infantry regulars at his command, [he had two field pieces, and in all, about one thousand, one hundred men] and he would, in three days, bring in General Morgan and army, prisoners of war. His request was granted, and the necessary preparations made. Colonel Tarleton, on taking leave, desired his lordship to put off dinner the third day till three o'clock, and General Morgan should be his guest at table : thus he left the camp. General Morgan got notice of the march of Tarleton and of the force under his command, and thought himself in danger of being attacked by a superior force. He commenced a retreat as fast as circumstances would admit, at the same time sending an express to General Greene's Head-quarters for Lee's body of horsemen, intending when joined by that to give battle.

The express reached a body of militia in some part of Mecklenburg, himself and horse both exhausted. The officer of the day asked for a mounted volunteer to ride express to Head-quarters. Daniel Lewis, from Iredell, offered his services, was accepted, and soon on the road at half speed.

Mr. Lewis says as he passed on, every countenance was cast down ; and the people were filled with gloomy fears and doubts for the safety of Morgan. But as he returned, all was joy and gladness: the battle was fought and the victory gained the very day he arrived at the camp of Greene.

Morgan continued his retreat, but finding that he had no alternative but to burn all his heavy baggage and fly to the mountains, or give battle with the force he had, as he thought himself pursued more like a criminal or an object of sport than a generous-hearted soldier retreating before a superior force, he became somewhat ruffled with his enemy, and preferred to give battle though at such odds ; the British being to his men, as five to four, and the cavalry as three to one ; and besides, two-thirds of Morgan's men were raw militia.

On arriving at the Cow-pens, the evening before the battle, he called a Council of War. And for the purpose of learning the sentiments of his army, so far as possible, he summoned all the commissioned officers to attend. When the Council met, he opened the deliberations by stating the circumstances in which they were placed ; and then enquired if they would burn their hard-earned bacon and flour and fly across the mountains, or would stand by and defend it. Colonel Washington replied, "No burning, no flying : but face "about and give battle to the enemy, and acquit "ourselves like men in defence of their baggage, "their lives, and the interests of the Country."

This sentiment prevailed in the Council generally : but little time was spent in deliberating; all returned to their respective duties. General Morgan gave orders to his soldiers to examine their arms, ammunition, etc., and to have every thing in the best order they could for action, while he proceeded with the field officers to view the ground they intended to occupy ; in the mean time he sent a small party of mounted infantry to spy out the situation of the enemy. After every thing was done that could be arranged that evening he retired to rest. After a short nap of refreshing sleep, he rose some hours before day and made further arrangements for action, He spared no pains to inspire his men with true courage which alone would secure them the victory.

In arranging the line of battle, he placed his experienced riflemen (in whom he had great confidence from services rendered on former occasions) in the most favorable situation for their fire to have full effect. It would appear from

what followed that Colonel Washington, as well as he, was of the opinion that their courage was all that could save them from destruction. Intending to fight in close order, sword in hand, he gave orders that no pistol was to be fired that day. While the officers were employed in forming the line, the scouts sent out the evening before returned about the dawn of day, with intelligence that the enemy was within a short distance of the camp and rapidly advancing. The American line already formed, waited with firmness the approach of the enemy, which soon appeared in sight; and a little after, the firing commenced. This was done by the North Carolina Militia; but a part of them having arrived only the evening before and never been in action till now, they were soon thrown into confusion, and retreated in disorder. The other North Carolina and the Virginia troops kept their position and continued firing.

When the battle became more general, the regulars commenced firing, and Morgan's trained riflemen followed; and, to use the words of an eye witness, "it seemed to me that every ball had "effect." This unexpected reception stopped the onward course of the whole British army. The eagle eye of Colonel Washington observed this check in their motion; and he seized it as the most favorable moment to make a desperate charge by which he threw Tarleton's cavalry into confusion. In the mean time, Morgan discovered that the Militia that retreated at the first fire in disorder were now forming in the rear; and he rode up to them, and with a cheerful countenance called out, "Form my brave boys! Form! one "round more and the day is yours." The party was soon formed, and immediately returned to the battle and commenced its fire again and performed considerable service. The whole army was now brought to bear on the enemy with a constant and well directed fire, The embarrassment common among soldiers at the beginning of an action, and particularly raw militia, had now passed off. Many riflemen among the militia, as well as Morgan's body of riflemen, could throw a rifle-ball within a hand's breadth of where they intended.

The army had now taken its stand, and was determined on victory or death. Its well-directed fire caused the enemy to fall at a fearful rate. When Colonel Washington formed for a second charge, Colonel Tarleton became alarmed for his personal safety; and fearing that his retreat would be cut off, he fled, followed by a few of his horsemen. Colonel Washington, thinking it a favorable time to free the country from their fears of the bloody Tarleton, and that he was a fit object for a full display of his courage, pursued him, regardless of his own life or the danger he was in. He outrode all his men and came up with Tarleton and two dragoons at his side; and attacking him, he struck with his whole strength at his head: the blow, however, fell short and cut off his cue. Making another thrust, he wounded two of Tarleton's fingers, by his sword passing through the guard of Tarleton's.

One of the dragoons now, with his drawn sword, being about to give him the fatal blow, was shot down by one of Washington's men, who rode up at that moment and broke the order of the morning by shooting down the dragoon with his pistol. This gave Tarleton the start; and Washington seeing that the object of his pursuit was out of his reach, returned. The fortune of the day did not long hang doubtful. Tarleton and some of the Cavalry having fled, the remainder dispersed in confusion. Washington had cut off a retreat; and the infantry falling at a most fearful rate, the British gave up all hopes of victory. Some sought safety in flight, and were shot down in the attempt to escape. Some concealed themselves among the bushes and were made prisoners after the battle was over. But the principal part of them laid down their arms and surrendered as prisoners of war. The firing ceased, and was followed by the shout of victory. The whole American army, at the highest pitch of their voices shouted; "Huzza! Huzza! Huzza for brave "America!

Thus was fought and ended the battle of the Cowpens. The whole British army, with the exception of a few horsemen who fled with Tarleton, was killed or taken prisoners. The number of killed was never officially known. The tradition, ever since the time, has been that there were over six hundred killed: and we once heard it affirmed by a man of undisputed character, John Andrew, who was present in the action, that there were about as many prisoners.

Colonel Tarleton not only failed to have his guest at dinner but failed to be present himself at the appointed time. This caused Cornwallis much uneasiness; having a view of the road for a long distance, he kept a close watch for him. At length, he saw him coming in sight with a small party of six or eight horsemen; and after a little, another, and then a third party, riding very fast and disorderly. He then became enraged and turned from the sight, exclaiming "I'll ven- "ture my life Tarleton has let that old wagoner "defeat him." Much mortified he prepared to pursue, and revenge on Morgan so signal a disgrace to the British arms and recover the prisoners, but he did not succeed.

This defeat caused Colonel Tarleton more unpleasant feelings than anything else during the whole of the Revolution.

The following anecdote is often told of him: Being one evening at a tea-party with some South Carolina ladies, who were better Whigs than their

husbands, the conversation being about Colonel Washington, they spoke very highly of him. At this Tarleton was offended, and expressed his surprise that the American people thought so much of Colonel Washington who was an ignorant man, and could scarcely write his own name. A lady replied: "That may be the case, but no man "can better testify that he knows how to make his "mark, than yourself": alluding to the loss of his fingers. Either at this or at another time, he expressed a desire to see Colonel Washington, when one of the ladies coolly replied that if he had looked behind him after the battle of the Cow-pens he could have had that pleasure.

General Morgan was a youth of the laboring class, and followed driving a wagon till he entered the army in Braddock's campaign as a private soldier: during his service here, for some misdemeanor, he was sentenced by a Court-martial to receive five hundred lashes.

At the end of that war, he returned to his former business of driving a wagon, till called into the army of the Revolution, as an officer; and was in most of the important battles that preceded the taking of General Burgoyne. His great worth as a soldier was the cause of his rising to the rank of General; and in the Northern campaign, he was connected with a regiment of Riflemen, regulars, who were always distinguished for their coolness in danger and close shooting. On this regiment he very much depended for success at the battle of the Cow-pens.

During his retreat after that battle, he would often joke with his captive officers; and among other things would allude to the sentence passed on him in Braddock's war, telling them the King owed him one stripe, as the drummer who counted made a mistake, and he only got four hundred and ninty-nine lashes instead of five hundred. In speaking among his friends, afterwards, of his military life, he remarked that some said General Morgan was never afraid; but that he had been often filled with fear. Some said that General Morgan never prayed, but that he often did, and referred to the morning of this Battle when he prayed most earnestly.

The following is a portion of a song that was often sung in the country here, after the battle:

"Our brave General Morgan rose before it was day;
"And placed all his men in battle array,
"His scouts they returned before it was light,
"With tidings that Tarleton was almost in sight.

"Our riflemen shot down the British so fast,
"They put them to confusion and caused them at last,
"To throw down their muskets and set off to run,
"And curse the contrivance of *the twisted gun.*

"Six hundred and thirty, the number there slain,
"Besides what were taken captive on the plain;
"You'd laugh to see red coats trying to hide
"Behind bushes and tree, no matter which side."

We may add a few things here on this subject. It is known that though we cannot boast of battle fields, yet the armies of Greene, of Morgan, and of Cornwallis hasted through Iredell. The masterly address of Morgan, *flying from his victory* at the Cow-pens, with his body of five hundred Highland prisoners, is justly celebrated.

At that time, there was living in the vicinity of the battle ground, in Rutherford County, a man by the name of David Miller, a relative of the Morrison family in Iredell. Before removing to this country, he had been acquainted with Tarleton, who hearing of him, came to his home just before the battle, and urged him to join the Royal Standard. This he decidedly refused to do. But Tarleton took him along with him to the camp; and though he took no part in the engagement, he was with the rest taken prisoner. This may be considered as providentially favorable to Morgan; for Miller was an intelligent man, and well acquainted with the country through which he must pass to cross the Catawba, with his prisoners. Accordingly, Miller accompanied the victorious army through Rutherford and Lincoln, where the people were mostly inimical to the cause of Liberty, until they came into a more friendly region, in Iredell, at Morrison's Mill, about five miles above Statesville. There has been some dispute about the ford at which they crossed the Catawba. But it is obvious that Morgan would cross as high up as possible to avoid Cornwallis who was marching up on that side to intercept him. He would want to get into a more friendly region as soon as possible, for forage and provisions.

Some histories imply that he crossed at the same place where the British afterwards crossed; some asserted that he crossed at Sherrill's Ford. And it is certain that they were encamped there some two or three days on the East side; and General Morgan had his quarters at the house of widow Olyphant. The night they encamped there, twelve wounded men were taken to a house in the vicinity (Palls') where one died and was buried that night. And when the encampment broke up, they passed there on their way to Salisbury, the same morning that the British forced a passage below.

General Greene, who came across the country from Cheraw, with a small detachment of his army, met Morgan at this Camp, and threw himself between the prisoner and the army of Cornwallis. But either the whole army, or a detachment with the prisoners, crossed at the Island Ford. This is the general tradition in this part of the country. Some say they arrived at the Ford late in the evening, and crossed the West branch of the River that night, which they spent on the Island. They passed the house of a widow McKay, near Sterling church, in Iredell, who had come from Scotland in 1772, and who recognized

among the prisoners some of her old neighbors. These prisoners endeavored to retard the march of Morgan, and were very refractory, in order to give the British time to come and overtake, and retake them. But Morgan made short work with them and forced them forward with the point of the bayonet. There was an old man recently living who has not lost yet all his feeling on the subject, that remarked about a year ago that "they drove the prisoners like brute beasts."

They arrived at Morrison's Mill, so often mentioned, not exceeding eight or ten miles from the Ford, to dinner. Some of Colonel Washington's Light-horse were from that vicinity—Judge Edward Harris was one; many of the Militia, too were from this region. From there, it is supposed, they crossed Third creek at the "Hickory Bridge," and so on to the place of encampment, where General Greene came to Morgan's aid.

It is not, perhaps, generally known that when General Davidson fell at Cowans Ford,* Dr. James Hall was present and endeavored to rally the militia again and stand their ground, but in vain. Major Thomas Morrison, of Iredell, then a Captain, said that at the time General Davidson fell, he was marching up the River with his men; and fearing that the British would cross, and flank, and enclose him between them and the River, contrary to orders, he took the responsibility of diverging from the River. General Davidson met him, and approved of his conduct, and galloped off, towards the River, saying that he would return in a few moments, but before he was out of sight, fell dead from his horse.

So Major Morrison was the last person General Davidson spoke to before he fell.

The history of those two field pieces taken by Morgan at the Cow-pens is a little singular. They were taken from Burgoyne, at Saratoga; retaken by the British, at Gates' defeat at Camden, now, they came into the posession of the Americans and were used by them in the Battle at Guilford Court-house, where the British took them; then the Americans retook them; but in a little time, lost them again; and they remained with the British at its close.

The following anecdote may be worth preserving to show the enthusiasm that prevailed at that time in the cause of Independence, even among children. As the British passed on through Salisbury, after Greene, the officers were entertained at the house of Doctor Anthony Newnan. Here, in the presence of Tarleton and the company, two of Doctor N's. little sons were playing on the floor, the game of the Battle of Cow-pens, with grains of corn, having kernels of different color or size for the officers on the respective sides, and especially Washington and Tarleton. When one pursued and drove the other as in the real battle, the little fellows shouted "Hurra for Washington! "Tarleton runs, Hurra for Washington." The British Colonel looked on for a while; but at length becoming irritated, he exclaimed, "See "those cursed little rebels!"

* The General Davidson who fell at Cowan's Ford, on the Catawba, in 1781, is the one after whom Davidson College is named. The Sword worn by him on that occasion was presented to the Board of Trustees, last July, (1866) and they directed a suitable inscription to be engraved upon it.

E. F. R.

VII.—FIRST SIGNALS USED BY THE AMERICAN FLEET.

St. George's Ensign; Rattlesnake Standard; Etc.

By Captain George Henry Preble, U.S.N.

Dear Sir: The enclosed signals of the American Fleet, in 1776, from being the first regular signals used by it of which there is any record, are curious and interesting,

You will observe that one of these signals is a "*striped St. George's Ensign*," which I suppose to be the same as the "*Grand Union Striped "flag*"—the stripes alone distinguishing it from an English red ensign of that period,—which was raised in Washington's Camp at Cambridge, six months earlier. A drawing of it, made in the summer of the same year, and the only cotemporary drawing known, found by Mr. Lossing among General Schuyler's papers, represents it flying from the main-mast-head of the Schooner *Royal Savage*. The Stars, in place of the Union of St. George's and St. Andrew's Crosses, were not substituted until nearly a year after the Declaration of Independence.

The "*Standard*" mentioned as another signal, I suppose to have been the yellow Rattle-snake Standard which Colonel Gadsden, one of the Marine Committee, presented to Congress on the eight of February, 1776, to be used by the Commander-in-chief of the American Navy.

These suppositions of mine are supported by a writer in the *London Ladies' Magazine*, under date, "May 13, 1776;" who says "The *Colors* "of the American Fleet were striped under the "Union, with thirteen stripes; and their *Standard* "a rattle-snake—Motto 'Don't tread on me.'"

What the *Striped Jack* was is not so clear; but I have a photograph from an engraving of "Com- "modore Hopkins, Commander-in-chief of the "American Fleet. Published as the Law directs, "August, 1790, by Thos. Hart;" on the background of which, at his right hand, on a *Jack* Staff, is a plain, striped flag, without Union; but undulating diagonally across the stripes, is a rattle-snake; and *underneath it*, the motto "Don't "tread on me." At his left hand is a white

Pine-tree ensign, with the Legend, *over* the device, "LIBERTY TREE," and *underneath* it, the Motto, "APPEAL TO HEAVEN." This old Massachusetts ensign may have been the white flag so often used in the signals, as probably at that early day all the Continental vessels had it.

G. H. P.

CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

ORDERS GIVEN THE SEVERAL CAPTAINS IN THE FLEET, AT SAILING FROM THE CAPES, AT DELAWARE, FEBRUARY 17, 1776.*

SIR: You are hereby ordered to keep company with me, if possible, and truly observe the signals given by the ship I am in, but in case you should be separated in a gale of wind or otherwise, you then are to use all possible means to join the fleet as soon as possible; but if you cannot, in four days after you leave the fleet, you are to make the best of your way to the southern part of *Abacco*, (one of the *Bahama* Islands,) and there wait for the fleet fourteen days. But if the fleet does not join you in that time, you are to cruise in such places as you think will most annoy the enemy. And you are to send into port, for trial, all British vessels, or property, or other vessels, with any supplies for the Ministerial forces, who you may make yourself master of, to such places as you may think best, within the United Colonies. In case you are in any very great danger of being taken, you are to destroy these orders and your signals.†

EZECK HOPKINS, *Commandant-in-chief.*

* This paper was used by General Force in his invaluable *American Archives*. (IV., iv., 1179.)

† SIGNALS FOR THE AMERICAN FLEET BY DAY.

For sailing: Loose the foretopsail, and sheet it home.

For weighing and coming to sail: Loose all the topsails, and sheet them home.

For the fleet to anchor: Clew up the maintopsail, and hoist a weft in the ensign.

For seeing a strange vessel: Hoist the ensign, and lower and hoist it as many times as you see vessels, allowing two minutes between each time.

For chasing: For the whole fleet to chase, a red pendant at the foretopmast head.

To give over the chase: A white pendant at the foretopmast head.

For the COLUMBUS *to chase:* Strike the broad pendant half-mast, to be answered by a weft in the ensign and making sail. *To chase to windward*—hoist the ensign, lowering the pendant at the same time; *if to leeward*, not. *To give over the chase:* a white pendant at the foretopmast head; and if at a great distance, fire a gun at the same time. This may serve for any of the vessels to give over the chase and return into the fleet.

For the ANDREW DORIA *to chase:* A Dutch flag at the foretopmast head. *To chase to windward:* hoist the ensign, lowering the pendant at the same time; *if to leward*, not. *To give over the chase:* a white pendant at the foretopmast head; and if at a great distance, fire a gun at the same time.

For the CABOT *to chase:* A white flag at the foretopmast head. *To chase to windward, etc.*, as above.

For the PROVIDENCE *to chase:* A ST. GEORGE'S ENSIGN with STRIPES at the mizen-peak *To chase to windward, etc.*, as above.

For the FLY *to chase:* A Dutch flag at the maintopmast head. *To chase to windward, etc.*, as above.

For the HORNET *to chase:* A red pendant at the mizentopmast head. *To chase to windward, etc.*, as above.

For the WASP *to chase:* A Dutch flag at the mizen peak. *To chase to windward, etc.*, as above.

For a general attack, or the whole fleet to engage: THE STANDARD at the maintopmast head, with the STRIPED JACK and ensign at their proper places.

To disengage and form into a squadron: A white flag at the ensign staff, and the same into a weft for every vessel to make the best of their way off from the enemy for their own preservation.

For all the Captains to come on board the Commodore: A red pendant at the ensign staff.

To speak with the COLUMBUS: A white pendant at the mizentopmast head.

To speak with the ANDREW DORIA: A Dutch flag at the mizentopmast head.

To speak with the CABOT: A weft in a Jack, at the mizentopmast head.

To speak with the PROVIDENCE: A white flag, at the mizentopmast head.

To speak with the FLY: A Dutch flag at the Ensign staff.

For any vessel in the fleet that wants to speak with the Commodore: A weft in the ensign; and if in distress, accompanied with two guns.

To fall into a line abreast: A red pendant at the mizen peak.

To fall into a line ahead: A white pendant at the mizen peak.

For meeting, after a separation: A weft in an ensign, at the maintopmast head, to be answered with the same, and cluing up the maintopgallant sail, if they have any set.

For the ship PROVIDENCE *to chase:* A red pendant at the mizentopmast head. *To chase to windward, etc.*, as before.

To speak with the ship PROVIDENCE: A weft in the ensign at the ensign staff.

VIII.—SELECTIONS FROM THE McHENRY PAPERS.

[The following autograph letters were contributed by J. Howard McHenry, Esq., to a Fair held, several years ago, in aid of the Maryland Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, to be placed on exhibition during the continuance of the Fair, and afterwards sold for the benefit of that Institution. The letters were all in the hand-writing of their respective authors, and unquestionably genuine.]

1.—THOMAS PAINE TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

YORK TOWN, June 5th, 1778.

SIR,—

As a general opinion prevails that the Enemy will quit Philadelphia, I take the Liberty of transmitting you my reasons why it is probable they will not. In your difficult and distinguished situation every hint may be useful.

I put the immediate cause of their evacuation to be a declaration of war in Europe, made by them or against them: in which case their Army would be wanted for other service, and likewise because their present situation would be too unsafe, being subject to be blocked up by France, and attacked by you and her jointly. Britain will avoid a war with France if she can, which, according to my arrangement of Politics, she may easily do. She must see the necessity of acknowledging, some time or other, the Independence of America; if she is wise enough to make that acknowledgement *now*, she of consequence admits the Right of France to the quiet enjoyment of

her Treaty, and therefore no war can take place upon the Ground of having concluded a Treaty with revolted British subjects.

This being admitted, their apprehensions of being doubly attacked, or of being wanted elsewhere, cease of consequence; and they will then endeavor to hold all they can, that they may have something to restore in lieu of something else which they will demand; as I know of no Instance where conquered Places were surrendered up prior to, but only in consequence of a Treaty of Peace.

You will observe, Sir, that my reasoning is founded on the supposition of their being reasonable Beings, which if they are not, then they are not within the compass of my system.

I am, Sir,
with every wish for your happiness,
Your affectionate and ob't humble Servant.
THOMAS PAINE.

His Excellency GEN'L WASHINGTON.

[*Addressed.*]
His Excellency
GENERAL WASHINGTON,
VALLEY FORGE.

2.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO DOCTOR McHENRY.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec'r 10th, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—

After seeing the backs of the British Forces turned upon us, and the Executive of the State of New York put into the peaceable possession of their Capital, I set out for this place. On Monday next I expect to leave the City, and by slow traveling arrive at Baltimore on Wednesday, where I will spend one day and then proceed to Annapolis and get translated into a private Citizen.

I am y'r
Affect'e
G° WASHINGTON.

3.—DOCTOR RUSH TO DOCTOR McHENRY.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 3d, 1780.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—

Captain Darby is now in this city upon parole. He has heard with great pleasure of a general exchange of prisoners about to take place. But as his business in New York is of the most pressing nature, he humbly solicits (thro' your connection with his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) that he may be indulged with liberty of going into New York upon parole before he is exchanged. The affairs of the regiment to which he is paymaster are in the greatest confusion. Most of his books and papers were lost at Stoney Point. Every day's delay increases the distress and difficulties to which that misfortune has exposed him. In New York he expects to meet with some people who can extricate him from some of his difficulties, provided he can get access to them soon. He begs his most respectful comp'ts may be presented to his Excellency, and as wishes not to be troublesome to the General (whose time he knows is precious) he begs to receive his answer to this request thro' you before he returns from this city to Lancaster, which will be in about ten days.

Excuse this additional trouble I have given you, and believe me to be, with the tenderest sentiments of friendship,

Yours—yours—yours,
BENJ'N RUSH.

[*Addressed.*]
DR. JAMES McHENRY, (public service.)
Secretary to his
Excellency,
GEN'L WASHINGTON,
Head Quarters.

4.—THOMAS JEFFERSON TO DOCTOR McHENRY.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 25, 1792.

DEAR SIR,—

Mr. Morris, our Minister at Paris, has recommended to me a Madame de la Mariniere, whom the troubles of St. Domingo have driven to Baltimore. He did it at the request of the Duke de Penthievre. Want of acquaintance myself in Baltimore leaves me no means of complying with their request to procure her introduction into the best company, but to solicit your attentions to the lady. The characters who interest themselves for her are a security to us that our services will be worthily bestowed, and will I hope excuse the liberty I take in commending her to you. I am with esteem,

Dear Sir,
Your most obedient
and most humble serv't,
THOMAS JEFFERSON

DOCT. McHENRY.
[*Addressed.*] TH. JEFFERSON.
DOCT'R JAMES McHENRY,
BALTIMORE.

5.—SAMUEL CHASE TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

BALTIMORE, 24 Sep'r, 1796.

DEAR SIR,—

Our Electors have given us [*illegible*] Senators [*illegible*] Mr. Chesley, of Calvert, outvoted R. Smith. I am grieved for the president's

clining to serve, but after Reading his Reasons it is impossible to not to approve his conduct. I am greatly pleased with his advice, but fear it will not be followed. I expect a great Contest about his Successor. Mr. Carroll has offered to be an Elector, but if opposed here he will not be elected. I shall certainly vote for him, which he will not expect.

I beg your Care of the enclosed, and I wish you Health and Happiness, I am, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate
and ob't Servant
SAMUEL CHASE.

[*Addressed.*]
The Honorable
JAMES McHENRY,
Secretary at War,
PHILADELPHIA.

6.—GENERAL WAYNE TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

PHILADELPHIA, 24 Feb'y, 1796.

SIR,—

In obedience to your request I have made out and now enclose an estimate of the number of troops necessary to take possession of and garrison the Forts to be evacuated agreeably to the late treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain; as also the number of cannon now mounted at the respective posts, viz., Michillimackinac, Detroit, Miami and Niagara—the three first are from actual documents, the latter I am not perfectly acquainted with, but know that it was garrisoned by the 5th British Regiment.

The number of troops fit for duty at Greenville on the 1st of December, 1795, was 1,158—of these, not more than 1,000 can be calculated upon to advance for the purpose of possessing the several posts before mentioned, which will be rather too few to give a proper impression, and to transport and give security to the provisions, artillery and stores, which will be indispensibly necessary to accompany them. The following are the artillery of different calibres that can possibly be spared from the advanced posts, i. e., from Fort Washington to Defiance, inclusive, viz.:

One eight inch Howitz,	
Four, five and one-half do,	
Six [?] pounders,	Total, 26.
Seven three pounders,	
Eight 2 and ¾ inch Howitz.	

☞ Hence, you will see the indispensible necessity of giving orders for the ordnance and stores mentioned in the enclosed estimate.

I will have the honor of calling at the War Office at two o'clock to-morrow, when I shall be ready to afford any further information you may think proper to require.

Interim, I have the honor to be,
Sir,
your most obed't
and very
humble servant,
ANT'Y WAYNE.

The Honorable
J. McHENRY, ESQ.,
Secret'y of War,

7.—TIMOTHY PICKERING TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

DEAR SIR,—

I will thank you to examine the inclosed, and let me have them to-morrow morning, as I wish, if approved, to send the letter to Mr. Howell by to-morrow's post. Mr. Wolcott has seen and approved.

Yours respectfully,
T. PICKERING.

Aug't 3, '96
SECRETARY OF WAR.

[*Addressed.*]
SECRETARY OF WAR.

8.—CHARLES CARROLL TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

1796, Dec'r 2d, ANNAPOLIS.

DEAR SIR,—

As you may not have seen the answer of our Assembly to the Governor's Address, I inclose the one printed in Green's paper.

Notwithstanding the Pen'a ticket is gone in favor of Jefferson, those who pretend to have good information say that Adams will be elected by a majority of six votes. I rather think the probability is that no election of President will be made by the electors, as probably several of the electors may not be able to attend at the seats of Gov't, many of them being at a great distance from those seats, sickness and badness of the roads may prevent their attendance.

We are anxious here to know what notice, if any, our Gov't will take of Adet's last note, assigning reasons for your suspension of his functions. I am with great respect,

Dear Sir, y'r most hum. Ser't,
CH. CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

[*Addressed.*]
H'ble JAMES McHENRY, ESQ.,
Secretary at War,
p. post. PHILADELPHIA.

9.—General Hamilton to the Secretary of War.

My Dear Sir,—

This will probably be handed you by Mrs. De Neuville, widow of Mr. De Neuville, of Holland, a Gentlemen who embarked very zealously and very early in the cause of this country—was instrumental in promoting it, and as I understand, an object of persecution in consequence of it, which was a link in the chain of his pecuniary ruin. I think his widow has a strong claim upon the kindness of our country as far as general considerations will admit relief, and she has a particular claim upon every body's good will, that of being a distressed and amiable woman. I ask for her your patronage and good offices. Adieu, my Dear Friend,

Y'rs truly,
A. Hamilton.

J. McHenry, Esq., &c. Jan. 19, 1797.

[*Addressed.*]
James McHenry, Esquire
&c.
War Office,
Philadelphia.

10.—William Henry Harrison of the Secretary of War.

Fort Washington, May 12, 1797.

Sir,—

In conformity to the "Rules and Regulations "relative to Maritime and Frontier Posts or For-"tified Places," issued from the War Office on the twenty-eighth of March last past, I have the honor to report—that a certain person of the name of Hamilton, who is said to have a major's commission in the service of Spain, arrived in the town of Cincinnati some time in the month of January last, and has remained, (excepting a short absence of a few weeks,) ever since. His avowed object is to prevail on the citizens of this territory to become settlers in the Spanish country west of the Mississippi, offering to adventurers donations of land and other inducements. Hamilton was born in New Jersey, and was some time a merchant in New York, from whence, after being tried for a forgery, he emigrated to Dumfries, in Virginia, where he resided until about a year ago; for a few months previous to his arrival here he was in Kentucky, where, I believe, he obtained authority to offer lands on the Mississippi to such persons as were inclinable to transfer their allegiance from the United States to His Catholic Majesty. Many families have emigrated, and many more are preparing to go the ensuing fall from this country, in consequence of the liberal offers made them by the Spanish agents. Hamilton has avowed himself a Spanish subject to several persons in this town, but I do not believe that he has any commission in their service; but is, I imagine, authorized by the Spanish consul or some other agent in Kentucky to grant lands to persons who wish to emigrant to Louisiana. I shall use every exertion to get information of the views of this man and every other suspicious character who may come within my reach.

I have Honor to be
with very great Respect,
Sir, your Humble Serv'nt,
Wm. H. Harrison,
Lieut. 1st Regiment,
Commanding.

The Honorable
James McHenry,
Secretary of War.

[*Addressed.*]
To the Hon'ble
James McHenry, Esq., *Free.*
Secretary of War,
P. Post.] Philadelphia.

11.—Rufus King to the Secretary of War.

Lond., Aug. 4, 1797.

Dear Sir,—

Be so obliging as to forward the inclosed Letter to Mr. Hemsley. I think his name is William, and that he lives in the neighborhood of Baltimore. He would have come with me as my secretary, but my brother accompanied me in that character, having returned here, I shall be pleased to receive Mr. Hemsley in his place. The enclosed Letter proposes to him to come to me.

I don't know when I shall be able to send you the medals. Mr. Trumbull promises to prepare the Devices soon. Bollen is ready to receive and execute them.

Very truly your ob't servant,
James McHenry, Esq. Rufus King.

[*Addressed.*]
James McHenry, Esq.,
Secretary of War,
Philadelphia.

12.—Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to the Secretary of War.

Rotterdam, Sept. 19, 1797.

Dear Sir,—

By this opportunity (the Adelaide, Capt. Mann, via Baltimore) I send you the militia regulations during the time of the French Republic; they were to have been sent above three months ago, but by some mistake were postponed.

Briguet's Military Code is out of print; I am informed a new Edition is preparing, which, when

published, I will procure and send to you, with any thing I may meet with new, and of reputation in that style.

General Marshall and myself are now upon our progress to Paris; you will hear by my letters and inclosed papers to the Secretary of State and Mr. Murray's communications to you of the extraordinary transactions at Paris: these transactions and some intimations that we have received, that our presence, at this juncture, at Paris might be important, and the delay of our journey imputed to very false and improper motives, have induced General Marshall and myself to set out for Paris; more particularly, as Mr. Prince, the Agent of the Union, the vessel in which Mr. Gerry is to sail from Boston, writes word to the Consul at Rotterdam that she is to call at Havre. I have therefore written to that port to request Mr. Gerry to proceed from thence to Paris, without coming round by Holland. We shall not commence any direct negociations before we are joined by Mr. Gerry, without circumstances should indicate great probable advantages. These I do not expect, for so much reliance is placed in France in the internal divisions in America, and so large a party is thought to be more attached to French measures than to the interests of our country, that tho' I am convinced this opinion is erroneous, yet as it is entertained by men in power, I am apprehensive our negociations will be very difficult, and my hopes of success are not at all sanguine.

I remain, my dear Sir, with regard and esteem,
your most ob't
humble Servant,
CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

[*Postmarked.*] BALT., NOV. 10, FREE;

[*Addressed.*]
COLONEL MCHENRY
Secretary at War,
PHILADELPHIA.

13.—GENERAL THOMAS PINCKNEY TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.
Monday, Dec. 11, 1797.

SIR,—

I am desired by the Committee of the House of Representatives to whom was referred the Remonstrance and Petition of the State of Tennessee, to request the favor of you to give them such information as you can, with propriety, concerning the subject matter of that Petition, which information the Committee think may assist them in forming their opinion whether any and what relief can be given with propriety by the Legislature.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir,
your most ob't Servant,
THOMAS PINCKNEY.

14.—THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

GEO. TOWN, May 28, 1798.

DEAR SIR,—

Unqualified, as I really think myself, I have after a thousand struggles, accepted my honorable, and at this crisis, important appointment. Who that has the feelings of an American, could refuse to try at least to serve his country at such a time? I put in thus early my claim on your Friendship for all the assistance I shall need, and it will be a great deal. I mean to set out for Philadelphia as early as possible. I hope a week's elay will not be thought long, and I hope I shall not find it necessary to bestow more than a week on my private affiairs. I go at first without my family, who are to follow, or to wait till the Fall, as I shall determine after getting to Philadelphia. You did not write me a word about your wishes as to my acceptance or refusal—make up for the deficiency by writing me on the receipt of this, and, if possible, flatter me into a belief that I may be able to avoid merited reproach. One letter may reach me before I leave this.

I am, Dear Sir,
with great esteem,
y'r Serv.,
BEN STODDERT.

[*Addressed.*]
JAMES MCHENRY, ESQ.
War Office,
PHILADELPHIA,

15.—GENERAL HAMILTON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

NEW YORK, Sept. 9, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR,—

I think I heretofore mentioned to you that to avoid the chance of difficulty with the President, I had written or would write to him urging the appointment of Mr. Philip Church to a Captaincy. I have just received a very obliging letter from him, and in which he assures me of his willingness to appoint him to that grade, and that he would write to you accordingly. Thus is all difficulty on this point removed: In proportion as I look to the event of my laying down my military character, is my solicitude that this young gentleman shall be eligibly placed.

Yours affectionately,
J. MCHENRY, ESQ. A. HAMILTON.

[*Addressed.*]
JAMES MCHENRY,
&c., &c.,
Trenton.

16.—General Washington to the Secretary of War.

Mount Vernon, July 30, 1798.

Dear Sir,—

The writer of the enclosed letter, in name and character, is an entire stranger to me,—nor do I know whether, by the Law establishing the Cavalry, any provision is made under which such a person could be employed, tho' certain is, if Mr. Macharg understands what he professes to be master of, he might be employed very advantageously in training that part of our force.

I have wrote him to this effect:—adding, that as he is a stranger, his application to the War Office must be accompanied by ample testimonies, not only of his skill in the business he professes, but to his character in all other respects, with which, and my letter to him, he would come properly before you, and without which I conceived it would be useless to apply. I am, Dear Sir, your ob't.,

G° Washington.

Secretary of War.

[*Outside address, in Washington's hand,*]
The Secretary of War
Philadelphia.

17.—General Washington to the Secretary of War.

[Private.] Mount Vernon, 2d Aug't, 1798.

Dear Sir,—

Finding that I was not altogether correct, in giving the uniform of the Company of *Greyheads* in the Town of Alexandria, I amend, as soon as possible, the mistake, by transmitting the letter of the Capt'n thereof—Col. Simms—to Mrs. Washington.

Have you received my letter of the 22d of July? The enquiry then made respecting the Quarter-Master-General is of serious and interesting moment to me. If the business, which my own appointment has involved me in, increases—or even continues—I shall soon be under the necessity of calling upon that officer, or you, for a supply of stationary:—on you particularly for copying Paper; who, better than he, will know, or can direct the proper sort. I thought I came home well provided with these articles, but shall soon run short. Yours affectionately,

G° Washington.

James McHenry, Esq.

[*The foregoing bears the Alexandria post-mark, and is addressed in Washington's hand:*]
James McHenry, Esq.,
Secretary of War,
Philadelphia.

18.—John Adams to the Secretary of War.

Quincy, September 21st, 1798.

Dear Sir,—

I rec'd last night your favour of the 1st with its Inclosures, and perceive nothing to alter.

Inclosed is a letter from Samuel Treat, who has been a Lieutenant at the Castle a long time. His claims to a continuance in service I hope will be considered; but I know nothing of him but his appearance on a late visit to me and the inclosed letter. James Adams.

James McHenry,
Secretary of War.

19.—John Adams to the Secretary of War.

Quincy, July 27, 1799.

Sir,—

I have rec'd your favour of the 20th and have no objection to the plan you propose of raising a Company of Cavalry.—"Our means"! I never think of our means without shuddering! All the Declamations, as well as Demonstrations, of Trenchard & Gordon, Bolingbroke, Bernard & Walpole, Hume, Burgh & Burke, rush upon my Memory and frighten me out of my wits? The System of Debts and Taxes is leveling all Governments in Europe. We have a career to run, to be sure, and some time to pass before we arrive at the European crisis. But we must ultimately go the same way. There is no practicable or imaginable expedient to escape it that I can conceive.

Secretary of War. J. Adams.

20.—Robert G. Harper to the Secretary of War.

Baltimore, August 16th, 1799.

A young man of So. Carolina, My Dear Sir, a Mr. Memereau Walker, of Laurens County, in that State, has requested me to apply for a commission for him in the permanent army of the U. S., which I now do. I know him to be a clever fellow, active, of a good education for that part of the country, the son of a very respectable man, and in general very well qualified for a commission in the infantry service. You will oblige me by recollecting his application should there be any vacancy in the standing regiments. He would like the artillery well, for which he has capacity enough to qualify himself very soon; though I do not know that he has attended, as yet, to that study.

As we are on the subject of Military Appointments, I will mention, that should Col. Watts' place be yet unsupplied, and I might be permitted to take the appointment on the terms allowed to

Dayton, I should prefer that to any other regimental commission. Yours sincerely,
ROB. G. HARPER.

The Hon'ble
The Secretary at War.

[*Addressed*]
The Hon'ble
THE SECRETARY AT WAR,
Philadelphia.

21.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

[Private.] MOUNT VERNON, 25th June, 1799.

DEAR SIR,—

By transmitting General Hamilton's letter to me of the 15th instant, respecting the expediency of promoting General Wilkinson to the Rank of Major-General in the armies of the United States, and my reply thereto of the present date, I find it the easiest mode of communicating the ideas of both of us on this subject; and the necessity of enlarging thereon is superceded thereby.

I have only to pray that both may be returned to—— Dear Sir,
Your affect'e H'ble Servant,
Go WASHINGTON.

JAMES MCHENRY, ESQ.,
Secretary of War.

22.—TIMOTHY PICKERING TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan'y 28, 1800.

DEAR SIR,

In answer to your enquiry relative to the salary of my chief clerk, I inform you, that his stated allowance is fifteen hundred dollars a year. But he is also (as was his predecessor) translator of the French and Spanish languages, for which he receives a compensation of three hundred and fifty dollars a year—doing this business out of office hours. His capacity, diligence and fidelity well entitle him to these rewards.

I am very respectfully,
Dr. Sir,
Your ob't Serv't,
T. PICKERING.

JAMESMCHENRY, ESQ.,
Secretary at War.

23.—CHARLES LEE TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

PHILADELPHIA, 25th November, 1799.

SIR—

I have considered the question proposed in your letter of the 23d, and am respectfully of opinion that the act passed the 5th June, 1794, entitled "An Act in addition to the Act for the punish-"ment of certain crimes against the United "States," is now in force and will continue in force till the end of the next session of Congress. The expressions "from thence to the end of the "next session of Congress," mean the next *whole* session and not any part of a session. A similar question was propounded some time ago from another quarter, when I gave the like answer that I now do.

The rule that penal laws are to be strictly construed, does not operate on the present question, which does not arise upon the meaning to be put on the *penal words* of a statute, but on the meaning to be put on the words of one statute *continuing* another in operation.

I have the honor to be, sir,
very respectfully,
Your most obedient servant,
CHARLES LEE.

To the Secretary at War.

[*Addressed*]
TO JAMES MCHENRY. ESQUIRE,
Secretary at War.

24.—GENERAL LA FAYETTE TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

LA GRANGE DEPARTEMENT DE SEINE ET MARNE, 7th March, 1800.

MY DEAR MCHENRY—

While you Receive, as a Secretary at War, an application from Mde. de Fleury, widow to the Gallant officer whose services in America Have Been so justly celebrated, permit a private friend to express those personal good wishes which a sense of duty to a deceased Brother Soldier, affectionate American Remembrances, and sincere concern for the lady's wellfare prompt me to form in her behalf. Your countryman, C'nel Smith, Has on an important occasion witnessed Fleury's spirit and talents—the part He acted under G'ral Wayne Has been consecrated by a medal—there is indeed no General officer or soldier but who might Have a glorious account to give of him in every action where he has fought. His widow has imparted me her intention to address the government of the United States previous to which she is about consulting the Commissioners now in Paris; and as she thinks a letter from me to my intimate friend, the Secretary at War, may be with him a proper introduction, I write the more readily as Besides my own Regard for the memory of General Fleury I know he is himself a partaker in these sentiments.

Very affectionately I am, dear McHenry
Yours,
LAFAYETTE.

Had not the world been deprived of His Greatest Ornament, Mde. de Fleury would Have found in our beloved General the patronage which from him was equally Honorable and efficacious.

[*On fourth page in hand-writing of Lafayette:*]
Private.

The H'ble James McHenry, Esq.,
Secretary at War,
Philadelphia.

25.—Oliver Wolcott to James McHenry.

Washington, Dec'r 12, 1800.

Dr. Sir,—

I will attend to your requests as soon as possible & there will be no longer any difficulty. Gen'l Pinckney informs that the Electors appointed in So. Carolina will all vote both for Jefferson & Burr—eight votes were given for each of them in North Carolina & both are unquestionably elected. So much for the consequences of diplomatic skill.

I am Dr. Sir yrs.
Oliv. Wolcott.

Jas. McHenry, Esq.

[*Addressed,*]
The Hon'ble
Free James McHenry, Esq.
Oliv. Wolcott. Baltimore.

26.—William Pinkney to the Secretary of War.

London, 20th March, 1800.

My Dr. Sir—

I have had the pleasure to receive a Line from you by Mr. Sitgreaves, and thank you for giving me a sort of claim by it to his friendship. It shall be my care to cultivate it. I am much obliged by your enclosing me your excellent Report to the President on the subject of our Military system. Of any thing contained in it, except its general principles, I am a very poor judge; but, so far as an attentive reading of it can authorize me to have any opinion, I should think the arrangements you propose will, if adopted, be beneficial to a very important Extent. The Manner in which your Details are given must have the Merit of perspicuity, for even I, who am as little of a military Man as it is well possible to be, believe that I perfectly understand them. Your introductory Remarks, and those of a similar Nature to be found in different parts of the Report, are capable of being properly estimated by every Man of understanding—and of their Force & Solidity there can be no doubt. I wish most cordially that they may produce their just Effect, and that the country may be indebted to your labors for the security you aim at giving to it.

I w'd ask you to drop me a Line now & then, when you shall have Leisure. It has been stated to me that you devote yourself to the Duties of your office beyond a due Regard to your Health—and I will not desire to put upon you the additional Burthen of writing to me. And yet, if at any Time a vacant moment sh'd occur in which it might be Relaxation rather than Fatigue to tell a sincere Friend that you continue to think of him, I cannot avoid saying that you will gratify me much by so employing it.

I am, My Dr. Sir,
Very faithfully yrs.
Wm. Pinkney.

P.S. My Brother Comm'r Gore will have told you every thing I can have to communicate before this can reach you.

[*Addressed.*]
James McHenry, Esq.,
Secretary at War
of the United States,
Philadelphia.

27.—General La Fayette to James McHenry.

19th Thermidor, 6th August, 1805.

My Dear McHenry,—

I am sure you will Heartily welcome Mr. David Parish, to whose father and to whom I have been, during my captivity and ever since, under the Highest obligations. Mr. John Parish was the American Consul at Hamburgh when my wife and daughters arrived from France to endeavor to partake in my Olmutz prison and treatment—they and myself Have found in the whole family the most affectionate concern in our behalf, the most generous and constant assistance. My friend David is going to visit America. I am Happy to make Him acquainted with you and am with all my Heart and for ever

Your affectionate friend,
Lafayette.

[*Addressed.*]
Mr. James McHenry, Esq.,
Baltimore.

28.—Major Tallmadge to Mr. McHenry.

Washington, March 10th 1812.

Dear Sir,—

I have rec'd your Letter of the 10th instant, and now inclose the *Sheets* which were intended for you before.

I intend also to forward the late Message of the President and Documents accompanying the same. I have no time to make any comments upon this most extraordinary Communication. If the election of Gov'r Gerry and P't Madison must cost the U. S. $50,000, they ought to serve the public

with great fidelity. I presume, by this time, you will understand the object for despatching the *Wasp*. In haste, I am

Yours, very sincerely,
BENJ'N TALLMADGE.

[*Addressed.*]

The Hon'ble JAMES McHENRY, } Free.
B. TALLMAGE.
Baltimore.

IX.—CHARACTER AND PUBLIC CAREER OF PATRICK HENRY.

COMMENTS UPON MR. JEFFERSON'S LETTER.*

CHARLOTTE COURTHOUSE, VA.,
November 22, 1867.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE RICHMOND DISPATCH.

DEAR SIR,—Some days after its appearance, my attention was called to an article in your paper of the twenty-fifth of July last, copied from the Philadelphia *Age*, which purported to be a manuscript of Thomas Jefferson containing reminiscenses of Patrick Henry. The article contained statements derogatory to the reputation of Mr. Henry, in whose vindication I feel it my duty to publish this reply.

Although the manuscript contains many misstatements of fact, it is doubtless from the pen of Mr. Jefferson, and is evidently the communication furnished Mr. Wirt while he was preparing the life of Henry—as I notice that author, when referring to Mr. Jefferson as authority, quotes in many instances the very words of the article you published, and in other portions of his work seems to be combatting the charges therein made by Mr. Jefferson. Taking the manuscript, then, to be genuine, I can only account for its existence by remembering that it was penned at a period of Mr. Jefferson's life when the heat engendered by party strife had fixed in his mind distorted views of his political opponents.

The statement that Mr. Henry first came into public notice as a Burgess about the year 1762 is incorrect. He was elected for the first time in May, 1765, and during that month made the attack spoken of upon the proposition for a public loan office. (WIRT'S *Sketches of Henry*, 61, et seq.) During the same month, the famous Resolutions against the Stamp Act were offered by Mr. Henry and passed by the House. Mr. Jefferson states that these Resolutions were drawn by George Johnston, a lawyer from the Northern Neck, who seconded them. In reply to this, I need only refer to the statement of Mr. Wirt, (*Page* 74,) that Mr. Henry left amongst his private papers, in his own handwriting, a copy of these Resolutions, with an endorsement stating the circumstances under which they were offered, in which endorsement he says: "That alone, unadvised and unassisted, "on a blank leaf of an old law book, I wrote the "within." This paper was found sealed up and directed to his Executors, and comes to us as his dying declaration. It is still in existence at Red Hill.

Mr, Jefferson was at the time a student at William and Mary, and heard the debate; but his statement as to who wrote the Resolutions cannot be weighed a moment against the solemn declaration of Mr. Henry. Nor can I credit Mr. Jefferson when he says that Mr. Henry was a very inefficient member of deliberative bodies in ordinary business, and had not accuracy enough of idea in his head to draw a bill on the most simple subject which would bear legal criticism. He was very frequently placed upon important Committees. One of these was the standing Committee of Correspondence between the Colonies, appointed by the Virginia House of Burgesses, on the twelfth of March, 1773, which was selected from the best material in the Colony, and which led eventually to a Colonial Congress. We have also the testimony of a very able contemporary as to this matter. George Mason, in a letter to Mr. Cockburn, dated Williamsburg, the twenty-sixth of May, 1774, (*Virginia Historical Register*, January, 1850, *Page* 28,) writes: "Whatever resolves nnd measures are intended for the "preservation of our Rights and Liberties, will be "reserved for the conclusion of the Session. "Matters of this sort here are conducted and "prepared with a great deal of privacy, and by "very few members, of whom Patrick Henry is "the principal. * * * He is by far the most "powerful speaker I ever heard. Every word he "says not only engages. but commands, the attention; and your passions are no longer your own "when he addresses them. But his eloquence is "the smallest part of his merit. He is, in my "opinion, the first man upon this Continent, as "well in abilities as public virtues; and had he "lived in Rome about the time of the first Punic "War, when the Roman people had arrived at "their meridian glory, and their virtue not tarnished, Mr. Henry's talents must have put him "at the head of that glorious Commonwealth."

Mr. Jefferson informs us that after his service as Governor, succeeding Mr. Henry, he had no further personal knowledge of him. And yet his most serious charges as to personal conduct refer to subsequent periods. It will be remembered also that Mr. Jefferson never met with him until Mr. Henry was twenty-four years of age.

That Mr. Henry commenced life in very straitened circumstances, is without doubt; but that he ever acted as a bar-keeper, is denied by Mr.

* This letter may be found in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for August.

Wirt, (*Page* 37,) who obtained his information from the companions of Mr. Henry's youth.

I am entirely satisfied, also, that Mr. Jefferson has misrepresented Mr. Henry's attainments and conduct as a lawyer. He represents him as too lazy to acquire or practice law, never undertaking to draw pleadings if he could avoid it, engaging very unwillingly, but as an assistant, to speak in the cause, making the fee an indispensable preliminary, keeping no accounts, requiring large fees for his services, insatiable in money, and doing so little business in the General Court, other than criminal, that it would not pay the expenses of his attendance. I have in my possession Mr. Henry's Fee-books, commencing in the latter part of 1760, when he first came to the bar, and coming down to 1771, more than one year after he came to the General Court. Sixteen pages of these books have been cut out and lost; but estimating that the fees charged upon them average in numbers with those upon the remaining pages, and I find that Mr. Henry charged fees in one thousand, one hundred, and eighty-five suits, from September, 1760, the commencement of his practice, to the thirty-first of December, 1763, besides many fees for preparing papers out of Court. In November, 1763, he was employed in, and in December following he argued, the celebrated Parsons' cause, which gave him so great a reputation. Afterwards, his business increased rapidly, of which, however, only a small portion was criminal, the great bulk being the ordinary suits of the country, plain actions of debt, etc. In these, it is preposterous to suppose he appeared only as an assistant, to speak. So far from his being insatiable, his books show the usual moderate charges of the day, such as have been long since discarded by the profession; and many of his fees appear never to have been collected. Randall, in his *Life of Jefferson*, (i., 47,) gives the number of causes in which he (Jefferson) was employed in the earlier years of his practice, as evidence of his great success; but judging Mr. Henry by the same rule, his success was much greater before he had made what is usually represented as his first speech. How he acquired or retained a practice so large, and continually increasing, so perfectly unfit for it as Mr. Jefferson represents him, I am at a loss to understand.

Nor can I reconcile with Mr. Jefferson's statement another fact, mentioned by Mr. Wirt and by Mr. Randall: I mean the public advertisement of Robert C. Nicholas, after he was made Treasurer, committing his unfinished business to Mr. Henry. Mr. Nicholas was one of the examiners who signed Mr. Henry's license, and enjoyed the first practice of the bar, according to Mr. Wirt; and Mr. Randall thinks (*Life of Jefferson*, i., 49), that he committed his practice to Mr. Henry upon the advice of Mr. Jefferson.

The insinuation that Mr. Henry paid for the Leatherwood lands purchased of Mr. Lomax in a discreditable manner—discreditable, as is alleged, because of the depreciated money used in payment—is entirely unjust. The interest of Mr. Lomax was a subject of litigation; and the sworn answer of Mr. Henry in the case is before me, together with the answer of his widow in a suit brought to divide Mr. Henry's estate, after his death. By these papers it appears that the purchase was made in 1778, for paper money; and that Mr. Henry sold other lands of equal value in order to pay the purchase money. At the time of the purchase, paper money had depreciated so as to be worth only one-fifth of specie, and that it would further depreciate must have been apparent to all. I find two receipts given by Mr. Lomax, one for five half johannes at forty-six shillings each, dated the thirtieth of May, 1778; and the other for five hundred pounds, cash, dated October, 1778, showing that a large portion of the purchase money was paid during the year of the purchase, and at times when the depreciation of the currency had increased but little. What were the dates of the deferred payments I have not ascertained; but whatever they may have been, no stigma can attach to Mr. Henry for paying for land in the very currency he had contracted to pay and which he was receiving for lands sold by him to meet the purchase.

Mr. Jefferson has endeavored to connect the name of Mr. Henry with the infamous Yazoo speculation. He asserts that about the close of the war, Mr. Henry engaged in this speculation, and bought up a great deal of depreciated paper at two shillings and two shillings and six pence in the pound to pay for it; that the Georgia Legislature having declared that transaction fraudulent and void, the depreciated paper which he had bought up was likely to remain on his hands worth nothing, but that Hamilton's funding system came most opportunely to his relief, and raised his paper from two shillings and six pence to twenty-seven shillings and six pence the pound. The facts are simply as follows:

On the seventh of February, 1795, the Georgia Legislature passed an Act selling to four Companies, viz.: the Georgia, the Georgia and Mississippi, the Upper Mississippi, and the Tennessee—about forty million acres of land for the sum of five hundred thousand dollars. These companies paid the money and obtained deeds to the land. It soon became known, however, that the Legislature had been bribed; and the succeeding Legislature, on the thirtieth of January, 1796, declared the grant fraudulent and void. (GARLAND'S *Randolph*, i., 66; and TUCKER'S *History of the United States*, ii., 187.) This transaction became infamous, and was known as the Yazoo speculation:

and it is with this that Mr. Jefferson evidently intended to connect Mr. Henry.

I find from Mr. Henry's private papers that late in the year 1789, he, with Judge Paul Carrington, Joel Watkins, Francis Watkins, and some half dozen other gentlemen—all of high character—entered into a co-partnership, which they called the Virginia Yazoo Company, having for their object the purchase of Georgia lands. In 1789, the Georgia Legislature passed an Act to sell to the South Carolina, the Virginia Yazoo, and the Tennessee Companies, a portion of her territory. But refusing to take Georgia certificates in payment, and requiring specie instead, the Companies could not pay for the land, and their rights were afterwards declared forfeited. (TUCKER's *History of the United States*, ii., 187.) No improper conduct can be charged on the Virginia Yazoo Company in this transaction. They paid no money and got no land.

I find from a letter from Francis Watkins, the Secretary and Treasurer of the Company, addressed to Mr. Henry, on the seventh of March, 1795, that Mr. Scott, the Agent of the Company in attendance on the Georgia Legislature, had failed to obtain a new grant, while other Companies had obtained the lands. Mr. Watkins advised a dissolution of the Company forthwith. I have never seen the slightest evidence that Mr. Henry was connected with any other Company, nor am I aware that this was ever charged. In further exculpation of the Virginia Company, I would add, that John Randolph, in the United States Congress, in 1805, assailed with great bitterness the Yazoo speculation and the persons connected with it; yet, in 1820, upon the death of Colonel Joel Watkins, one of the Virginia Company, Mr. Randolph, long his intimate friend, in writing his obituary, says: "Under the guidance of old-"fashioned honesty and practical good sense he "accumulated an ample fortune, in which it is "firmly believed by all who knew him there was "not a dirty shilling."

The only paper which the Act of Georgia declaring fraudulent and void the Yazoo speculation could have affected, was the certificates of debt of the State of Georgia held by the Companies interested for the purpose of meeting their purchase. And when Mr. Jefferson wrote, he had evidently in his mind that portion of the system urged by Hamilton, whereby the United States assumed the debts of the several States, Georgia among the rest.

The funding and assumption Act was approved on the fourth of August, 1790, (*Laws of the United States*, i., 162,) and gave a considerable value immediately to the paper affected by it. (RANDALL's *Life of Jefferson*, i., 606.) Now, it could not have been possible, as stated by Mr. Jefferson, that the Act of Georgia, which passed in 1796, depreciated the paper held by Mr. Henry to two shillings and six pence, when the system of Hamilton had been in operation for six years, and had given a greater value to that paper from its commencement; nor could the Act of Congress of 1790 have come most opportunely to Mr. Henry's relief, in 1796, and raised his paper depreciated by the Act of Georgia of that year. The desire to impute a discreditable motive to Mr. Henry has evidently resulted in confounding dates; and the Act of Georgia in 1796 is put prior to Hamilton's funding system of 1790.

Mr. Jefferson proceeds to state that Mr. Henry continued hostile to the Federal Constitution after its adoption, and expressed more than any other man his thorough contempt and hatred of General Washington; and that from being the most violent of all anti-Federalists, he was brought over to the new Constitution by the effect of Hamilton's funding system on the depreciated paper he owned; that Hamilton became now his idol; and, abandoning the Republican advocates of the Constitution, the Federal Government on Federal principles became his creed.

I have a number of letters written by Mr. Henry after the adoption of the Constitution, among them letters to Richard Henry Lee while a member of the first United States Senate from Virginia, with whom he was on the most intimate terms, and whose election he had secured over Mr. Madison as the opposing candidate. I find no contempt, hatred, nor even unkind feeling, expressed anywhere towards General Washington. Mr. Henry's conduct towards General Washington during his whole life is at variance with the statement; and I cannot believe it, resting upon the evidence of but a single witness, who informs us he had no personal knowledge of Mr. Henry at the time. On the contrary, I find that Chief-justice Marshall, who had opportunities of seeing Mr. Henry during this period, states (*Life of Washington*, v., Note xiii.) that Mr. Henry was truly the personal friend of General Washington. To the same effect is the testimony of Mr. A. Blair, Secretary of the Council of Virginia. (SPARKS's *Writings of Washington*, xi, Appendix xviii.) He writes to General Washington on the nineteenth of June, 1799: "I had the honor to "qualify for my present office when Mr. Henry "commenced the administration of our Revolu-"tionary Government. From that period to the "day of his death I have been on the most inti-"mate, and I believe friendly, terms with him. "* * * With regard to you, Sir, I may say, as "he said of Marshall, that *he loved you*, and for "the same reason, because you felt and acted as a "Republican—as an American."

Mr. Henry's independence of character was too great to permit him ever to make an idol of Hamilton or of any other man. If he could have

been induced to idolize Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Jefferson's reminiscences doubtless would have assumed a different hue. So far from permitting the financial system of Hamilton to change his politics, one of the last acts of Mr. Henry's public life was a protest against the very feature of that system which, if Mr. Jefferson is to be believed, put money into Mr. Henry's pocket and made him a political apostate.

In the Virginia Assembly of 1790, the last in which Mr. Henry sat, on the third of November, the following Resolution was adopted by the House of Delegates:

"Resolved, That so much of the Act of Con-"gress entitled, An Act making provision for the "'debt of the United States,' as assumes the pay-"ment of ths State debts, is repugnant to the "Constitution of the United States, as it goes to "the exercise of a power not expressly granted to "the General Government."

On the vote adopting this Resolution, Mr. Henry's name is with the Ayes. (Vide *Journal of the House of Delegates for* 1790, 35, 36.)

That Mr. Henry opposed the adoption of the Constitution in its unamended form is true; but that he continued hostile to it afterwards is not true, if he himself is to be believed. Amongst his papers there is a copy, in his own hand, of his reply to General Washington, when offered the position of Secretary of State. It is dated the seventeenth of October, 1795; and after giving his reasons for declining the appointment, which are of a private nature, it continues:

"Believe me, Sir, I have bid adieu to the dis-"tinction of Federal and anti-Federal ever since "the commencement of the present Government, "and in the circle of my friends have often ex-"pressed my fears of disunion amongst the States "from collision of interest, but especially from "the baneful effects of faction.

"The most I can say is, that if my country is "destined in my day to encounter the horrors of "anarchy, every power of mind and body which "I possess will be exerted in support of the "Government under which I live, and which has "been fairly sanctioned by my countrymen.

"I should be unworthy the character of a Re-"publican or an honest man if I withheld from "the Government my best and most zealous "efforts because on its adoption I opposed it in "its unamended form. And I do most cordially "execrate the conduct of those men who lose "sight of the public interest from personal mo-"tives. It is with painful regret that I perceive "any occurrence of late have given you uneasi-"ness. Indeed, Sir, I did hope and pray that it "might be your lot to feel as small a portion of "that as the most favored condition of humanity "can experience. And if it eventually comes to "pass that evil, instead of good, comes out of "the public measures you may adopt, I confide "that our country will not so far depart from her "character as to judge from the events, but give "full credit to the motives and decide from these "alone. Forgive, Sir, these effusions, and per-"mit me to add to them one more, which is an "ardent wish that the best rewards which are due "to a well-spent life may be yours.

"With sentiments of the most sincere esteem "and high regard, I am, dear sir, your much "obliged and very humble servant,

"P. Henry."

(See also letter of Patrick Henry to General Henry Lee. Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, x, Appendix xxiii.)

These letters show that Mr. Henry had in good faith carried out the purpose expressed in the last speech he made against the Constitution, in the Convention of 1788. He then declared that he would live under it a peaceable citizen; and that he would endeavor to remove its defects in a constitutional way, alluding to the Amendments afterwards proposed. (Robertson's *Virginia Debates*, 465.) Though opposed to Jay's Treaty and the Alien and Sedition Laws, he yet refused to go with that party which he believed had a tendency to break up the Government. (See his letter to A. Blair, in Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, xi., Appendix xviii.) The famous Resolutions of the Virginia Legislature of '98 and '99 aroused in his mind the strongest fears lest the country should encounter the horrors of anarchy; and many of the best and wisest of the land shared his apprehensions. It was at the earnest solicitation of General Washington that he determined to offer for a seat in the ensuing Legislature, and redeem the promise contained in the extract above. Different accounts have been given of his speech in the canvass—the last speech he ever made. But a publication made by Mr. Charles Campbell, in the Petersburg *Index* of August last, settles the question. He publishes the certificates of George Woodson Payne, Mr. Henry's brother-in-law, and of the Rev. Clement Read, Colonel Clement Carrington, and Robert Morton, his countymen and gentlemen of high character and intelligence. Three of these gentlemen heard Mr. Henry's last speech, and testify that his effort was to quiet the minds of the people, to persuade them to use constitutional means to remedy their grievances, and thus to prevent a dissolution of the Union; and three of them testify that Mr. Henry disapproved of the Alien and Sedition Law.

The terms "Federalist" and "anti-Federalist," first used to designate the parties proposing and opposing the Constitution, after its adoption changed their meaning. Before the post-constitutional parties had become defined, which so powerfully convulsed the country, Mr. Henry had

retired from public life. He declined a re-election to the Legislature, in the spring of 1791. Death prevented his sitting in the Session of 1799; and his last speech was the only political speech he made after those parties arose. His letter to Mrs. Aylett, in 1796, (WIRT's *Henry*, 400,) declares that at that time he had not changed his political opinions; and where have we the evidence of his political apostacy at any time? If Mr. Jefferson relies on Mr. Henry's opposition to the Resolutions of '98 and '99 to establish his apostacy, the answer is at hand. If the fact that Mr. Henry, after opposing the adoption of the Constitution, opposed the Resolutions of '98 and 99, proves his apostacy, the fact that Mr. Madison and Mr. Jefferson, after supporting the adoption of the Constitution, supported the Resolutions of '98 and '99, proves their apostacy. If Mr. Jefferson intended to fix the apostacy in the year 1790, the date of Hamilton's funding system, then I answer that the Legislature of Virginia did not look upon Mr. Henry as an apostate. In 1794, Mr. Henry was elected United States Senator; and, in 1796, he was elected Governor for the fifth time.

The charge, then, against Mr. Henry, of political apostacy from corrupt motives is, I submit, utterly untrue; and his character is untarnished by such ungenerous aspersions, from whatever quarter they may come or with whatever design they may be uttered.

The statement that "General Washington of-"fered Mr. Henry the position of Secretary of "State to flatter him, knowing he would not "accept, and was entirely unqualified for it," if true, is more discreditable to General Washington than to Mr. Henry. But it is contradicted by the statement of General Washington, contained in the letter offering the position. In that letter he said to Mr. Henry: "It would be uncandid not to "inform you that this office has been offered to "others; but it is as true that it was from a con-"viction in my own mind that you would not "accept it (until Tuesday last, in a conversation "with General Lee. he dropped sentiments which "made it less doubtful) that it was not offered "first to you. I need scarcely add that if this "appointment could be made to comport with "your inclination, it would be as pleasing to me "as I believe it would be acceptable to the public. "With this assurance and with this belief, I make "you this offer of it. My first wish is that you "would accept it." (SPARKS's *Writings of Washington*, xi., 81.)

If General Washington's design was to flatter Mr. Henry, or to get from him his political status, surely the answer he received must have been satisfactory.

What, then, must we conclude from the following extract from a letter from General Henry Lee to Mr. Henry, dated the twenty-sixth December of the same year, which is before me, remembering that General Lee (according to Mr. Jefferson) was acting as the common friend of General Washington and Mr. Henry? Says General Lee:

"The Senate has disagreed to the President's "nomination of Mr. Rutledge, and a vacancy in "that important office has taken place. For your "country's sake, for your friends' sake, for your "family's sake, tell me you will obey a call to it. "You know my friendship for you; you know "my circumspection; and I trust you know, too, "that I should not address you on such a subject "without good grounds. Surely, no situation "better suits an individual than that will you. "You continue at home only on duty. Change "of air and exercise will add to your days. The "salary excellent and the honor very great. Be "explicit in your reply."

How strange that General Washington, so admirable a judge of men, should offer the position of Secretary of State to one who had "no ac-"curacy of idea in his head," and, if General Lee is to be believed, should be willing to appoint the same man Chief-justice of the United States, though he had been always "to lazy to acquire "or practice law"! I can only find a parallel to this conduct in that of the State of Virginia towards the same person, which, though abounding in great men at the time, imposed upon Mr. Henry her highest offices during a period of more than twenty years, and continued to proffer them even after they had been steadfastly refused.

That the violence of party spirit, scrupling at no misrepresentation to injure an opponent, did, in some small measure, succeed in alienating from Mr. Henry the affections of his countrymen after his voice was hushed in death, may be true; but it could never have been said with truth "that "sunk to nothing in the estimation of his coun-"try." The effect of detraction, however, was ephemeral. Mr. Wirt could write in 1817: "The storm of 1799, thank Heaven, has passed "away, and we again enjoy the calm and sun-"shine of domestic peace. We are able to see "with other eyes and to feel with far different "hearts. * * * The sentiments now so uni-"versally expressed in relation to Mr. Henry, "evince that the age of party resentment has "passed away, and that that of the noblest grat-"itude has taken its place."

In conclusion, I cannot but express regret that, of the private and confidential communications received by Mr. Wirt, and by him studiously withheld from the public eye, this one, containing rumors and opinions to the disadvantage of Mr. Henry—rumors refuted by other evidence, and opinions overthrown by a large majority of voices, as we are assured by Mr. Wirt himself—should have appeared in print at this late day. (See letter to F. W. Gilmer, in KENNEDY's *Life of Wirt*,

ii., 79, which evidently refers to this manuscript.) It cannot but create unpleasant feelings even in the minds of the warmest friends of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Wirt refussd to give publicity to this manuscript, doubtless in accordance with the desire of Mr. Jefferson himself, to whose criticism he submitted his *Life of Patrick Henry* in manuscript, and by whose advice he published it. (See letters of Jefferson and Wirt, in KENNEDY'S *Life of Wirt*, i., 407—412.)

WM. WIRT HENRY.

X.—THE FIRST SLAVES BROUGHT INTO MASSACHUSETTS.

BY REV. B. F. DE COSTA.

So much has been said on the subject of Slavery in Massachusetts, that the following item will doubtless prove interesting.

In the Icelandic Sagas relating to the visits of the Northmen to America, we find a brief account of two persons in the Expedition of Thorfinn Karlsefne who were evidently slaves. They are mentioned twice in both of the principal accounts of the voyage of Thorfinn, who came into what forms a part of the present territories of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, in the year, A.D. 1007, and remained for a period of three years. These two Sagas will appear in a volume relating to the Icelandic voyages to America, now being prepared for immediate publication by the writer; yet, nevertheless, we give an extract here.

In regard to the persons mentioned, it is necessary to observe that Olaf Tryggvesson was King of Norway; that Lief was the person who came into New England in the year, A.D. 1000; and this Eric was the father of Lief, and the founder of the colony in Greenland, A.D. 985. The extract is taken from the Saga, as given in Professor RAFN'S *Antiquitates Americanæ*, on pages 168-87, The account says:

"When Lief was with King Olaf Tryggvesson, "and he sent him to establish the Christian Re- "ligion in Greenland, then the King gave him two "Scots-folk, a man named Heke, and a woman "named Hækia. The King told Lief to carry "them with his men, if he would have his com- "mands executed quickly, as they were swifter "than beasts. These folk Lief and Eric gave to "Karlsfne for the voyage. When they came to "Wonder-strand they put these Scot-folk ashore, "and told them to run Southward and explore "the country and return again before the end of "three days. They were thus clothed, having a "garment that some call a *Biafal:* it was made "so that a hat was on top, open at the sides, "without arms, [*sic*] buttoned between the legs "and fastened with button and strap; and the "rest was bare,"

"Wonder-strand" was without doubt that long reach of sandy shore which the sailor notes as a very prominent feature of the outer, or ocean side, Cape Cod. It was called "*Wonder-strand*" by those ancient navigators, because it seemed such a long time while they were passing by. These Scot-folk were doubtless taken prisoners by the Viking in some one of their descents upon the Irish coast, the inhabitants of Ireland at that period being known chiefly as Scots.*

That Slavery had a real existence among the Northmen there is most abundant proof; and these two Scot-folk were doubtless the first Slaves ever *introduced* into Massachusetts.

B. F. D.

XI.—FORT EDWARD, IN 1779 AND 1780.

ORDERLY-BOOK OF THE CAPTAIN-COMMANDING.

GARRISON ORDERS, FORT EDWARD,
May 23, 1779.

Sargent Prindle is to do duty as Sargent Magor and be obeyed as such—

A Gard to mount at this post Consisting of one Corporal and Six privates to be reguler Releived every morning at Eight of the clock. to be one Sentra by day and two by night—

Know Non Commissioned Officer or Soldier are to strowl more than one hundred Rods from this Garrison without leave from his officer—

Know gun to be fiered in or abought this garrison on any pretence what ever Except at the Ennemy. the gard are to take up and Confine all persons so offending and they may Expect the Surverest Punishment

Pr order of JOHN CHIPMAN Capt. Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD
June 5 1779

Whereas a noise in or abought the Garrison is a great Detrement to the Sentra in discharging of their duty, these are to order all persons in or abought this Garrison to Repair to their Quarters at Tatto breating and Behave there peasible and quietly without any nois or Dusturbance—

The officers of Gards to see that these orders are Complyed with in the Strickest Sence as they shall be answerable for the Neglect—

Pr order JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt—

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD
June 24 1779—

Whereas I have bin informed that the Soldiers Belonging to this Garrison make a practise of Cuting bords for fiers in Consequence of which thes are to forbid any Non Commissioned officer

* The Latin Poet, Claudian, says:
"When *Scots* came thundering from the *Irish* shores,
"And the wide ocean foamed with hostile oars."

or Soldier to Cut or distroy, or mak use of any bords in or abought this garrison without first obtaining Leave of the Quarter Master who has the care of them—

Pr order of JOHN CHIHMAN Capt. Com.

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARDS
June 29 1779—

Court Marshel to Set this day to Try Such Prisners as Shall be brought before them—

Lieut Michael Duning President
Lieut William Monten
Lieut David Baits
Members

The Court met agreable to the above orders being sworn—Proseed to the trial of Corporal John Frame, Confined for Cuting and throing into the river a Cart the property of Mr Doty

Pleads not guilty—

Afterwards acknowledge that he did through an old Cart of Baergoines Leaving into the river

the Court Judge him to pay Mr doty ten dollars and return to his duty—

MICHAEL DUNING President

the afforegoing Judgement aproved of and ordered to be Complyed with Emmediately—

Pr JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

After takeing Lieut Baits from his Seat and puting Lieut Putnum in his place. Proseed to the trial of Docter Prindle Confined for impertinent Language to Lieut Baits—Pleads not guilty—

Doctor Warshburn on oath saith that the other day as Lieut Baits was going out of the barruk door and prindle Coming in he beleives prindle struck Lieut Baits dog on the Side of his head, that Lieut Baits turned abought and asked who kicked his dog Sum of the men Stood by answered No one had kicked him. Lieut baits asked who had struck him. Prindle answered I struck him Lieut Baits asked what he struck him for. for fun by God said prindle. on which Lieut Baits struck prindle and asked him how he Liked that fun. at which prindle Cursed and damd Lt Baits. Lieut Baits gave him two or three blows more and then Called for a file of men—Prindle being very full of anger raved and cursed every thing that came first in his head Damd the dog and the rascal that owned him and further saith not—

Ira Horskens David Hull Bengaman Olney on oath Testifies and saith that a few days past as Lieut Baits was walking out of the Barrick Door and Doctor Prindle was Coming in that prindle did in their presance Cuf Lieut Baits dogs ear Lieut Baits turned abought and asked who kicked his dog Sd Olney answered nobody kicked him Lt Baits then asked who struck him Doctor Prindle answered I did Sir. Lieut Baits asked him what he Struck him for Prindle answered for fun Sir. Lieut Baits then Struck him Damd him and asked him if he Struck for fun Prindle answered yes by God as you have my dog often at which Lieut Baits Struck him Several times and called for a file of men and sent him to the gard house—On Mature deleberation upon every Circumstance of the witnesses the Court find the prisner guilty of giveing impertinent Language to Lieut Baits but the matter is attended with Such Circumstances that the Court Sentanses him to a survear repremand for the same upon his knees from the Commanding officer at the head of the troops at this garrison and return to his duty—

MICHAEL DUNING President—

The above Judgement approved of and ordered to be Complyed with this Evening at rool call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD
July 5 1779—

Whereas it is very unbecoming and unsoldierlike action for a soldier when on Sentra to Set down on his post These are to forbid any soldier to Set down when on his post on Penalty of being Punished for disobedience of orders—Every soldier when on Sentra are to Carry their arms properly when any officer passes them—

The officers of gard are to see these orders Complyed with as they shall be answerable for the neglect as well as the Soldier—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD
August 25 1779—

A Court Marshel to Set this day to try Such Prisners as shall be brought before them—

Capt Brown is President—
Lieut Putnum, Ensign Barret—
Lieut Prime, Ensign Morrison—
Members—

Pr JOHN SHIPMAN Capt Com.

The Court met agreable to the above orders being sworn Proseed to the trial of Mathew Brayton of Capt Browns Company Confined for refusing his duty—

the prisoner pleads guilty—The Court Sentance him to receive Sixty Lashes on the naked back well laid on and then put in irons and sent to albony to Col V Schaick—

WILLIAM BROWN President

The aforesd Judgment approved of and ordered to put in Execution this evening at rool call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD
April the 1st 1780—

These are to forbid all Persons in or abought

this Garrison to Dip any Camp Kittle or any other dirty vessel in to the spring that is within the garrison—any person so offending Shall Receive thirty Lashes on the naked Back without the Benefit of a trial— JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS April 12 1780—
AT FORT EDWARD

as waisting of ammution is a great detrement to the Public as well as well as our own Preservation—these are to direct that no Non Commissioned officer or Soldier belonging to this garrison waist or fier away their amminition on any Pretence whatever except at the Enemy Every Non Commissioned officer and Soldier are to be revued every monday night when he is to Produce his amminition and if it appears that he has waisted or lost any through negligence ore Carelesness they may expect to be Punished accordingly— JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD
April 23 1780

Whereas the Saifty of this Post Depends on the exertions of the Small Number of Men heare, and his Country and his own Personal Saifty ought allways to be the grand Characterestick of a Soldier and keep him Continually on his gard—

These are to direct that Every Soldier in this garrison keeps his arms in good order and his accutrements in such a Position that in Case of an alarm that he Can lay his hand upon them in the dark and be ready for action in a moment—

Those men that belong to the hospital are likewise ordered to keep their arms and accutrements in the same order as the other men and in case of an alarm they are emmediatily to Repair to the garrison—Officers Sarvants are to comply with the affore going orders the same as tho they ware actually Doing duty as a Soldier—

Pr JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt—

GARRISON ORDERS May 16 1780
AT FORT EDWARD

Sergeant Bonett is to do duty as Sargnt Magor and be obeyed as Such—

A gard to mount to morrow morning Consisting of one Corperal and six Privates to keep one Sentra by day and two by night—To be Reguler releived every morning at eight of the clock

The Sargent of the New Levies are to make report of all the men on the ground fit for Duty to the Seargnt Magor every morning at Rool gard mounting—Every Non Commissioned officer and soldier are to attend the perade at Sun Set every Night for Rool Call—

Pr order JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD
May 22 1780

Isaek Pennel is is to Duty as a Sargent and be obeyed as such—

A gard Consisting of one Sargent one Corporal and twenty two privates to be ready to march with two days Provisions Ready Cooked to morrow morning by five of Clock to gard the Teams to Fort george—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD
May 23 1780

Every Non Commissioned officer and Soldier in this garrison are strickly forbid to thro any Bones Pot liker or any kind of filth on to the perade within the garrison or Emty any kettles through the windows onto the Perade—

Any Non Commissioned Officer or Soldier so offending may expect to be Surverly Punished for Disobedience of Orders—

Pr JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt—

Orders for THOMAS MILES FORT EDWARD
May 28 1780—

You are directed to take twelve men with you and Proseed to the North Branch of the North Rever make what discoveries of the enemy you can and Return in three days—

You are to keep a Constant look out for marked trees Broken bushes Tracks or fiers and if you discover either you will make strick observation what corse they steer, Judge of their Number and Designs, send one man back to make report and keep on your rout with the rest, you are not to sleep in any house Nor sleep without a Sentra—

Wishing your sucsess and safe return
I am yours
JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

To THOMAS MILES—

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD
June 8 1780—

Court Marshel to Set this day at eleven clock to Try such Prisners as shall be brought Whereof Capt Will Moulten is President—

Members—

Capt Harrison Lieut Lyon—

The Court being met an duly Sworn Proseed to the Trial of James Cambel a Sargent in Capt Daniel Williams Compony Collo Powlans Regiment N York State Levies Confined for Plundering the house of Pardon Dayley—

The Prisner being brought Pleads guilty the Court sentance him to be Redused to a Private Sentinel and Receive a repremand from his Commanding officer—

WILLIAM MOULTEN President

the above Judgement aproved of and ordered to be Complyed with this Evening at Rool Call—

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD
June 2 1780

The Revele is to be beat in the Morning at

Break of day When every man is to turn out for exersise and Rool Call—

The orderloys of Each compony is to attend and see that the men are all on the perade and call the rool. Any Non Commissioned Officer or Soldier through Neglect disobeys these orders may expect Punishment in the most survere Manner—

the Corporal of the gard is to awake the Drummer every morning—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD
June 23 1580—

William Weed and Bengaman Fish are to do the duty of Sargeants and be obeyed as such—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS June 28 1780
AT FORT EDWARD—

Court marshel to Set this day at ten of the Clock to try such Prisners as Shall be brought before them Where of Capt Baits is President the Court to Set where the president Shall appoint—

Capt Harrison *Members.* Lt Buel

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

The Court met agreable to aforegoing Orders being sworn Proseed to the Trial of Henry Allen belonging to Capt Harrison Compony of new Levies. Confined for disobedience of Orders—

being brought before the Court Pleads guilty—he being a young Soldier the Court is of the oppinion that he brought to the post striped and tied to the Post for ten minits and return to his duty—

Cornelious Chatfeild of the Same Compony of Levies Confined for sleeping on his post being brought before them pleads guilty—

The Court Sentence him to Receive one hundred Lashes on the naked back well laid on and return to his duty—

DAVID BAITS President—

The above Judgment approved of and ordered to be put in Execution this evening at Rool Call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS June the 28 1780
AT FORT EDWARD—

The Commanding officer directs that the orders of June 3 1779 and July 3 1779 be read to the men at this garrison this evening al Rool Call, and they are to Conform themselves to those orders in the Strickest Sence of the words—Phinahas Founlain is to be Camp Culliman the Sargnt Magor to see that the Chambers and halls are swept before gard mountang—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD
July 14 1780—

Court Marshel to Set this day at ten of the Clock to try such Prisners as shall be brought before them Whereof

Capt Baits is President
Members.
Lieut Buel Lient Vwormer

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

The Court being met Preseed to the Trial of Corporal Trull belonging Capt Harrisons Compony of New Levies Confined for Disobedence of orders Repeatedly obsenting himself from Garrison after Tatto Beating Confined by Phinahas Heath Sargnt M

The Prisner being brought before the Court pleads guilty and Begs the mercy of the Court—Afture mature Deliberation on the matter the Court are of the oppinan that he be redused to the ranks and Receive a Repremand from the Commanding officer and return to his duty—David Goff of Capt Chapmans Compony Coll Warners Regiment Confined for Disobedience of orders Confined by Sargnt heath. he being Brought before the Court Pleads guilty—the Court is of oppinion that he suffer twenty four hours imprisiment Receive a Repremand from the Commanding officer and return to his Duty—

Aron Lyn of Capt Harrison Compony of Levies Confined for over staying his furlow confined by Capt Chipman—

he being Brought pleads guilty but Says Sickness was the Cause of it. by the Best accounts the Court Can obtain it appears that he was Sick, and order him to his Duty—

DAVID BAITS Capt President

The aforegoing Judgment approved of and ordered to be complyed with this evening at Rool Call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt—

ORDERS FOR CAPT SHERWOOD
FORT EDWARD July 25 1780—

Sir you will take your Company, with one Lieut two Sargeants and twenty five Privates of Capt Harrison Compony and Proseed To Fort ann and their take Post, on your arrival their you will Emmediately send Scouts to the head of South bey and Skenesborough which Scouts you Constantly keep out Releiveing them as often as you think proper. You will Employ the rest of your men in fortifying yourself in Such a maner as you Judge Necessary for your defence—you will Communicate all Extrodanary Entiligence you may Receive, to me that I may be able to inform the Comanding officer of the Nothern Department—

Wishing you Success and a happy Command
I am Sr your obedient humble Sarvnt

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD
August 4 1780—

Court Marshel to set this day at ten of the

Clock to Try Such Prisners as shall be brought Before them Whereof

Capt Baits is President—
Members.

Capt Harrison Lieut Bawlden

The Court to set when the president appoints

Pr Order of JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

The Court met agreable to the above order Being Sworn Proseed to the Trial of Philip Reyley of the New Levies belonging Capt Chipmans Compony Stand Charged with Disertion. Being brought before the Court Pleads guilty—the Court Sentance him to Receive one hundred lashes on the Naked back well Laid on Pay the expences of sending after him and return to his duty—

DAVID BAITS President—

The above Judgment approved of and ordered to be put in execution this evening at Rool Call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Commant—

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD
August 7 1780—

know Non Commissioned officer or Soldier are to go more than one hundred rods from this garrison without their arms Nor without Leave from Their officer—The gate the North side of the garrison is to be made fast and not opened on any pretence—The Corporal of the gard is to order all persons Passing or repassing to be chalinged and enquire into their bisness if he is surpicous of them he is to bring them to the Commanding officer—know strainger nor any person that is suspected of being a tory is to be allowed to Com within the garrison except they have Perticuler Business and then the Corporal of the gard is To Conduct them to the person their Business is with and waight and take them out Clear of the garrison —know Non Commissioned officer or Soldier is to visit those people Called tories at their houses Nor hold any Corespondence with them on any pretence whatever any person that disobeys this orders may expect to Be Punished accordingly—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS August 8 1780 FORT EDWARD—

Court Marshel To Set Emmediately To Try Such Prisners as shall be brought Before them. Whereof

Capt David Baits is President
Members.

Lieut Bradshaw Lieut Bawlden—

Pr JOHN CHIPMAN Magr N Levies

The Court met agreable to the above order being sworn Proseed to the Trial of Nathan Start belonging to the N Levies Confined for Disobedience of orders and Disertion—he being Brought before the Court Pledes guilty of both crimes—The Court is of the oppinian that he Receive forty Lashes for disobediance of orders well Laid on and one hundred Lashes on the naked back well Laid on for disertion and pay the expences of sending after him and return to his duty—

DAVID BAITS President—

The above Judgment approved of and ordered to be put in Execution this Evening at Roll Call—

Pr JOHN CHIPMAN Magr Comdt N Levies—

ORDERS FOR LIEUT ROBARDS
FORT EDWARD August 12 1780—

Sir you will take Twenty five men of Capt Harrisons Compony and Preseed to Palmar Town and their take post in the most Convenient place—you are to Fortify yourself in the best Manor you can Devise—

you are to keep Constant Scouts to the N West branch of the N. river Jesons Patton and as far west towards Jamestown as you Judge will be Necessary to intercept the enemys penetrating the Country in that quarter—be Perticuler curfull to inspect all the fording places on the Sagondaga Branch—

you are to keep your men together except Those on Emmediate Command—be Carfull to avoid a Surprise from the enemies Scouts—you will be carfull to give the earlist inteligence of the approach of an enemy—you will indevour to borrow Sum Cattle for your Preasent Support from the inhabitants if they refuse to Lend them you must take them, keeping an exact account of the Weight of meat hide and Tallow and the persons names you have them from in order that they may have as good ones Replaced again—That is a Strech of power But at presant Cannot be helpt—

Wishing you Sucsess and a happy Commaud
I am with Respect your obnt Sarvnt—

JOHN CHIPMAN Magr Comdt

To LIEUT ROBARDS—

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD
Sept 9 1780—

A Court Marshel to Set this day for the trial of Such Prisners as shall be brought before them Whereof Lieut Bradshaw is President

Members.

Lieut Sherwood Lieut Giles.
Lieut Bawlding Eygn Mn Lowrey

SETH WARNER Col. Comdt

The Court met agreable to the above order being sworn Proseed to the trial of David Loff of Magr Chipmans Compony of Levies Confined for Disobedience of Orders and Disertion he being brought pleads guilty—the oppinian of the Court is that he shall Receeve Seventy-five lashes on the naked back and return to his duty—

THOMAS BRADSHAW prsd

The afore going Judgment approved of and ordered to be put in Excution this Evening at Rool Call—

Pr order SETH WARNER Col Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE,
Septr 26 1780—

Every Non Commissioned officer and Soldier that has drew Bayonet Scabords and Belts from the public are to Return them in to Public Store—

The Commanding officers of Companies to see the above articles Colected and the Regimental Quarter master to Receipt for the Same—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdtt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE
Octobr 2 1780—

Where as Complaint is maid by the Adgnt and Sargnt Magor of the great Difficulty they meet with in giting the men out the Perade in consiquence of which these are to direct that the Revile is Beat every morning at break of day when Every officer Non Commissioned officer and soldier are to attend the perade, except one officers Sarvnt to each room—The men are also ordered to keep their arms and accoutrements in good order and in such a position that they can lay their hand upon them in the dark and if ocation Calls be ready for action in a moment—They are also to observe to be on the perade on every call of the drum without the least delay—the Sargeant of the gard is to awake the drumer every morning—

The Commanding officer Expects these orders will be Complied with in the strickest sence of the word and who ever disobeys mav expect the surverest punishment—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE
Octr 8th 1780—

Court Martial to Set immediately to such prisoners as shall be brought before them

THOMAS SILL is President
Ensn Grant } *Members*
do Lighthall }

The Court to Set where the President shall appoint—

Pr order JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

The Court Convened and being duly sworn proceeded to the tryal of Corpll John Fretcher of Capt Wolcotts Company confined Neglect of duty—Pleads not guilty The Court after hearing the evidence finds him guilty; and sentince him to be reduced to a private Sentinol and do duty as such.

THOS SILL Prisdt

The above Judgment approved of and ordered to be Complied with this evening at Rool Call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE
Octbr 11 1780—

Sir as it is reported to me that their is a small party of savages near Bloddy pond, you will immediately take Forty Eight men, officers included and Proseed on the main road untill you make discoveries of them, keeping a Suffisciant advance and Flank gards in Such a manner as to prevent being surrounded. if you find a large party you will Emmediately Retreat to the fort except they should be savages only in which case you will attack and immediately charge upon them—

XII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them: and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

90 EATON SQUARE, LONDON, 4th July, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR:—I hold it of good augury that your letter of the twelfth of June reached me by the *Herman* just in time to be answered this morning.

You may be sure that I have spared no pains to discover in the British State Paper Office, a copy of the resolves of the Committee of Mecklenburg, and with entire success.

A glance at the map will show you that, in these days, the traffic of that part of North Carolina took a southerly direction; and people in Charleston, and sometimes even in Savannah, knew what was going on in "Charlotte Town," before Governor Martin. The first account of "*the extraordinary resolves by the people in "Charlotte Town, Mecklenburg County,*" was sent over to England by Sir James Wright, then Governor of Georgia, in a letter of the twentieth of June, 1775. The newspaper thus transmitted is still preserved, and is the Number 948 of the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, Tuesday, the eighteenth of June, 1775.—I read the resolves, you may be sure, with reverence, and immediately obtained a copy of them; thinking myself the sole discoverer. I do not send you the copy, as it is identically the same with the paper which you enclosed to me; but I forward to you the transcript of the entire letter of Sir James Wright. The newspaper seems to have reached him after he had finished his Despatch; for the paragraph relating to it is added in his own handwriting, the former part of the letter being written by a Secretary or Clerk.

I have read a great many papers relating to the Regulators, and am having copies made of a large number. Your own State ought to have them all; and the expense would be for the State insignificant, if it does not send an Agent on purpose. A few hundred dollars would copy all you need from the State Paper Office, on all North Carolina topics. The Regulators are, on many accounts,

important. Their complaints were well founded, and were so acknowledged; though their oppressors were only nominally punished. They form the connecting link between resistance to the Stamp-act and the movement of 1775; and they also played a glorious part in taking possession of the Mississippi valley, towards which they were carried irresistibly by their love of Independence. It is a mistake if any have supposed that the Regulators were cowed down by their defeat at the Allemance. Like the mammoth, they shook the bolt from their brow and crossed the mountains.

I shall always be glad to hear from you, and to be of use to you or your State.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

D. S. SWAIN, ESQ.,
Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

THE CITY OF MYSTERIES.—A contemporary aptly, we think, nicknames Rochester, New York, the "City of Mysteries." It was there, he says, that many years ago the plans were matured for the mysterious disappearance of William Morgan, whose fate to this day has never been satisfactorily ascertained. Out of the Morgan affair, a political excitement was involved that swept, like a hurricane, all Western New York, and prostrated the Democratic party of the State. Here also was printed the *Book of Mormon*, by the Prophet Joe Smith, who pretended to have dug the golden plates from a sand-hill near Palmyra. The result of this wonderful imposture is now seen in the strange developments in Utah. It was in Rochester that the Fox girls brought out the mysterious sounds known as the "Rochester Knockings." From this germ sprung the modern spiritual system, numbering Judge Edmonds, Senator Tallmadge, and other eminent men among its votaries. The most recent Rochester mystery was the strange disappearance of Miss Emma Moore, in November last, and whose body has just been found in a mill-race, under circumstances which deepen the mystery.

A VENERABLE CHURCH.

LANCASTER COUNTY, Va., June 24, 1865.

Christ Church, in this County, is a curiosity well worth seeing. The records of the Parish extend back two hundred and eleven years, according to Bishop Meade; but the present building was erected in 1832. It has not been much used for some years, on account of its isolated situation and the bad condition of the roads in Winter. But, notwithstanding this fact and the injury done to it by both parties during the war, it is still sound in the main. It is cruciform. The roof is very steep and the exterior somewhat ornamented around the doors and windows. Around the venerable building lie the still more venerable dead of two centuries. Let us hope that while their remains quietly lie beneath the sod their tombstones do not lie above, for the epitaphs, in some instances, are very flattering.

Entering the church, the first thing that meets the eye is the singularity of the pews, which are high and enclosed on all sides—each one being, in fact, a box with seats on three sides.

This arrangement makes it impossible to see anything of one's neighbor, even when standing up, except the top of the head. Very provoking this would be in these days of rapid changes in the fashions. What would the gentlemen do if they couldn't see the pretty faces of the ladies; and the ladies (not if they couldn't see the gentlemen—oh, no!) if they couldn't see one another's rats, and cats, and cataracts, and other charming things they wear between the back of the head and the front, denominated Bonnets, by courtesy. However, if the congregation couldn't see one another, they could see the clergyman. Indeed, if they were a mind to do so, they could survey him all around by an occasional change of seat, for the pulpit is very high and stationed at one of the angles of the cross projecting toward the center of the church.

The usual sounding board is suspended over the pulpit. The chancel is in one of the arms of the cross, on the right of the pulpit. The font, the bowl of which is now broken from the stem and lies upon the communion table, is large and beautiful. The top of the table is split either by the weight of the bowl or by violence. The original plastering is still on the roof and walls, uninjured save where discolored by a few leaks in the roof, which has been only twice repaired, and is now in good order. The floor is of stone; and in the center of the church is a tombstone inserted in the floor, bearing the solemn inscription:

"*Todie mihi, cras tibi.*"—"To-day for me; "to-morrow for thee."

In one corner, near the chancel, is one still more curious, the epitaph of which is as follows. The spelling is copied *verbatim;* but in the original every letter is a capital:

"Here Lyeth Buried Ye Body of John Carter,
"Esq., Who Died Ye 10th Day of Jan., Anno
"Domini, 1669; and Also Jane, Ye Daughter Mr.
"Morgan Glyn, and George, Her Son, and Elinor
"Carter.
"And Ann, Ye Daughter of Mr. Cleave Carter
"and Sarah, Ye Daughter of Mr. Gabriel Lad-
"lowe; and Sarah, Her Daughter, Which Ware
"All His Wives Successively, And Died Before
'Him.
"Blessed Are The Dead Which Die in the Lord,
"etc."

How many wives had he, and which were they?

Lately the building has been thoughtlessly used by picnic parties. Strange that so little reverence for things dedicated to sacred uses should exist in the minds of people living in Christian lands.

La Fayette.—On the invitation by Congress to General Lafayette to visit the United States, a national ship, the *Delaware*, 74, then just finished, was to be the vessel, which Lafayette declined, on the ground that such a public demonstration was inconsistent with republican simplicity. The vessel which brought him was the packet-ship *Cadmus*, the wales and bottom planks of which have been subsequently employed at San Francisco, in repairing "Battery-street, in front "of Wheeler's gymnasium."

"Mason's and Dixon's Line" was run in December of 1763, to terminate a dispute between the proprietaries of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Its subsequent claim as the political line dividing the free from the slaveholding States is purely accidental. Mr. Latrobe, in an essay read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, three or four years since, says that Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon landed at Philadelphia from London, in November, 1763, and entered at once upon their work, which confirmed a previous rough survey made in 1761 and 1762. He says: "The lines whose history has thus been given "were directed to be marked in a particular man-"ner, both by the agreements of the parties and "the decree of Lord Hardwicke; and the sur-"veyors accordingly planted, at the end of every "fifth mile, a stone graven with the arms of the "Penns on one side and of the Baltimore family "on the other, marking the intermediate miles "with smaller stones having a P on one side and "an M. on the other. The stones with the arms "were all sent from England. This was done on "the parallel of latitude as far as Sideling Hill; "but here all wheel transportation ceasing in 1776, "the further marking of the line was the vista of "eight yards wide, with piles of stones on the "crests of all the mountain ranges, built some "eight feet high, as far as the summit of the Al-"leghany, beyond which the line was marked by "posts, around which stones and earth were "thrown the better to preserve them!" Dixon died in England, in 1776; and Mason in Philadelphia, in 1787. It is said that Dixon was born in a coal mine.

Origin of a Political Saying.—In one of his letters from the West, Bayard Taylor attempts to account for the phrase: "Will row up Salt River." Salt River, where it debouches into the Ohio River, is not more than fifty or sixty yards in breadth, but very deep. It is never fordable, even in the dryest season; and, being navigable for fourteen miles above its mouth, has not been bridged at this point. We descended its steep and difficult banks, embarked our carriage upon a flat ferry-boat, and were conveyed across. The view looking up the river was very beautiful. Tall elms and sycamores clothed the banks, dropping their boughs almost to the water, and forming a vista of foliage through which the stream curved out of sight between wooded hills. I longed to row up it. While on the spot I took occasion to inquire the derivation of the slang political phrase, "Rowed up Salt River," and succeeded in discovering it. Formerly there were extensive salt-works on the river, a short distance from its mouth. The laborers employed in them were a set of athletic, belligerent fellows, who soon became noted far and wide for their achievments in the pugilistic line. Hence it became a common thing among the boatmen on the Ohio, when one of their number was refractory, to say to him, "We'll "row you up Salt River"—where of course the bully salt-men would have a handling of him. By a natural figure of speech, the expression was applied to political candidates, first, I believe, in the Presidential campaign of 1840.

Strange Mixture of Races.—There is said to be in Rochester a man aged one hundred and six years, whose ancestry, together with his own progeny, will exhibit one of the strangest mixtures of races ever heard of. His name is John Shenandoah O'Brien; and he was born in Boston, in 1762. His father was an Irishman, and his mother an Indian of the Oneida tribe. When twelve years old he was sent to France, and there educated as a physician. He returned to America, and served in the Revolutionary war. Afterwards, he went back to France, and there married the daughter of the Emperor of Morocco, by whom he had eight children. With her he lived in the United States for some time, and she died. He then married an American woman descended from the Teutonic line; and, after her death, married a negress, who was fifty years younger than himself, and by whom he had four children. In his children are united the blood of the Celt, the Teuton, the African, and the North American Indian.

Crockett's Log Cabin.—On the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, not far from Jackson, in Tennessee, it is said, still stands the humble log cabin, eighteen by twenty feet in size, built and occupied while he lived in the District, by the far-famed David Crockett. Its logs are fast decaying, and

desolation surrounds it; but no traveler passes it without an eager desire to look upon that humble roof that sheltered one of the truest representatives of the American pioneer character—a hero and an honest man. Near it is a railroad station, called Crockett's Station; around it, perhaps, will rise a town to bear and perpetuate a name as familiar to his countrymen as that of Jackson.

Large Trees.—Until within a few years there stood near the junction of the Scantic River with the Connecticut, in the town of East Windsor, a large sycamore or buttonwood. After the tree had partly decayed, and a shell of wood, perhaps two inches thick on the outside remained, Mr. John Pelton found that a pole twelve feet long could be placed horizontally inside of the shell, making the tree more than thirty-six feet in circumference. Another tree measured twenty-four feet. These trees stood near where the first English settlers in Connecticut located.

Value of American Silver Coins.—At an auction sale in New York, this week (November, 1867,) of the silver coins of the United States, of the quarter dollars, the one which brought the heaviest price was the quarter dollar of 1823, very rare, there having been not more than a score probably ever put into circulation. It sold for $47.50. Of the dimes, the choice impressions were sold as follows: A dime of 1842, very fine, $25; 1843, very fine, $25; 1851, and from that time down for the next ten years, the dimes brought only 15 to 50 cents each. Of the half-dimes, that of 1794 brought $10, and others from that date to 1801 brought from $3.25 to $5.60 each. The half-dime of 1802, which is said to be more rare than any other coin in the American silver series, there being but three specimens known, was bought for $45. Others sold for prices ranging from $3.75 to $1.22. Large prices were paid for other coins, of which the largest was for the silver dollar of 1804, which was purchased for $750.

Quaint Directions.—The following list is taken from the *Boston Directory* of 1789—the first one ever published:

Mrs. Baker, innholder, sign of the Punch Bowl, Dock-square.

Mary Butler, boarding-house for gentlemen and all sorts of garden seeds, No. 56 Newbury-street [now Washington-street, near Essex].

Joshua Brackett, innholder, Cromwell's Head, South Latin School-street.

Bellerive de Berry, gentlemen, near Phillips's rope-walk.

Moses Bradley, sign of White-horse, near Charles River Bridge [to Charlestown].

Daniel Crosby, wig-maker and clerk to Trinity Church, Newbury-street.

Wm. Cordwell, brazier, sign of the Dog and Pot.

Wm. Doak, Windsor-chair maker. Back-street [now Salem-street].

Frothingham, Wheeler & Jacobs, coach-makers, at the Laboratory, near the Hay-market, in West-street.

Samuel Gore, Painters-arms, Court-street.

Israel Hatch, innholder, sign of the Grand Turk, Newbury-street.

Samuel Jenks, sign of the Bellows.

Mrs. Loring, innholder, sign of the Golden-ball, Merchants' Row.

Joseph Morton, sign of the White-horse, Newbury-street.

Abigail Moore, sign of the Lamb, Newbury-street.

John Pope, schoolmaster and surgeon, particularly a curer of cancers and malignant ulcers, &c., Vincents' lane, [now the upper part of Franklin street.

James Vila, Bunch of Grapes Tavern.

Claude de la Poterie, Roman Catholic priest, Vice-prefect and Missionary Apostolic, Rector of the church in South Latin School-street, dedicated to God under the title of the Holy Cross, Oliver's-lane.

John Warren, Physician, South Latin School-street, next Cromwell's Head.

Abigail Woodman, stay-maker and man-tailor, Creek-lane.

A Relic.—The Pedestal on which stood the Equestrian Statue of George III., in Bowling Green, has been in use, for the last half century as a stepping stone to dwellings occupied by the Vorst family, in Jersey City.

The Jersey City Telegraph mentions some facts connected with its history. This stone was the pedestal of the statue of George III., which stood in Bowling Green until the year 1776, when the statue was run into revolutionary bullets. In 1783, Major John Smith of the British army died, and was buried on a hill, near the present site of St. Mathew's Church, in Sussex-street. The hill was leveled in 1804, by Andrew Dey, or the Jersey Associates. It is not known what then became of the remains of Major Smith.

John Van Vorst, grandfather of Alderman Van Vorst, took the stone and made a step of it to his old mansion, which stood a few rods south of the present J. Van Vorst's residence. That building was demolished in 1818; and the pedestal was transferred to the residence of the late Cornelius Van Vorst, on the northerly side of Wayne-street,

near Jersey-street. It there became a stone step at a kitchen door, and remained until when workmen were removing it to be used again for the same purpose; and, upon turning it over, they discovered an inscription as follows:

In memory of
Major JOHN SMITH,
Of the XLIId ∩ or Royal Highland Regiment,
Who died 25th July, 1783,
In the 48th year of his age.
This stone is erected
By the ∩ brave officers of that Regiment.
His Bravery, Generosity and Humanity, during an
Honorable service of 29 years,
Endeared him to the soldiers, to his acquaintance and friends.

The stone is of Portland marble five and one-half feet long and four inches thick; and was brought to this country from England, to be used as a pedestal to the statue. In 1828, an English gentleman called upon Mr. Van Vorst and offered him five hundred dollars for this stone; but the offer was declined. It yet bears the marks of two of the feet of the horse, which are designated above by ∩. *New York Tribune.*

Governor Hutchinson.—P. Hutchinson, whose grandfather was a son of Governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, states, in a communication to a British journal, that the family have MSS. of his ancestor that have not been printed. Among them is a Diary, kept from 1774 until his death in 1780, and a *verbatim* account of his interview with George III. on his first arrival in England. Both the King and the Minister, Lord Dartmouth, were so anxious to see him that he was not allowed time to procure a court dress, but was introduced to them just as he was, in travelling costume. The interview was a long one, and the Governor committed the whole to the paper *verbatim.*

The same ship which carried over Governor Hutchinson's son, in 1776, also carried over the family of Copley, the artist, among whom was Lord Lyndhurst, who then was four years old. Mr. Hutchinson states that the Governor's salary of two thousand pounds a year was continued until his death; that he lived on terms of friendship with all the first persons, and visited, with his family, the King. To this it may be added that there are at the State House MSS. of the Governor, consisting of his private letter book, very curious—portions of which only have been printed.—*Boston Post.*

Pennsylvania.—In strolling through the church-yard of old St. Peter's, Great Valley, Chester-county, some time since, I was struck with the numerous instances of old age attained by the greater part of those who slept beneath its tombstones; the first eight of which I looked at marked ages between seventy and ninety years. Soon my attention was called to another part of the enclosure by seeing ten large marble slabs, supported by marble columns, all of them alike in appearance, and ranged side by side. On going to the spot I found that they covered the remains of a father, mother, and eight children. The family name was Lloyd. Their deaths occurred between the years 1820 and 1856. The father—William Lloyd—died at the age of eighty-eight, December the first, 1820; the mother—Rachel eighty-five, December the third, 1820—only two days apart. The three sons and five daughters, none of whom were ever married, died at the respective ages of fifty-two, sixty-six, sixty-seven, sixty-eight, seventy-three, eighty-two, eighty-five, and ninty! So remarkable a case of family longevity is rarely witnessed. I do wonder which of the two was most conductive to it, to wit; the healthy atmosphere of Chester-county, or the happy celibacy in which they lived? *Philadelphia Sunday Despatch.*

The Losses of Georgia.—The losses of Georgia, during the war were enormous, far more than is generally realized at the North. The statistics furnished in a recent Report of the Comptroller-general of that State enable us to form a tolerably correct conception of the damages sustained by Georgia. By the tax returns of 1866, the taxable property is estimated at two hundred and twenty-two millions, one hundred and eighty-three thousands, seven hundred and eighty-seven dollars; while in 1860, it was returned at six hundred and seventy-two millions, two hundred and ninety-two thousands, four hundred and forty-seven dollars; which, reduced to currency, would be two hundred and eight millions, four hundred and thirty-eight thousands, six hundred and sixty-three dollars, making over seven hundred millions, as the loss occasioned by the war in one State alone.

This estimate does not include the amount swallowed up in Confederate bonds and scrip, which the Comptroller believes would swell the total loss of property in the Empire State of the South to above a thousand million dollars. This seems incredible. The returns of population, as far as they have reached the office, indicate a decided loss in population. Eighty-six thousand, nine hundred and nine white population is reported, against ninety-nine thousand, seven hundred and forty-eight, in 1860; showing a loss of twelve thousand, eight hundred and thirty-nine, or nearly one-eighth. No such extraordinary ex-

ample of voluntarily encountered impoverishment and destruction of life can be furnished by history.

A Gaelic Settlement in Carolina.—In a letter which the *Inverness Courier* has received from a Reverend friend in North Carolina, U. S., are the following interesting particulars:—

"It may be interesting to some of your readers "to learn that the Scotch Highlanders were among "the first settlers of the State of North Carolina. "The great majority of them were from the "Hebrides, from Islay, Jura, Mull, Coll and "Skye; and not a few from the mainland of Argyll. "The precise date of the landing of the first Scot-"tish emigrants in the Carolinas cannot be well as-"certained. It appears that Scotch families were "settled on the Cape Fear River previous to "the division of the Province into North and "South Carolina, in 1729. Some time between "1744 and 1746, a Highlander, named Neil "Macneil, from Argyllshire, visited North Caro-"lina. He returned to Scotland in 1748, and, in "the following year, landed in Wilmington, "North Carolina, with his family and about "three hundred emigrants (some say six hundred) "from the District of Kintyre, Argyllshire. It is "said that upon the arrival of so unusual an impor-"tation at Wilmington, the authorities, struck with "the dress and language of the new comers, re-"quired Macneil to enter into a bond for their "peaceful and good behavior. Perhaps the "warlike spirit of the Celtic race struck the "Wilmingtonians with such terror as led to "the demand of the bond. Our intrepid country-"man managed to evade the demand, and, "ascended the Cape Fear with this band of his "countrymen. From this period the emigration "was yearly on the increase. Mr. Macdonald of "Kingsburgh and his lady, the farfamed Flora "Macdonald, famous for her adherence to the un-"fortunate Pretender, Prince Charles, in his "forlorn condition after his defeat at Culloden, "emigrated with a number of others from the "Isle of Skye; so that every year added to the "number of the Scotch Highland emigrants, until "they soon formed the majority of the popula-"tion and controlled the civil and ecclesiastical "interests of no less than seven Counties, viz: "Cumberland, Bladen, Robeson, Richmond, "Montgomery, Moore and Harnett.

"The Gaelic language is spoken in its purity by "many in these Counties; and in both my churches "I preach in it every Sabbath. On last Sabbath, I "assisted at the dispensation of the Lord's Supper "in a congregation forty miles distant from my "home, and preached and served a table at "which upwards of one hundred and fifty had "taken their seats, who have not heard a sermon "in the language of their childhood for the "last ten years. Many a tear was shed during "the service, many a warm shake of the hand, "such as a Highlander can give, was given, and "many a blessing was bestowed upon your cor-"respondent at parting with the warm-hearted "people. The Reverend Colin Maciver, a native "of Stornoway, Lews, was the last preacher who "could preach in Gaelic till I came to the State, "two years ago. He died in this town, in 1850, "much respected and regretted by his coun-"trymen in North Carolina. I will state an in-"stance of the preponderance of the Scotch "Highlanders in this State. The *North Carolina "Presbyterian*, a religious paper and the organ "of our Synod, published in the town of Fayette-"ville, has upwards of eight hundred Macs on "its list of subscribers, besides those who "claim the honor of pertaining as much to the "Celtic race as those who bear that ancient pat-"ronymic.

"The Presbytery of Fayetteville, of which I "and one of my sons are members, has thirteen "Macs among its clerical members, and seven "others who will not yield the palm to their "brethren of the Mac families in tracing their "Celtic origin; and hence our Presbytery has the "cognomen of 'the Scotch Presbytery' given to "us by our brethren of the Synod of North Caro-"lina,"

Old Churches in New Jersey.—The Dutch Reformed Church on Bergen Hill, about two miles back of Jersey City, claims to be the first church of any denomination established in New Jersey. The First Presbyterian church at Elizabeth was organized in 1666. It was the first church in New Jersey where services were held in the English language. The old First Presbyterian church on Broad-street, in this city, was built in 1673, the congregation having been organized in 1667. The Baptist church in Piscataway, Middlesex-county, was established in 1680. The Raritan Dutch Reformed church, in Somerset-county, near the junction of the North and South branches of the Raritan river, was organized in 1790. A Presbyterian church was established not far from Freehold, in 1692. The Episcopal church at Perth Amboy was established in 1698. The Presbyterians first had worship in Perth Amboy, in 1781.

General Knox.—No journalist ever goes to Thomaston without examining the Knox mansion. In 1795, General Henry Knox, after serving his country in the most honorable manner during the Revolutionary war, and then as Secretary of War, under Washington, resigned his

office, and removed to Thomaston. He had been a bosom companion of Washington during the war, which had ripened into a friendship that continued until Washington's death. General Knox came into possession of the Waldo Patent; and, in 1793, sent an architect, with workmen, to build him a spacious mansion. This building had a basement of brick, on which were two lofty stories of wood and a cupola-like story in the roof. It had a swelled front, and made a very imposing appearance. This, with the outbuildings, cost fifty thousand dollars, and was said to be unequalled by anything of the kind in the Commonwealth. It was situated on the banks of the George's River, near the site of the old fort. In the rear, it was sheltered by the forests; and in front, the expanse of water, with its cool breezes and the distant landscape, rendered it charming to the eye. The mansion was named Montpelier. The family came in a sloop, from Philadelphia, in 1795. General Knox here lived like a Baron. It is said that a hundred beds were made, and an ox and twenty sheep slaughtered in a week, and twenty saddle-horses and carriages kept to accommodate guests and sojourners. He once invited the Penobscot tribe to visit him, and fed them till he was obliged to invite them to go home.

The General paid attention to the introduction of settlers, and the manufacture of lime. He attempted to improve the breeds of cattle and sheep, having imported a coarse-wooled breed from England, which he crossed with our native breeds, and increased the weight, if not the quality, both of the carcase and the fleece. Shipbuilding also engaged his attention. He also improved the navigation of the George's River, for the passage of rafts and gondolas as far up as Union.

In consequence of these various operations, he soon became a busy business man. His wife was a lady of fashion; but he chose for his companions, men of wisdom and talent. His library contained one thousand, five hundred and thirty-five volumes at the time of his death. He seemed to be somewhat Utopian in his schemes; but engaged in his private affairs with zeal. It was on the twenty-fifth of October, 1806, that General Knox died quite suddenly, from swallowing the sharp bones of a chicken at dinner. His funeral was celebrated with military honors, and his remains now lie in the village cemetery, beneath a monument of Thomaston marble. The inscription is as follows:

"The Tomb
"of
"MAJOR GENERAL KNOX,
"who
"died Oct. 25, 1806.
"Aged 56 years.

"'Tis Fate's decree; farewell! thy just renown,
"The hero, honor, and the good man's crown."

The mansion is still standing, but in a dilapidated condition. Relic hunters have stripped much of the inside. The piazzas, balconies and gates are all gone. The furniture is all gone. We ate our dinner to-day at the General's dining-table, in the house of one of the citizens. Thus fades away a man's glory. His works and his bones alike decay.

An Old Roman Coin Found Among the Mackinac Indians.—The Detroit *Free Press* was shown, recently, by G. M. Wendell, of Mackinac, a relic, in the shape of an old Roman coin or medal, in an excellent state of preservation, with the inscriptions and figures quite distinct and in good relief. This coin, Mr. Wendell states, was given to him by an Indian at Fort Makinac, who said he found it, or dug it up in the earth. This being the fact, the opening for speculation is wide as to how it came there. The first thought is that it was brought to the New World by the Jesuit Missionaries, who, in their self-sacrificing devotion to their chosen duty, penetrated the heart of the continent generations ago, and made their dwelling-place among the aborigines, while they endeavored to teach them the truths of the cross. Or this mute relic of the ages might have been brought by the Nordmen, who, venturing away from the Icelandic or Scandinavian harbors, coasted at length along the shores of North America, and from thence carried inland till it found the resting-place from which it has now been exhumed. Or still another hypothesis: The ancient working of the Lake Superior mines, so evidently the labor of a more enlightened race than the Indian, may have been the means of bringing the coin hither. But, if this were so, why have not more of them, or similar relics, been discovered? The first of the above premises is, no doubt, the correct one, and this coin has served as a pocket-piece to Father Marquette, or some one of his coadjutors. As in this connection it might have a striking significance to some persons, as it belonged to the time and reign when the new religion of Christ was beginning to be preached, having been struck off in the beginning of the second century, it would thus be a significant accompaniment to the introduction of Christianity into the New World.

The coin, which is of the size of a nickle cent, and as thick as an American ten cent piece, bears upon the face a medallion portrait of the Roman emperor, Trajan, surrounded by the following inscription:

Imperatori Trajano Augusto Ger.—Dac—P. M.—T.—R.—Coss.—V. P. R. "The Sen-"ate and People of Rome to the conqueror of the "Germans and Dacians, Chief Ruler."

Upon the reverse, is the figure of a Roman warrior clad in armor, with a spear and shield, with these words :

"S. P. Q. R.—Optimo Principi."—"The Sen-"ate and the People of Rome to the best" (or most cherished) "prince."

This little relic, insignificant in itself, has come down through the centuries from the time of the ruler under whose command the Roman arms were carried further than ever before or after.

A Rhode Island Emperor.—A correspondent of the *Fall River News* says that, in 1792, a colored man by the name of Newport, who belonged to Henry Bowers, then a wealthy merchant of Somerset, R.I., was a sailor in one of his master's vessels. Being in St. Domingo at the time of the insurrection, he left his vessel and joined the insurgents. He was intelligent, bold, and reckless. Hailing as he did from the United States, the blacks saw in him the man who would secure their freedom and achieve their independence. On the capture of Touissant L'Overture, he was appointed Commander-in-chief; and on the first of January, 1804, under the name of Jean Jacques Dessalnes, he was proclaimed Emperor for life. He was assassinated, on the fourteenth of October, 1806.

The Oldest Person Known.—A colored woman, Mrs. Flora Stuart of Londonderry, N.H., the *Manchester American* says, is the oldest person known in the United States. She was born in Boston in 1750, and consequently is twenty-six years older than the Declaration of American Independence. As she tells the story, her father and mother, when she was three months old, came into possession of the Simpson family of Windham, N. H., as slaves, and remained with them until after the abolition of slavery in that State.

XIII.—NOTES.

Stamp Tax.—This sort of tax is not novel in this country. In 1756, the Legislature of New York passed a law establishing a Stamp Office for stamping all Vellum, Parchment, and Paper charged with certain duties. Next followed the famous Stamp-act passed by Great Britain, in 1765. And we have now before us a Promissory note drawn by Jer. V. Rensselaer, in favor of the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Albany, for Twenty-three Dollars, dated "19 Decr., 1798," which is on a Ten cent stamp. This consists of a shield in the centre, surmounted by a spread eagle. On the upper part of the circle are the words "Ten "Cents": at the bottom "New York."

Albany, N. Y. O'C.

Value of American Autographs.—A Parisian firm advertises the signature of Jefferson Davis for sale at fifteen francs, and of William H. Seward for ten francs. J. W.

Belfast, Maine.

Origin of Gettysburg.—"*Died.*—In Gettys-"burgh, (Pa.) Mrs. Isabella Gettys, in the 84th "year of her age; and on the evening follow-"ing, her son, General James Gettys, *proprietor* "*of that borough*, in the 56th year of his age." —*N. York Columbian*, March 28, 1815.

New York City. T. F. D. V.

Old Bell.—It is said that in Marietta, Ohio, the bell in use on the Court-house is the one presented by that unfortunate Queen, Maria Antoinette of France, after whom the town was named. This bell is held in great esteem by the citizens.

Belfast, Me. J. W.

Small pox.—I find a case of this in New Amsterdam, "17 Feb. 1663," in a woman in labor. Her name was Maritjie Janson, widow of Cornelis Langevelde, who died about a week before; but I know not of what sickness. The woman recovered.

Albany, N. Y. O'C.

England and America in 1813.—The following is from the London *Times* of March 13th, 1813:—

"The public will learn, with sentiments which "we shall not presume to anticipate, that a third "British frigate has struck to an American. This "is an occurrence that calls for serious reflection "—this and the facts stated in our paper of yes-"terday that Lloyd's list contains notices of up-"wards of five hundred British vessels captured "in seven months by the Americans. Five hun-"dred merchantmen and three frigates!

"Can the statement be true; and can the "English people hear them unmoved? Any one "who had predicted such a result of an American "war this time last year would have been treated "as a madman or a traitor. He would have been "told, if his opponents had condescended to "argue with him, that long ere seven months had "elapsed the American flag would be swept from "the seas, the contemptible navy of the United

"States annihilated, and their maritime arsenals "rendered a heap of ruins.

"Yet down to this moment not a single Amer- "ican frigate has struck her flag. They insult us "and laugh at our want of enterprise and vigor. "They leave their ports when they please and "return to them when it suits their convenience: "they traverse the Atlantic, they beset the West "India Islands, they advance to the very Chops "of the Channel, they parade along the coasts of "South America—nothing chases, nothing inter- "cepts, nothing engages them, but to yield them "triumph."

NEW YORK. J. M.

XIV.—QUERIES.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE LONG ISLAND TURF.

MY DEAR SIR:—While perusing a file of *The Royal American Gazette*, published in this city by Alexander Robertson, I noticed in the number for Thursday, April 26, 1781, the following advertisements, which I have copied *verbatim et literatum*, for the amusement of your readers:

ASCOT HEATH *Second* MEETING.—On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the 5th, 6th, and 7th of June next, being in WHITSUNTIDE WEEK, will be run for on each of those days,

A Purse of One Hundred Pounds Value.

Also on each of the said days, will be run for a purse of TWENTY POUNDS value,

Calculated for horses that are not properly trained.

Particulars of the whole will be notified, in proper time, by advertisements and hand-bills.

Brooklyn Hall, April 26, 1781. CHARLES LOOSLEY.

STOLE from the Plains of Flatlands, on Saturday night last, between the hours of nine and ten in the evening, about seventy yards of new WHITE INCH ROPE, that had been fixed there for the utility of the races. The rope is the property of CHARLES LOOSLEY, at Brooklyn-Hall; and he hopes that every exertion will be made to bring to justice the perpetrators of this inroad upon property, and insult to commendable amusements—for which purpose TWENTY GUINEAS will be paid on conviction of one or more of the offenders, by CHARLES LOOSELEY.

Brooklyn Hall, April 28, 1781.

As Wood and Thompson, the historians of Long Island, are silent respecting "Ascot Heath," I cannot even guess with any degree of certainty, where it was, much less give any particulars respecting its spirited manager.

If any of your readers can do so, probably some of your younger readers might feel interested, as would

Your old fogy friend,

THE WRITER.

COMMODORE ABRAHAM WHIPPLE, who died on the twenty-seventh of May, 1819, at Marietta, Ohio, a native of Rhode Island, "was the man "who fired the *first shot on the water* in defiance "of the British Flag, which he ventured to do on "the twenty-fifth of June, 1775, at a time when no "other man in the Colony would undertake the "hazardous business, lest he should be destined "to the threatened cord."

I find the above in the *New York Columbian*, July 2, 1819. Can any one furnish an account of the circumstances attending this "first shot?"

T. F. DE V.

XV.—REPLY.

KNICKERBOCKERS, (*H., M.*, II. ii. 312)—A reeent member of *Punch* has a cartoon purporting to be a "Study of an animated discussion be- "tween two gentlemen of diametrically opposite "views. Subject of discussion: Gentlemen's Even- "ing Dress: Shall it remain as it is, or shall blaek "velvet *Knickerbockers* and Silk Stockings "supersede the present discreet cloth unmention- "ables."

This seems to indicate that the article referred to by "K," was akin to a pair of breeches.

NEW YORK CITY. TYPO.

XVI.—BOOKS.

I.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B "DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & CO., *Booksellers*, 654 *Broadway, New York City*, as shall be most convenient for them.]

1. *Voyages of the Slavers*, St. John, *and* Arms of Amsterdam, 1659, 1653; together with Additional Papers illustrative of the Slave Trade under the Dutch. Translated from the original manuscripts, with an Introduction and Index. By E. B. O'Callaghan. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1867. Small quarto, pp. xxxii, 255.

The third of the series of "New York Colo- "nial Tracts" which Mr. Munsell is laying before the world, is now before us; and if the two which preceded it are of little general interest, the third supplies the deficiency and stamps the series with an importance which every student will appreciate.

It is true that the Dutch introduced Negro Slavery into America, in 1619; yet not even the commercial spirit which controlled that enterprising people could induce them, for many years, to continue a trade in slaves, not even in slaves which they captured from their enemies. As lately as 1631, two cargoes of Negroes which were captured off Hispaniola from the Spaniards, were set at liberty with the ships which carried them, because the Dutchmen were not from Massachusetts and knew no use, as Merchandise, to which they could put the captives.

The capture of Pernambuco, Curaeoa, and other Southern territories, soon after, led to a change in this temper, however; and, in 1636, the Dutch also were busily engaged in selling men at public

auction. Five years after, they captured Loando St. Paulo; and from that time, for many years, the African Slave-trade was completely controlled by them.

There does not seem to have been any Negro Slavery in New Netherland, however, until 1625 or 1626, when eleven, thought to have been captured at sea, were brought to Manhattan. Two years after, three others were introduced into the infant settlement; and there is said to be no record of any other than these until the feudal scheme of Patroonships was set in motion, in 1629, when the Company encouraged it by promising to those who proposed to establish Colonies, that it would "use its endeavors to supply the "Colonists with as many Blacks as it could, con-"veniently"—certainly not very enticing to the settlers and very conclusive, as evidence of the extent and profit of the Dutch Slave-trade in New Netherland, even when spurred to it by the prospect of an increased settlement in America.

It was not until the summer of 1646, it is said, that the first Slave-ship, the *Amandare*, arrived at the Manhattans. The Negroes were purchased by the Colonists in exchange for Pork and Peas; and great were the expectations which had been raised concerning them—but "they just dropped "through the Fingers" of the homely Dutchmen, and like the children who have had their fingers burned with a hot poker, they wisely let the Negroes alone, and were not easily tempted to touch them, again, even six years after, when a direct trade to Africa was thrown open to them by the Mother Country.

In 1655, slaves began to be regularly imported into New Netherland; but there seems to be no evidence that the trade was carried on by the residents of the Colony; and it is equally evident that it was not carried on with Africa, direct, until several years later—"to the Credit of New "Netherland, it is to be recorded that," as lately as 1664, "no Ships nor Merchant belonging to "that Colony had ever been engaged in the Afri-"can Slave Trade. An effort had, it is true, "been made to embark in it, but the Project, for-"tunately for the Honor of the Country fell "through."

The slave traffic of New Netherland, like that of Massachusetts, seems to have been with the West Indies and Curacoa, rather than with Africa: unlike that of Massachusetts, it was carried on with Pork and Beans, and other home productions, without stealing Indians from the out-country, to serve as currency with which to pay for the Africans whom the Colonists might purchase there.

In the volume before us we have two papers which possess something of the character of protests of officers of two slave ships which were lost between Africa and the Indies—one by shipwreck, and the other by capture;—and these trifles have served as a nucleus for what must prove to be a very important addition to the historical literature of New York. Indeed, our good friend, the Editor, informs his readers that he has gathered and translated the Papers in the Secretary of State's Office, illustrative of Slavery and Slave-trade under the Dutch; and those who know him will rest assured that nothing has been concealed, as is the habit elsewhere, when anything is discovered which tells against the Apocryphal claims of Apocryphal ancestors.

Of this work, only one hundred copies were printed; and its beauty, as a specimen of fine work, will ensure it a welcome even among those who feel no interest in the historical character of its contents.

2. *Historical Sketch of the Chatham Artillery during the Confederate Struggle for Independence.* By Charles C. Jones, Jr. Late Lieutenant-colonel of Artillery, C. S. A. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1867. Octavo, pp. 240.

In this truly beautiful volume, we have another of those personal narratives, by actors in the recent Civil War, which in times to come will possess so much importance in the hands of the historian, as guides for his pen and as tests of his merit.

The Chatham Artillery of Savannah, Georgia, was one of the oldest and most honorable of the military associations of the South; and when it was called into the service of the State, by the legally constituted authorities, it responded with alacrity and good faith. It was among those who occupied Fort Pulaski, on the third of January, 1861; who garrisoned that post, during several months; who fought at Secessionville, James Island, Fort Wagner, Olustee Station, etc.; and whose influence was widely felt throughout the Confederate armies. The record of its services, therefore, must be useful to the student and the historian, and the documents with which the narrative is illustrated and enforced will not be easily found elsewhere.

Although we do not agree with the Author in the political portions of the work, we can readily understand why he insists on their maintainance before the world, and as readily we can excuse them in one who honestly believes them. Those portions of the volume which are *historical* in their character, without regard to any other, entitle it to the careful attention of every student of the history of the recent war; and for these alone we commend it to the attention of our readers.

3.—*The Queens of American Society.* By Mrs. Ellet. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. (2) 464.

In this volume, Mrs. Ellet has produced sketches of the lives of a large number of the most distinguished women of our country; and in some

cases, these sketches are illustrated with portraits, and in others they are crammed with puffs and the most marked attempts at display.

It is not to our taste, notwithstanding the apology in the Preface, that any of our countrywomen should assume to be "Queens" among their sisters; and, notwithstanding more than one of our personal acquaintances are brought before the world in this volume, we cannot bring ourself to the belief that either of them was really aware of the use that was to be made of the material which was evidently furnished to Mrs. Ellet for this work.

Notwithstanding this drawback, we regard the volume as a useful addition to the Biography of America, since the family histories of many of the leading houses is opened to the student, and will often be found useful.

If the paper had been of better quality the volume would have been a handsome one; as it is, it only so-so.

4.—*The Campaigns of Lieut.-Gen. N. B. Forrest, and of Forrest's Cavalry*, with Portraits, Maps, and Illustrations. By General Thomas Gordon and J. P. Pryor. New Orleans, Memphis, and New York: Blelock & Company. 1868. October, pp. 704.

In the volume before us, we have another of these authoritative volumes, concerning the War of Secession, which are beginning to take their places in the permanent literature of the country, much to the relief of the working student and certainly to the benefit of Historical truth.

It is the work of two gentlemen who have had the free use of all the material, whether documentary or epistolary, concerning the military life of General Forrest; and as that officer has given to it his personal approval, like Badeau's *Grant*, this work may be considered as Autobiographical in its character and importance. It cannot be overlooked, therefore, by any one who aspires to honorable authorship concerning the recent War; and it must continue to occupy its leading position as long as the subject of which it treats shall possess any interest to the world.

It is a pattern of typographical neatness in a volume which is open to "the Trade;" and we have pleasure in calling the attention our readers to it.

5.—*A Rejoinder to Mr. Bancroft's Historical essay on President Reed.* By William B. Reed. Philadelphia: The Author. 1867. Octavo, pp. 114.

Our readers will remember how earnestly and how effectually Mr. Reed, a year ago, defended the memory of his grandfather from Mr. Bancroft; and how ably and manfully he combatted the personal enmity which had led Doctor Rush and General Cadwalader to mislead those who had followed them, concerning the character and conduct of Joseph Reed, whether considered as a soldier or civilian, as an office bearer or as a man: this handsome pamphlet annihilates Mr. Bancroft's subsequent apology for his former slanders; and leaves no excuse for his eagerness to detract, even at the cost of the Truth.

We have read every line of Mr. Reed's argument and of the testimony of the original authorities with which he has so amply sustained it; and we see nothing, in the questions which have been raised, which seems to require any further explanation or any further argument. Indeed, the open frankness with which, from the beginning, Mr. Reed has conducted this important discussion, the number and character of his authorities, his successful exposure of Mr. Bancroft's unpardonable falsehoods—falsehoods which have evidently originated in an unenviable prejudice against President Reed or an equally unpardonable unfriendliness to the President's grand-son—and what is known to have been the ignominious retreat to a foreign Court, of the slanderer of Schuyler and Reed, of Greene, and Sullivan, and Wayne, from the face of that indulgent community whose confidence he had thus so much outraged under the cloak of History, are among the most notable events of the past few months, in the Historical world; and there are not a few who will regard the return of Mr. Bancroft from his professional exile as a public misfortune which his tenth volume cannot possibly recompense.

As the greater number of our readers will probably procure the tract to which we have referred, we forbear any further comments concerning it. It may be had, we believe, at Appletons, in New York City.

6.—*A Memoir of the last year of the War of Independence, in the Confederate States of America*, containing an account of the operations of his commands in the years 1864 and 1865. By Lieutenant-general Jubal A. Early. Lynchburg: C. W. Button. 1867. Octavo, pp. 136. Price $1.00.

This volume, originally privately-printed by the Author, is thus re-produced with his permission for the benefit of the Virginia Memorial Association, which has undertaken the task of collecting and burying the Confederate dead.

It is the testimony of one of the principal actors during the recent Civil War, concerning the movements of his immediate commands; and it must continue to be important to every student of the history of that eventful period, as long as that history shall be studied.

We have not yet found time to examine the work for ourself, as we shall very soon endeavor to do; but those who have read it, bear witness to the candor of the author and to his manliness in assuming the responsibility for acts which those who are less upright would have most likely left with other persons.

The work is neatly printed, and is an important
dition to the literature of the War.

.—*The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for* 8. The Tribune Association, New York, pp. 104. Price

A very useful repository of information on the
rious political topics of the times, including the
ts of Congress, the votes at recent elections,
.—all from the Radical Republican standpoint.

.—*The Democratic Almanac and Political Compen-*
um for 1868. New York: Van Evrie, Horton & Co.
odecimo, pp. 82. Price 20c.

An attempt to make an Almanac to match that
ued by The Tribune Association, but from the
mocratic standpoint. It is, however, a sorry
lure, and entirely unreliable.

.—*The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the*
blic Library. 1867. Boston: 1867. Octavo, pp. 96.

In this neatly printed official pamphlet, we find
e Fifteenth Report of the Trustees of the ex-
llent Public Library of Boston; and we have
dom seen so completely exhaustive a Report.
The character of the Library building, the
mber and character of the Books, the quantities
d relative proportions of the different classes,
e catalogues, the administration of the insti-
tion, the circulation of the books, etc., are care-
lly discussed in its pages; and its lessons may
usefully studied by others beside librarians.
Thus, we learn of serious defects in the con-
uction of the fine building which is occupied
this Library; that its library of reference
mbers 110,881 volumes, and its circulating
brary 25,199, exclusive of 6,243, which have
en worn out, stolen, or lost during the past ten
ars; that in the former, 11 per cent. of its
ntents are American History and *Literature*,
d in the latter, American History is allowed
3-10ths of the collections, against 37 4-10 to
ction; that during the year, 208,963 volumes
ere in use, of which, in the Library of reference
per cent. were American History and *Litera-*
re; in the Library of Circulation 2 9-10 per
nt. were History *and Politics*, while, in the
rmer, Fiction is not noted, and in the latter it
rmed 68 1-5 per cent. of the entire circulation.
It is quite evident that the intelligence of
r countrymen serves them very poorly; and
at the Republic which rests on the virtue and
telligence of such as these, rests only on a very
rry foundation.
Verily! ours is truly a superficial age.

10.—*Davega's Hand-book of Central Park.* Sine loco, sine anno. Duodecimo, pp. 48.

One of the catchpenny advertising concerns of the day, in which a running description of the Central Park has been interwoven.

The title-page says it is "DAVEGA'S"; the Preface says it was written by "JULIAN K. LARKE"; the running title, at the head of every page, calls it "BALDWIN'S Hand-book"—as the Jew said to the passer-by the Publisher evidently says to the purchaser of this affair:—"You pays your money "and takes your shoise."

11.—*Final Proceedings and General Report of the Southern Famine Relief Commission.* New York, November, 1867. New York: 1867. Octavo, pp. 21.

Our excellent friend, John Bowne, Esq., the General Agent of the Commission, has sent this tract to us; and we learn from it that one hundred and sixty-nine thousand, three hundred and sixteen bushels of Corn were shipped by that body from the City of New York alone, for the relief of the Southern sufferers.

It is an interesting *expose* of the liberality which is found in New York; and we are pleased to see the record so distinctly set forth.

XVII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT PORTSMOUTH, OHIO.—On the morning of Thanksgiving Day last, a large congregation assembled in the First Presbyterian church of this place to listen to an historical discourse, and engage in the other exercises connected with the interesting occasion of the jubilee year of this church. The exercises were opened by the Reverend Joseph Chester of the Poplar-street Presbyterian church of Cincinnati. The historical discourse was preached by the Pastor, Doctor Pratt, from the text *Isa.* lxiii. 7. A brief review of the organization of the church, under Reverend Stephen Lindley, in 1817, with the names of its original fourteen members, was given; and also its subsequent history down to the present time, so far as it could be gathered from the records, and the recollection of the older members. Not one of the original members of the church is now living, and but one member of the congregation, Doctor G. S. B. Hempstead.

The church now numbers three hundred and seventy-eight. It has had ten ministers, only four of whom survive, viz.: Reverend H. Nevin of Baltimore; Reverend Aaron Williams, D.D., of Economoy, Pa.; Reverend Hiram Bingham of Windham, Ohio, and the present Pastor. Six have gone to their rest and reward, viz.: Reverend Stephen Lindley, Reverend J. Wood, Reverend Eleazer Brainerd, Reverend, Alexander B. Brown,

Reverend David Cushing, and Reverend Marcus Hicks.

At the close of the services, the congregation partook of an abundant and elegant dinner laid in the lecture room by the ladies of the congregation. Thereafter they assembled in the large upper room, and spent the whole afternoon in singing and listening to addresses and reminiscences of the early days. Doctor Hempstead, Reverend Doctor Burr of the Episcopal Church, Honorable E. Glover, and Captain L. N. Robinson, took prominent parts; and the Pastor read a poem by Mrs. M. R. McAboy, of Paris, Kentucky. In the evening, Doctor Williams read a memorial discourse on the life and character of Doctor Alexander B. Brown, and Reverend Mr. Chester also offered some remarks of a solemn and affecting character; and both speakers were heard again, after the serving of refreshments. The day will be marked with a white stone—the occasion will long be remembered. A full account of the proceedings, including the sermon, will shortly be published.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—At the regular monthly meeting of this Society, on Wednesday, on the fourth of December, Doctor Winslow Lewis in the chair, the Librarian reported the donation of twelve bound volumes, thirty-three pamphlets, etc., during the last month.

Mr. William H. Whitmore read a brief paper on the *Future Work of the Society*. Among the purposes of the organization, at an early day, was that of issuing a new edition of *Farmer's Register of the First Settlers in New England;* but as Mr. Savage soon engaged himself on the *Register*, the Society left it in his hands. The work as issued by Mr. Savage leaves the opportunity still to enlarge and re-arrange a new and more full edition. Several other undertakings were suggested.

Reverend Elias Nason read a paper on *The Old Bay State at the Front*—an abstract of which, taken from *The Boston Transcript*, we copy below, as a fair specimen of Massachusetts pretension, and of what, *in Boston*, is not considered "SECTIONALISM."

Massachusetts rhymes were nothing but crotchets, and if you deprive an elephant of its legs and tail, taking its probocis for Cape Cod, you have some notion of its indescribable form; with a bleak and brumal aspect; a rocky soil; a coast of perilous shoals and headlands; scenery neither picturesque nor commanding; without the grand mountain features, broad lakes, thundering cataracts, pictured rocks, or vast and fertile prairies of some of the sister States, as if

> "God's 'prentice hand he tried on her
> "And then he made the rest of them."

Her history: She has done many very silly, saucy, naughty things. She has, now and then, pretended to be hard of hearing, but no one could hear the clinkings of a dollar quicker; sometimes too prim and puckerish, often penny wise and ten pound foolish; she has often started off on some wild goose chase for moonshine, and caught, as Sir Hudibras, a ducking in the darkness.

In the very outset of her career, she hung inoffensive Quakers—innocent persons for witches; stole black men out of Africa and sold them on Long Wharf, Boston; muddled the brains of the red men with rum and then defrauded them of lands and peltry. She rebelled, with one Daniel Shays as head centre; was against the organ and big fiddle in the churches; went into the morus multicaulis or silk worm fever; fancied this world was near its end; embraced table-tipping and attempted to summon "spirits from the vasty "deep"; has had "know-nothing" and mutual admiration societies; in short, she has had more antis and cut up more antics than any, I had almost said than every, other State in the whole sisterhood.

Notwithstanding all this, Massachusetts is a grand, a glorious, a magnificent old State still. The blood of lofty patriots courses through her bounding heart: the torch of Science has been here kindled, By the pulpit, the forum, the Senate chamber and the Executive, whenever gyves needed to be riven she has done the work. Her sons with fearless front have met the hurricanes of every sea, and cloven their way into every wilderness; have faced the savage in his wild ferocity, the monarch in the plenitude of his power; have made her name a grand talisman of home and freedom to the wandering exile.

Hard-working, pains taking, right minded, honest-hearted, old Bay State! She has aspired to realize, to sustain, and to carry into execution, the great principles of civil and religious freedom, and those which underlie and make glad our common daily life; which give the poorest boy within our borders a chance to become a compeer with the proudest of the land, and which allow all to worship their Creator according to the dictates of their own conscience; which protects the humblest citizen, irrespective of the color of his coat or countenance. She honors labor, encourages art, cherishes fraternity, preserves equality.

Massachusetts has ever stood in the van of human progress; she has always ranged her forces right abreast of the danger, and struck her blows directly at the front. In the political compact on board the *May Flower*, to which may be traced the principles of the Declaration of our National Independence; in establishing free public schools; in founding the first successful college and setting up the first printing press; she was in position at

the front in the New World. At Louisburg, by her valiant Pepperell; in the march of science, by her Franklin with his kite, she held her place in front. When the Revolution came by James Otis, John Adams, and Samuel Adams, in the decision of great principles, she kept her pioneer position. Concord, Lexington and Bunker Hill tell where the first guns were fired and the first battle fought.

By Eli Whitney, through his invention of the cotton gin, and through the whizzing mills at Lowell and Lawrence, our State holds an advanced position in the cotton business. In constructing the first important merchant-vessel, the first man-of-war, in the China trade, oil trade, ice trade, and California trade, in the woollen, shoe and nail manufacture, Massachusetts stands foremost.

The first sewing machine, the first church-organ and pianoforte were built here. Massachusetts established, through Franklin, the postal system, and opened the first public library and Sunday School, and the first Normal school on this Continent. By Bancroft and Prescott, Motley, Palfrey and others, she has written the most valuable histories.

She was first in opening the magnificent system of railroads; and wherever the iron steed is prancing, her hardy sons are found building cities, erecting manufactories, founding schools and colleges, introducing civilization, directing the energies of the people, and, as by native right, leading the way. In the Atlantic Cable, by her Morse and Field, she stands at the head. When the far-off howling of the last wild tempest begun to break upon the ear of our own beloved State, and the thunder clouds came rolling on, and the solid framework of this republic government was shaking, the cry was, Who shall save us? John Albion Andrew of Massachusetts! By his quick combinations the immortal Sixth Regiment was organized, and moved with unexampled speed directly to the danger, and in Baltimore, on the nineteenth of April, wrote out again that mighty Saxon watch-word, Freedom, with her blood, and then went on to stem the storm.

More than one hundred thousand men from Massachusetts served at Fredericksburg and all along the Union line. The monuments at Washington, Antietam and Gettysburg, and those torn and tattered flags at the State House, will tell you she was grandly and magnificently in her position. Finally, the bonds are riven, the Gordian knot is cut, and Freedom's acclamations ring from shore to shore. Immediately, before the community are aware, the iron hand which is forever to bind these shores is pushed to the backbone of the Continent, with Massachusetts men in the lead, and but two rounds of the seasons will have passed when in seven days we can span the country from side to side—on a highway that will open up untold mines of wealth and be the foundation of prosperity for all coming generations.

Where will the old Bay State then stand? Let her keep on with her mountain moving labor as she has ever done,

> "And in the march of empire still,
> "When comes the battle's fiery brunt,
> "The cry will ring from line to line,
> "Old Massachusetts at the front!"

Auction Sale of Rare Books.—Messrs. Leonard & Co., No. 50 Bromfield-street, Boston, have just completed their auction sale of the library of the late Reverend William Jenks, D.D., comprised of Bibical, Theological, Philalogical and Historical Books, ancient and modern, and also a large number of antiquarian and other works, the whole containing five thousand volumes and six thousand pamphlets. The library was the collection of the late Reverend Doctor Jenks during his long life-time, and was selected with great care; and the sale contained many works not often found at an auction. The collection was especially rich in linguistic works and had either in whole or in part the Bible in fifty different languages, and among them a copy of the now very rare Eliot's Indian Bible.

The sale lasted three days and was very well attended. The bidding was at times very spirited, and there was quite a contest for the possession of the rarer works. Very fair prices were obtained for all, although the majority of the collection sold at about the average auction rates. Below are the amounts obtained upon the rarer works:

Mather, Cotton. *Translation of the Book of Psalms;* whereto are added some other Portions of the Sacred Scripture to enrich the Cantional, 12mo., Boston, N. E., 1718, for $20; *Military Duties, recommended to an Artillery Company;* at their election of officers in Charls Town, 1686, 12mo., Boston, N. E., 1687, for $30.

Ecclesiastical Tracts. *Advice of the Assembly of Divines concerning a Confession of Faith,* 1646; *Declaration of the Faith and Order in the Congregational Churches,* 1659; *Ecclesiastical Discipline of the Reformed Churches in France,* 1659; *Platform of Church Discipline in New England,* 1653; *Disputation concerning Church Members and their Children,* by an Assembly of Divines at Boston, N. E., 1659; *Propositions concerning Baptism, at the General Court held at Boston, N. E.,* 1662; *An Anatomy of Independency,* 1664; *An Antidote against Independency,* 1644; and other rare tracts. London, 1643–63, for $100.

Sermons and Orations. *Phenomena quædam Apocalyptica,* by Samuel Sewall, Boston, 1727; *The Fountain Opened,* by Samuel Willard, Boston, n. d.; *Proposals touching the Accomplishment of*

Prophecies, by S. Sewall, Boston, 1713; Gillet's *Funeral Oration on Washington*, Hallowell, 1800; and other Discourses by Doctors Robbins, Thacher, Morse, Mr. Harris, etc., 1796–99, small 4to., half calf, for $48.

Johnson, Mrs. *Narrative of Her Captivity among the Indians*, 16mo. Windsor, Vt., 1815, for $5 50.

Wise, John. *The Churches' Quarrel Espoused;* small 8vo., Boston, 1715, for $15.

Sermons on Early Piety, by the Eight Ministers who carry on the Thursday Lecture in Boston, with a Preface and Discourse by Doctor Increase Mather, 8vo. Boston, N. E., 1721, for $7 50.

Aquino Thome De. *Commentaria in Omnes Epistolas beati Pauli Apostoli*, black letter, folio. Basileæ, 1495 (very fine and well preserved copy —a beautiful specimen of early printing), for $11.

Sermons. *Doctor L. Woods on the death of Doctor Worcester*, 1821; Sermons by Doctors Dana, Kirkland, Reverend W. Greenough, Mr. Payson and others, 8vo., for $13 50.

Eliot, John. Teacher of the Church in Roxbury. *Harmony of the Gospels in the History of the Humiliation and Sufferings of Christ*, Boston, 1678; Hubbard's *Election Sermon*, Boston, 1676. Wakeman's (Samuel) *Young Man's Legacy*. Boston, 1673, in one vol., 4to., for $55.

Calvinus, J. *Epistolæ et Responsa*, Hanoviæ, 1597; Theocritus, Bion et Moschus, cura, Scaligeri et Cassanboni, 1596: in one volume, thick 8vo., vellum, for $20.

Aquinas, Thomas. *Summa Totius Theologiæ*, thick, folio, vellum. Antuerpiæ, 1624, for $7.

Eliot's Indian Bible. *Mamvsse Wunnectupanatamwe up-Biblum-God naneeswe Nukkone Testament Kah wonk Wusku Testament*. Ne quoshkinnumuk nashpe Wuttineumoh Christ noh asoowesit, John Eliot. Nahohtœu ontehetot, Printeuoomuk, 4to., calf. Printeuoop nashpe Samuel Green, 1685. (The title page and last leaf of the Psalms were in manuscript, beautifully copied by Doctor Jenks, in imitation of the original. With the autograph of Zachariah Mayhew, 1759,) for $300.

The Massachusset Psalter; or Psalms of David, with the Gospel according to John, in columns of Indian and English. Being an Introduction for Training up the Aboriginal Natives, in Reading and Understanding the Holy Scriptures. Small 8vo., calf. Boston, N. E., Printed by B. Green, 1709, for $50.

Mather, Increase. *Masukkenukeeg Matcheseaenvog wequetoog kah Wuttooanatogg Uppevaonont Christoh kah ne Yeuyeu Teanuk*. Small 8vo., calf. Bostonup Printuoop nashpe Bartholomew Green kah John Allen, 1698, for $16.

Wunnamptamwe Sampooaonk. A Confession of Faith Owned and consented unto by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches assembled at Boston, May 12, 1680. English and Indian, by Grindal Rawson. Boston, printed by Bartholomew Green and John Allen, 1699, for $16.

Sampwuttehae Quinnupekompauaenin Wahuwomook uggussemesuog sampwuttealiae Wunnaptamwaenuog. Without title page. Also John Cotton and Grindal Rawson's *Nashauanittue Meninnunk wutch Mukkiesog*. In one volume. Cambridge, Printed by Samuel Green, 1671, for $12.

Manitowwompae Pomantamoonk Sampwshanau Christianoh. Pomantog Wussikkitteahonat God. Small 8vo. Printed for the Right Honorable Corporation in London for the Gospelizing the Indians in New England. Cambridge, 1685, for $61.

Wehkamaonganoo Asquam Peantogig kah asquam Quinnuppejig, ussoweur Richard Baxter. Small 8vo., Cambridge, printed by S. G., for the Corporation in London, for the Indians in New England. 1683, for $27.

Manitowampea Pomantamoonk, a work in the N. E. Indian language—imperfect at beginning and end, for $8 50.

Mather, Cotton. *Parentator*. Memoirs of Remarkables in the Life and Death of the evermemorable Doctor Increase Mather, Portrait by Sturt. 8vo. Boston, printed by B. Green, 1724, for $21.

Mather, Cotton. *Paterna*. Manuscript, 354 pages, 8vo., (a gift from Madam H. Crocker, with Samuel Mather's autograph,) for $62 50.

Erasmus, Des. *Moriæ Enconium*, cum G. Listrii Commentariis. Small 8vo., Oxoniæ, 1668, (Cotton Mather's copy, with his autograph—1678,) for $10.

Hooker. Tho. *A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline*, wherein the Way of the Church of New England is Warranted out of the Word, etc. 4to., calf. London, 1648, for $11.

Willard, Samuel. *Compleat Body of Divinity*. Portrait, folio, calf. Boston, N. E., 1726, for $11.

Lombardus, Petrus. *Liber Sententiarum*. una cum Conclusionibus Henrichi Gozichen. Black letter, folio, vellum. Basilcæ, 1487, (fine copy of a beautifully printed book, with numerous manuscript notes,) for $10.

The Eliot Bible was bid off for Mr. Trumbull, Librarian of the State of Connecticut, and will probably become a pearl of the collection of that State. The "Mather Cotton, *Paterna*," in manuscript, was purchased by Mr. W. Eliot Woodward, of this city.—*Exchange.*

Scrap.—An historic tablet is to be placed in front of the Old South Church, giving the facts of the peculiar history of that ancient edifice.

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THE

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AND

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CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History and Biography

OF

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HENRY B. DAWSON.

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TITLE-PAGE TO VOL. I.

In consequence of an error in the Title-page sent out with the June number, our readers will please cancel it and substitute that which is sent with this number.

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John Gebhard, Esq., of Schoharie, and Col. Ezekiel Jewett, of Utica, former Curators of the State Cabinet at Albany, know something about my collection, to whom I take the liberty to refer; and any one desiring information on the subject, may obtain it by calling upon or addressing a note to the subscriber, at Fort Plain, N. Y.

J. R. SIMMS.

WHAT THE PRESS SAYS OF US.

The volume which was closed with the December number has many original historical papers of great importance, which, but for this channel, would probably have perished. The magazine is one which, for the general interests of National literature and history, should be sustained by the pens and the subscriptions of men of letters.—*New York Observer*, February 7, 1867.

The Historical Magazine, as usual, is full of interesting matter.—*New Haven Palladium*, Jan. 26, 1867.

It is now a valuable repository of many original papers, printed for the first time, and of articles and notes relating to disputed points in the history of this country that find no place so proper elsewhere.—*The Nation*, New York, January 31, 1867.

The Historical Magazine is a serial of much value and little pretence, and is an absolute necessity for the literary table.—*New York Day Book*, December 22, 1866.

The Historical Magazine for December is a readable number, filled with matter that will attract the attention of all historical students, with very much in it of popular interest.—*Hartford Evening Press*, January 24, 1867.

It shows the industry and research for which the Editor is remarkable. * * The number altogether recommends itself favorably to the student of American history.—*Yonkers (N. Y.) Statesman*, Jan. 31, 1867.

The December number is on our table, so beautifully printed, that the very types seem to say, "Read. "read." * * The other articles have interest, and there is many a dainty morsel for book-worms scattered through its pages.—*Christian Advocate*, Richmond, January 31, 1867.

Its Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America are always interesting and valuable for future reference, and show a large amount of able and patient research.—*Daily Courant*, Hartford, November 24, 1866.

Mr. Dawson is placing on permanent record in this Magazine a mass of perishable material relating to American annals, which without the thoughtful care he has exercised would soon be utterly lost.—*Daily Spy*, Worcester, October 27, 1866.

Some very instructive excerpts of a fragmentary sort and some more elaborate and exhaustive pieces of historical interest fill up the number of the magazine before us. It is evident that many diligent pens are engaged in providing for the monthly contents of these pages, which are most sure to engage the gratitude of readers the more free they are from special pleadings in behalf of the wrong side of our living politics.—*Evening Transcript*, Boston, November 30, 1866.

There are few if any persons living better qualified in every way for the compilation and editorship of such a magazine, than is Mr. Dawson. The subject has been his study for years, and he has consequently become perfectly conversant with everything in connection therewith. In his own article he fearlessly tells the truth about men and their acts, though to do so may to some seem irreverent.

The Magazine itself is worthy the support of all lovers of history; and we believe that none of this numerous class would be without it if they could peruse the number before us.—*Westchester Times*, February 15, 1867.

The editorship of this periodical has again passed into the hands of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, a gentleman better qualified for the task than any of whom we have knowledge. Mr. Dawson has written and edited a large number of books and pamphlets upon American history, in which he has elucidated points which had previously been involved in obscurity; indeed, he seems to have a taste for those subjects of historical and antiquarian research which most writers avoid.—Hon. John Russell Bartlett, *in The Providence Journal*, September 19, 1866.

It is full of interest and variety.—*Episcopalian.*

It is a well-conducted monthly periodical, devoted to the exposition of the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America. It lately passed back under the control of Henry B. Dawson of Morrisania. With him are associated many writers of eminence, who have the ability to render this magazine very useful to the progress of historic research. It is handsomely gotten up, and each number contains a large amount of curious and interesting matter.—*Christian Intelligencer*, (Ref. Dutch) Nov. 1, 1866.

This Magazine cannot fail to please a large circle of readers.—*Newport* (R. I.) *Daily News*, Oct. 26, 1866.

It pleases us We like its style of getting up. Many of its papers are selected and prepared from rare historical volumes and manuscripts, and evince care and research. * * Its design is good. Its numbers are not only worth reading as they are issued, but valuable to file.—*Field and Fireside*, Raleigh, N. C., Sept. 29, 1866.

Full of matter that will be regarded as valuable by antiquarians and historical students.—*Evening Post*, New York, Sept. 18, 1866.

This Magazine contains a great deal of curious, valuable, and interesting matter; and in the rich but almost neglected field of American antiquities is a gleaner whose monthly sheaf is more than welcome.—*Christian Enquirer*, Sept. 20, 1866.

The Historical Magazine, under its new editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson, shows unwonted vitality. The August number, which has just appeared, is especially interesting and valuable.—*N. Y. Daily Tribune*, Sept. 18, 1866.

As usual, since it has been in the hands of Mr. Dawson, it is well filled with matter of interest to the historian and antiquarian. * * This journal being national in its character and patriotic in its spirit, and with an eye single to truth in all its investigations, is entitled to the patronage of all who desire to see the scattered fragments of our history garnered up and preserved.—*Examiner*, Richmond, Feb. 10, 1867.

One of the most useful of American publications. This periodical has lately been much improved, and it contains a large amount of most interesting, curious, and rare information. It is a magazine which should be subscribed for by every scholar and gentleman of liberal attainments.—*Phila. Sunday Dispatch*, edited by Thompson Wescott, Esq., Feb. 17, 1867.

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The work is passing rapidly through the press. It is pronounced by competent authority the best treatise on the subject in the English language.

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THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

September, 1867.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

THE TRADE SUPPLIED BY THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, 121 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

A change in our business relations, which became necessary in order to ensure a more punctual issue of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE to its readers, has delayed the publication of the September, October, and November numbers of the work beyond the dates on which we have desired to deliver them. We have reason to hope, however, that our present arrangements will enable us to control our business more perfectly than heretofore; and that we shall be enabled to open the New Year, (1868), in line, as far as day of publication is concerned, with our contemporaries.

Our readers will not fail to notice the improvement in the appearance of the work which is exhibited in this number; and we have no reason to suppose that the future issues will be less worthy, typographically, of their respect.

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NOTICE.

The number for October will be issued, with the January number, about the twentieth proximo; the number for November, with that for February, about the twentieth of January; the number for December, with that for March, about the twentieth of February; and, having then overtaken Time, we hope thereafter to issue regularly on the twentieth of the months preceding the dates of the respective numbers.

What the Press Says.

I.—*From* The Press *of Maine.*

1.—Established first as a medium of private communication between historical students and scholars interested in the Antiquities, History, and Biography of our Country, it has come to be a necessity, and we are glad to learn that its subscription list is largely increasing. In its pages will be found a large amount of information, upon the subjects neglected, though important points of American History and Antiquities, Biographies of eminent Americans, &c.—*Maine Farmer* (Independent), Augusta, March 2d, 1867.

2.—We have perused it with much interest, and commend its publication to the attention of those who take an interest in the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America.—*Daily Eastern Argus* (Democratic), Portland, August 27, 1867.

3.—It continues to show the marked improvement in interest and value which has characterized it since it came into the hands of the present Editor.—*The Portland Daily Press* (Republican), August 24, 1867.

4.—The *Historical Magazine* for February contains a great amount of interesting historical and antiquarian matter, together with the usual Notes and Queries. * * * This Magazine is a valuable publication, and should receive the hearty support of all interested in historical pursuits. It is well conducted, though we notice that its Editor seems to have a spite against Massachusetts, and is disposed to go out of his way to gratify it.—*Portland Transcript* (Republican), March 16, 1867.

5.—We find it full of interesting matter.—*Waterville Mail* (Republican), Waterville, Aug. 30th, 1867.

6.—This Magazine belongs to no party nor clique, but aims to conduct all without fearing any, which is the only way to conduct any publication.—*The Evening Star* (Republican), Portland, Aug. 20th, 1867.

7.—This Magazine is of peculiar interest to the Antiquarian. To those who would know the History of America, its Antiquities and other points of interest, it is indispensable.—*Evening Journal* (Republican), Lewiston, August 28, 1867.

II.—*From* The Press, *of New Hampshire.*

1.—Mr. Dawson has had the editorial charge of the Magazine for the past year, and has conducted it with equal ability and impartiality. We say, *impartiality*, because that quality is required in managing such a periodical as well as in those of an unquestionable character. Members of the New Hampshire Historical Society should have it.—*Nashua Gazette* (Democratic), June 12, 1867.

2.—It contains much valuable historical reading, and is well conducted. It preserves many historical papers of value that would otherwise be buried in oblivion.—*Portsmouth Journal* (Republican), August 31st, 1867.

III.—*From the* Press *in Massachusetts.*

1.—The Magazine contains much interesting and valuable matter relative to early American history.—*The Daily Spy* (Republican), Worcester, Sept. 17, 1866.

2.—Mr. Dawson is placing on permanent record in this Magazine a mass of perishable material relating to American annals, which without the thoughtful care he has exercised would soon be utterly lost.—*The same paper*, Worcester, October 27, 1866.

3.—The Historical Magazine always has a valuable table of contents, but the pleasure we should otherwise take in its perusal is usually marred by the anti-North, or *more especially*, anti-Massachusetts tone which pervades it. The Editor's bitterness toward Boston betrays singular weakness, and the Preface to its last volume is in exceedingly poor taste.* With these exceptions we esteem the Magazine highly, and are always ready for reading it.—*The Congregationalist* (Orthodox), Boston, March 1, 1867.

* In that Preface we referred to the *repudiation of their debts* by some of the leading men in Massachusetts, because the Magazine had come to us from Boston and Massachusetts. Those debts HAVE SINCE BEEN PAID, *with here and there an exception*, AND HAVE.

4.—Some very interesting examples of a fragmentary and and some more elaborate and connective pieces of historical interest fill up the numbers of the Magazine before us. It is evident that many different pens are engaged in providing for the monthly issues of these pages, which are well sure to engage the attention of readers in more directions than from especial pleading in behalf of the warring sects of our living politics.—*The Evening Transcript* (Radical), Boston, Nov. 30, 1866.

5.—* * This sketch of the contents of the last number will convey to our readers some idea of the quality of the Magazine, which, albeit, sometimes its one tone, runs sharp, and scarcely fair in some directions, has yet a recognized, and, indeed, unique value in our literature.—*The Congregationalist and Recorder* (Orthodox Congregational), Aug. 30, 1867.

6.—The enterprising and very able Editor of The Historical Magazine has given us the memorials of Governor John Winthrop, one of the ministers of New England in the earliest history. In so doing he has conferred a great benefaction not only upon the historical public, but especially as it enables us to see more clearly the grounds of the great Antinomian contention, which so agitated and rent the Churches of Boston and its vicinity.

* * * * * * * * * * *

We greatly regret that we are obliged to omit Mr. Dawson's learned Introduction which relates mainly to Governor Winthrop and his party.—*The Panoplist* (Congregational), Boston, July, 1867.

7.—The Historical Magazine is now in able and accomplished editorial hands, in correspondence with the best historical writers in all parts of our country, and conducted as it will be without any taint of partisanship, it is of the best value to every historical scholar and student.—*Watchman and Reflector* (Baptist), Boston, May 9, 1867.

8.—This valuable periodical has again passed into the hands of Henry B. Dawson, as Editor and Proprietor. Its speciality is the discussion of topics relating to the History, Antiquities, Biography, and Standard Literature of America. In carrying out this, it publishes much that is interesting, curious, rare, and valuable, and which is not easily or else obtained in any other source.—*Roxbury Journal*, Sept. 15, 1866.

9.—This Magazine contains much valuable historical reading, and is well conducted. It preserves many historical papers of value that would otherwise be buried in oblivion.—*The Salem Gazette* (Republican), August 27, 1867.

IV.—*From* The Press *of Rhode Island.*

1.—This Magazine cannot fail to please a large circle of readers.—*Newport* (R. I.) *Daily News*, Oct. 20, 1866.

2.—We have perused its contents with great interest and pleasure.—*Providence Press*, Sept. 15, 1866.

V.—*From* The Press *of Connecticut.*

1.—If rightfully conducted, (and it seems to be now) it cannot but form an addition to the Magazine literature of the world.—*New Haven Palladium* (Republican), Aug. 15, 1866.

2.—The *Historical Magazine*, as usual, is full of interesting matter.—*The same*, Jan. 26, 1867.

3.—This Magazine fills a very valuable place in our current literature, and deserves a generous support. It is calculated to achieve a very wide circulation. Americans care too little for History, and this fact makes it the more incumbent on those who properly appreciate the value of a periodical devoted to so important a subject to properly sustain the Editor in his conscientious endeavors and efforts to make a valuable historical magazine.—*The same*, Sept. 27, 1867.

4.—As we have before said, this work has a field unoccupied by others, and is doing a good service by placing on record waifs of History and Biography, which otherwise would be lost.—*Evening Farmer* (Democratic), Bridgeport, Nov. 15, 1866.

5.—The Magazine is of great value to all [illegible] historical and antiquarian.—*Bulletin* (Republican), Norwich, Sept. 11, 1866.

6.—It is full of very interesting matter relative to our earlier history.—*The same*, Feb. 19, 1867.

7.—Of the usual interest to delvers into old historical matters.—*The same*, Mar. 28, 1867.

8.—*The Historical Magazine*, under the editorship of Mr Henry B. Dawson, brings together a great deal that is curious and interesting to historical students. The Notes and Queries are the most entertaining part of the Magazine. *Evening Press* (Republican), Hartford, Oct. 31, 1866.

9.—*The Historical Magazine* for December is a readable number, filled with matter that will attract the attention of all historical students, with very much in it of popular interest. —*The same*, Jan. 24, 1866.

10.—The industrious Editor of *The Historical Magazine* constantly digs up interesting material and makes each number lively and readable.—*The same*, Mar. 8, 1867.

11.—The contents of *The Historical Magazine* for March will interest and "stir up" as many people as its issue usually does. * * * The Magazine shows continued industry.—*The same*, Mar. 26, 1867.

12.—Its Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America are always interesting and valuable for future reference, and show a large amount of able and patient research.—*Daily Courant* (Republican), Hartford, November 24, 1866.

VI.—*From* The Press *of New York.*

1—*The Historical Magazine*, under its new Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson, shows unwonted vitality. The August number, which has just appeared, is especially interesting and valuable.—*N. Y. Daily Tribune* (Radical) Sept. 18, 1866.

2.—*The Historical Magazine* for July contains numerous articles of antiquarian and historical interest, combined with frequent incidental political discussions and allusions, strongly reflecting the personality of the Editor, who is a zealous advocate of the theory of State Sovereignty.*—*The same paper*, Aug. 24, 1867.

3.—Full of matter that will be regarded as valuable by antiquarians and historical students.—*Evening Post* (Republican), New York, Sept 18, 1866.

4.—*The Historical Magazine* has for its second title "Notes "and Queries," but in its general character has more merits than the English journal of that name, dealing less in trivial matters, and giving better considered and more important papers. It is an excellent Magazine, and is necessary to the student of history.—*Day Book* [Ultra-Democratic], New York, Oct. 6, 1866.

5.—*The Historical Magazine* is a serial of much value and little pretence, and is an absolute necessity for the literary table.—*The same*, Dec. 22, 1866.

6.—The January number is beyond doubt a "golden num-"ber."

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Following Brodhead's article, we have a reply by the Editor to some strictures of *The Boston Transcript*, which is less a dissection than a flaying of the subject—a flaying in which a considerable portion of the flesh is taken from the bones of the victim, leaving him writhing *in terrorem*.—*The same*. Mar. 23, 1867.

7.—Mr. Dawson's Magazine is worthy of the support and confidence of students of American history. There is no substitute for it.—*The same*, June 15, 1867.

8.—A more useful, interesting, and truly valuable Magazine is not to be found either in Europe or America. Its editor is Henry B. Dawson, Esq. so long, well, and favorably known to his fellow-citizens of this town and to the public at large, as a gentleman and scholar. * * *We cordially recommend it so the patronage of an enlightened and discriminating public.—*Westchester Journal* [Democratic], Morrisania, Feb. 16th 1867.

9.—Mr. Dawson is an indefatigable worker in the department of history to which he has devoted so large a share of his life; and we cannot doubt the readers of the early history of our country—and all should be readers and students of it—will find this Magazine a mine of most valuable information.—*Peekskill Messenger* [Republican], Feb. 2d, 1867.

* Vide *Revised Statutes*, Part I, Chap. I, Title II, Sec. 1, 2, 3 Fourth Edition, 1 77.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

10.—The *Boston Transcript* is not pleased with Mr. Dawson's *Historical Magazine*. * * * The trouble with the Magazine seems to be that it has mistaken the object of history, and conceived it to be to throw dirt at Massachusetts—a Commonwealth that can stand the operation better than ANY OTHER STATE ON THE GLOBE, and much better than the Editor of the Magazine.—*Daily Union* [Radical], Brooklyn, Feb. 25th, 1867.

11.—The *Historical Magazine*, under the editorial direction of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, is filling an important place in periodical literature.—*Daily Eagle* [Democratic], Brooklyn, July 16th, 1867.

12.—Its great *forte* is the correction of History and the furnishing of Documentary evidence elucidating historical statements. Mr. Dawson is a careful writer, and is well "post-"ed," as the phrase goes, in American History.—*Daily Courier Press*, Newburgh, Aug. 7, 1866.

13.—It contains matter very important to all who would have correct knowledge of the History of our Country.—*Troy Press*, Aug. 11, 1866.

14.—We advise all who are interested in Antiquities to take it.—*Journal*, Fishkill, Oct. 18, 1866.

15.—*The Historical Magazine*, under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, increases in interest with every number. Mr. Dawson is perfectly at home in historical matters, and considers anything in that line as a labor of love. He could not fail, therefore, to infuse new life into *The Historical Magazine*. The first number issued under his superintendence, evinced the presence of a new and experienced hand at the chair editorial, and in each succeeding number the interest has been kept up. *The Historical Magazine* should have a place in every library.—*Yonkers Gazette* [Democratic], Nov. 3, 1866.

16.—This Magazine is now edited by Mr. Henry B. Dawson, who has made this particular line of literature his study for years, and has gained a high reputation for his historical researches. * * The Magazine deserves success, and should be in every scholar's library.—*Yonkers Statesman* [Republican], Nov. 22, 1866.

17.—It shows the industry and research for which the Editor is remarkable. * * The number together recommends itself to the student of American History.—*The same*, Jan. 31, 1867,

18.—There are few if any persons living better qualified in every way for the compilation and editorship of such a magazine, than is Mr. Dawson. The subject of History has been his study for years, and he has consequently become perfectly conversant with everything in connection therewith. In his own article he fearlessly tells the truth about men and their acts, though to do so may to some seem irreverent.

The Magazine itself is worthy the support of all lovers of History; and we believe that none of the numerous issues would be without it if they could peruse such numbers before us.—*Westchester Times* (Republican), Morrisania, Feb. 15, 1867.

19.—No student of History should be without this work. Its researches are truly wonderful.—*The same*, Aug. 23, 1867,

20.—From the appearance and contents of the July number, which is before us, we have formed a high opinion of its character and value.—*Christian Enquirer* (Unitarian), New York, Sept. 6th, 1866,

21.—This Magazine contains a great deal of curious, valuable, and interesting matter; and in the rich but almost neglected field of American Antiquities is a gleaner whose monthly sheaf is more than welcome.—*The same*, Sept. 20th, 1866.

22. The *Historical Magazine* is now under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, than whom no one is more competent for such a task. It appears in the handsomest typography, and its contents, which are exactly the sort for which their is never any place in a daily newspaper, are in their kind, fresh and interesting to a degree never reached in former numbers of that old and valuable periodical. *Daily World* (Democratic), New York Nov. 3d. 1866.

23.—Bancroft is skinned alive and likewise grilled in the June number of *The Historical Magazine*, which periodical Mr. Dawson makes as readable as a daily newspaper, by

PRICE, FIVE DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE, SINGLE COPIES, SEVENTY-FIVE CENTS.

New Series, Vol. II. No. IV.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

October, 1867.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

THE TRADE SUPPLIED BY THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, 121 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK

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XXII. Current Events

THE JANUARY NUMBER

Is nearly ready, and will be one of the best ever issued. It will contain articles, original documents, communicated expressly for publication therein, by Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, President of the Connecticut Historical Society; Hon. E. E. Bourne, President of the Maine Historical Society; the venerable Samuel G. Drake, ex-President of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society; Hon. William Willis, ex-President of the Maine Historical Society; Hon. Hamilton Fish, President of the New York Historical Society; J. Carson Brevoort, Esq., President of the Long Island Historical Society; Major-general John E. Wool, U. S. A.; George H. Moore, Esq., Librarian of the New York Historical Society; Professor George Washington Greene; R. B. O'Callaghan, LL. D., William Gilmore Simms, LL. D., Major-general Franz Sigel, and . . . beside papers from Rev. Edward H. Wentworth, President, and Hon. Hiland Hall, ex President, of the Vermont Historical Society, . . . contributions by George Bancroft, Washington Irving, J. Fenimore Cooper, Rufus Hosmer, John Austin, Baron Humboldt, John Morin Scott, etc.; and the usual variety of Fragments, Notes, Queries, Replies, Reviews of New Books, and Current Events.

THE NOVEMBER NUMBER is in hand, and will be issued as soon as possible.

What the Press Says.

I.—*From* The Press *of Vermont.*

[illegible]

[illegible] *Press*

[illegible] February contains a great [illegible] * * * [illegible] *Transcript,*" the [illegible]

[illegible] *Mail*

[illegible] *Eastern Star* [illegible] publi- [illegible] 1857.

[illegible] Antiquarian. [illegible] Antiquarian, [illegible] be—*Lan-* [illegible], 1857.

II.—*From* The Press, *of New Hampshire.*

[illegible] reading, and is [illegible] of value [illegible].—*Portsmouth* [illegible]

III.—*From the Press of Massachusetts.*

[illegible] much interesting and valuable [illegible] *The Daily Spy* [illegible]

[illegible] record in this [illegible] of Antiquarian [illegible]

[illegible] 1, 1857.

[illegible]

4.—[illegible] *Journal*

[illegible]

[illegible] *Press*

[illegible]

We [illegible] Mr. [illegible] on's letter. [illegible] and his party.—*The* [illegible] July, 1857.

7.—"The [illegible] Magazine [illegible] *Reflector* [illegible]

[illegible] curious, rare, and [illegible]

9.—This Magazine [illegible] readers, and well conducted. [illegible] livia.—*The* [illegible]

IV.—*From* The Press *of Rhode Island.*

1.—[illegible]

2.—We have perused [illegible] pleasure.—*Providence* [illegible]

V.—*From* The Press *of* [illegible]

1.—If [illegible] not [illegible] [illegible] 1857.

[illegible] *Eastern* [illegible] (Dec. [illegible]

6.—It is full of very interesting matter relative to our earlier history.—*The same*, Feb. 19, 1867.

7.—Of the usual interest to delvers into old historical matters.—*The same*, Mar. 28, 1867.

8.—*The Historical Magazine*, under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, brings together a great deal that is curious and interesting to historical students. The Notes and Queries are the most entertaining part of the Magazine.—*Evening Press* (Republican), Hartford, Oct. 31, 1866.

9.—*The Historical Magazine* for December is a readable number, filled with matter that will attract the attention of all historical students, with very much in it of popular interest.—*The same*, Jan. 24, 1866.

10.—The industrious Editor of *The Historical Magazine* constantly digs up interesting material and makes each number lively and readable.—*The same*, Mar. 8, 1867.

11.—The contents of *The Historical Magazine* for March will interest and "stir up" as many people as its issue usually does. * * * The Magazine shows continued industry.—*The same*, Mar. 26, 1867.

12.—Its Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America are always interesting and valuable for future reference, and show a large amount of able and patient research.—*Daily Courant* (Republican), Hartford, November 24, 1866.

VI.—*From* THE PRESS *of New York.*

1—*The Historical Magazine*, under its new Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson, shows unwonted vitality. The August number, which has just appeared, is especially interesting and valuable.—*N. Y. Daily Tribune* (Radical), Sept. 18, 1866.

2.—*The Historical Magazine* for July contains numerous articles of antiquarian and historical interest, combined with frequent incidental political discussions and allusions, strongly reflecting the personality of the Editor, who is a zealous advocate of the theory of State Sovereignty.*—*The same paper*, Aug. 24, 1867.

3.—Full of matter that will be regarded as valuable by antiquarians and historical students.—*Evening Post* (Republican), New York, Sept. 18, 1866.

4.—*The Historical Magazine* has for its second title "Notes "and Queries," but in its general character has more merits than the English journal of that name, dealing less in trivial matters, and giving better considered and more important papers. It is an excellent Magazine, and is necessary to the student of history.—*Day Book* [Ultra-Democratic], New York, Oct. 6, 1866.

5.—*The Historical Magazine* is a serial of much value and little pretence, and is an absolute necessity for the literary table.—*The same*, Dec. 22, 1866.

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7.—Mr. Dawson's Magazine is worthy of the support and confidence of students of American history. There is no substitute for it.—*The same*, June 15, 1867.

8.—A more useful, interesting, and truly valuable Magazine is not to be found either in Europe or America. Its editor is Henry B. Dawson, Esq. so long, well, and favorably known to his fellow-citizens of this town and to the public at large, as a gentleman and scholar. * * *We cordially recommend it to the patronage of an enlightened and discriminating public.—*Westchester Journal* [Democratic], Morrisania, Feb. 16 h 1867.

9.—Mr. Dawson is an indefatigable worker in the department of history to which he has devoted so large a share of his time; and we cannot doubt the readers of the early history of our country—and all should be readers and students of it—will find this Magazine a mine of most valuable information.—*Peekskill Messenger* [Republican], Feb. 2d, 1867.

* Vide *Revised Statutes*, Part I, Chap. I, Title II, Sec. 1, 2, 3 Fourth Edition, 1 77.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

10.—The *Boston Transcript* is not pleased with Mr. Dawson's *Historical Magazine*. * * * The trouble with the Magazine seems to be that it has mistaken the object of history and conceived it to be to throw dirt at Massachusetts. Commonwealth that can stand the operation better than ANY OTHER STATE ON THE GLOBE, and so it behooves the Editor of the Magazine.—*Daily Union* [Radical], Brooklyn, Feb. 20th, 1867.

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16.—This Magazine is now edited by Mr. Henry B. Dawson, who has made this particular line of literature his study for years, and has gained a high reputation for his historical researches. * * The Magazine deserves success, and should be in every scholar's library.—*Yonkers Statesman* [Republican], Nov. 22, 1866.

17.—It shows the industry and research for which the Editor is remarkable. * * The number altogether recommends itself to the student of American History.—*The same*, Jan. 31, 1867,

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19.—No student of History should be without this work. Its researches are truly wonderful.—*The same*, Aug. 23, 1867,

20.—From the appearance and contents of the June number, which is before us, we have formed a high opinion of its character and value.—*Christian Enquirer* [Literary], New York, Sept. 6th, 1866,

21.—This Magazine contains a great deal of curious, valuable, and interesting matter; and in the rich but somewhat neglected field of American Antiquities is a welcome visitor monthly, such as is more than welcome.—*The same*, Mar. 24th, 1866.

22. The *Historical Magazine* is now under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, than whom no one is more competent for such a task. It appears in a handsome typographical and is contents, which are generally of a character which is never at any place in a daily newspaper, are both full and interesting to a degree never reached in a mere newspaper of that old and valuable periodical.—*Daily World* [Democratic], New York Nov. 3d, 1866.

23.—Bancroft is skinned alive and Brodhead scalped in the June number of *The Historical Magazine*, which generally Mr. Dawson makes as readable as a daily newspaper, or

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New Series, Vol. II. No. V.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

November, 1867.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

THE TRADE SUPPLIED BY THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, 121 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK.

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THE FEBRUARY NUMBER,

now nearly ready, will contain unpublished papers communicated, and generally written, by J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston; Hon. Thomas Ewbank, Vice-president of the American Ethnological Society; J. Romeyn Brodhead, LL. D., the historian of New York; Hon. Hiland Hall, late President, and Rev. Doctor White, President, of the Vermont Historical Society; E. B. O'Callaghan, LL. D., the historian of New Netherland; George Henry Moore, Esq., Librarian of the New York Historical Society; Colonel Thomas F. De Voe, "the historical Butcher;" William H. Whitmore and John Ward Dean, Esqrs., of Boston, J. Carson Brevoort, Esq., President of the Long Island Historical Society; Professors George Washington Greene, of Rhode Island, and E. F. Rockwell, of Davidson College, North Carolina; Rev. E. M. Stone, Secretary of the Rhode Island Historical Society; Captain George H. Preble, U. S. N.; Samuel G. Drake, Esq., late President of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society; Thomas H. Wynne, M.D., of Richmond, Va.; Rev. Edward D. Neill, the historian of Minnesota; Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., the celebrated Numismatist; Rev. Doctor Gillett, historian of the Presbyterian Church; etc.

We invite a comparison with any other Magazine, now published.

What the Press Says.

I.—*From* The Press *of Maine.*

1.—Established first as a medium of intercommunication between historical students and scholars interested in the Antiquities, History, and Biography of our Country, it has come to be a necessity, and we are glad to learn that its subscription list is largely increasing. In its pages will be found a large amount of information, upon the neglected, though important points, of American History and Antiquities, Biographies of eminent Americans, &c.—*Maine Farmer* (Independent), Augusta, March 21, 1867.

2.—We have perused it with much interest, and commend it to the attention of those who take an interest in the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America.—*Daily Eastern Argus* (Democratic), Portland, August 27, 1867.

3.—It continues to show the marked improvement in interest and value which has characterized it since it came into the hands of the present Editor.—*The Portland Daily Press* (Republican), August 24, 1867.

4.—The *Historical Magazine* for February contains a great amount of interesting historical and antiquarian matter, together with the usual Notes and Queries. * * * This Magazine is a valuable publication, and should receive the hearty support of all interested in historical pursuits. It is well conducted, though we notice that its Editor seems to have a spite against Massachusetts, and is disposed to go out of his way to gratify it.—*Portland Transcript* (Republican), March 16, 1867.

5.—We find it full of interesting matter.—*Waterville Mail* (Republican), Waterville, Aug. 30th, 1867.

6.—This Magazine belongs to no party nor clique, but aims to be just to all without fearing any, which is the only way to conduct any periodical. *The Evening Star* (Republican), Portland, Aug. 30th, 1867.

7.—This Magazine is of peculiar interest to the Antiquarian. To those who would know the History of America, its Antiquities, and other points of interest, it is indispensable—*Evening Journal* (Republican), Lewiston, August 28, 1867.

II.—*From* The Press, *of New Hampshire.*

1.—Mr. Dawson has had the editorial charge of the Magazine for the past year, and has conducted it with equal ability and independence. We say, *independence*, because that quality is required in managing such a periodical as well as in those of an unhistorical character. Members of the New Hampshire Historical Society should have it.—*Nashua Gazette* (Democratic), June 12, 1867.

2.—It contains much valuable historical reading, and is well conducted. It preserves many historical papers of value that would otherwise be buried in oblivion.—*Portsmouth Journal* (Republican), August 31st, 1867.

III.—*From the* Press *in Massachusetts.*

1.—The Magazine contains much interesting and valuable matter relating to early American history.—*The Daily Spy* (Republican), Worcester, Sept. 17, 1866.

2.—Mr Dawson is placing on permanent record in this Magazine a mass of perishable material relating to American annals, which without the thoughtful care he has exercised would soon be utterly lost.—*The same paper*, Worcester, October 27, 1866.

3.—The Historical Magazine always has a valuable table of contents, but the pleasure we should otherwise take in its perusal is greatly marred by the anti-North, or *more especially*, anti-Massachusetts tone which pervades it. The Editor's bitterness toward Boston betrays singular weakness, and the Preface to its last volume is in exceedingly poor taste.* With these exceptions we esteem the Magazine highly, and are always repaid for reading it.—*The Congregationalist* (Orthodox), Boston, March 1, 1867.

* In that Preface we referred to the *repudiation of their debts* by some of the leading men in Massachusetts, because the Magazine had ceased to flatter Boston and Massachusetts. THESE DEBTS HAVE SINCE BEEN PAID, *with here and there an exception.*—Ed. Hist. Mag.

4.—Some very instructive excerpts of a documentary sort, and some more elaborate and exhaustive pieces of historical interest fill up the number of the Magazine before us. It is evident that many different pens are engaged in providing for the monthly contents of these pages, which are sure to engage the gratitude of readers the more free they are from especial pleading in behalf of the wrong side of our living politics.—*The Evening Transcript* (Radical), Boston, Nov. 30, 1866.

5.—* * This sketch of the contents of this single number will convey to our readers some idea of the quality of the Magazine, which, albeit, sometimes to our taste, over sharp, and scarcely fair in some directions, has yet a recognized, and, indeed, unique value, in our literature.—*The Congregationalist and Recorder* (Orthodox Congregational) Aug. 30, 1867.

6.—The enterprising and very able Editor of The Historical Magazine has given us the most reliable memoir of Hon. John Wheelright, one of the ministers of New England in its earliest history. In so doing he has rendered a great obligation not only upon the historical public, but especially as it enables us to see more clearly the grounds of the great Antinomian contention, which so agitated and rent the Churches of Boston and its vicinity.

* * * * * * * * *

We greatly regret that we are obliged to omit Mr. Dawson's learned Introduction which fastens several calumnies on Winthrop and his party.—*The Panoplist* (Religious), Boston, July, 1867.

7.—The Historical Magazine is now in able and accomplished editorial hands, in correspondence with the most historical writers in all parts of our country, and conducted as it will be without any taint of partisanship, it is of the most value to every historical scholar and student.—*Watchman and Reflector* (Baptist), Boston, May 9, 1867.

8.—This valuable periodical has again passed into the hands of Henry B. Dawson, as Editor and Proprietor. Its speciality is the discussion of topics relating to the History, Antiquities, Biography, and Standard Literature of America. In carrying out this, it publishes much that is interesting, curious, rare, and valuable, and which is not easily to be obtained in any other source.—*Roxbury Journal*, Sept. 15, 1866.

9.—This Magazine contains much valuable historical reading, and is well conducted. It preserves many historical papers of value that would otherwise be buried in oblivion.—*The Salem Gazette* (Republican), August 27, 1867.

IV.—*From* The Press *of Rhode Island.*

1.—This Magazine cannot fail to please a large circle of readers.—*Newport* (R. I.) *Daily News*, Oct. 26, 1866.

2.—We have perused its contents with great interest and pleasure.—*Providence Press*, Sept. 15, 1866.

V.—*From* The Press *of Connecticut.*

1.—If rightfully conducted, (and it seems to be now) it cannot but form an addition to the Magazine literature of the world.—*New Haven Palladium* (Republican), Aug. 15, 1866.

2.—The *Historical Magazine*, as usual, is full of interesting matter.—*The same*, Jan. 26, 1867.

3.—This Magazine fills a very valuable place in our current literature, and deserves a generous support. It is calculated to achieve a very wide circulation. Americans care too little for History; and this fact makes it the more incumbent on those who properly appreciate the value of a periodical devoted to so important a subject, to properly sustain its Editor in his conscientious and successful efforts to make a valuable historical magazine.—*The same*, Sept. 27, 1867.

4.—As we have before said, this work has a field unoccupied by others, and is doing good service by placing on record waifs of History and Biography, which otherwise would be lost.—*Evening Farmer* (Democratic), Bridgeport, Nov. 17, 1866.

5.—The Magazine is of great value to all interested in historical antiquities.—*Bulletin* (Republican), Norwich, Sept. 17, 1866.

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November, 1867.

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For Trade Supplied by the American News Company, 121 Nassau Street, New York.

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7.—Of the usual interest to delvers into old historical matters.—*The same*, Mar, 23, 1867.

8.—*The Historical Magazine*, under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, brings together a great deal that is curious and interesting to historical students. The Notes and Queries are the most entertaining part of the Magazine.—*Evening Press* (Republican), Hartford, Oct. 31, 1866.

9.—*The Historical Magazine* for December is a readable number, filled with matter that will attract the attention of all historical students, with very much in it of popular interest. —*The same*, Jan. 24, 1866.

10.—The industrious Editor of *The Historical Magazine* constantly digs up interesting material and makes each number lively and readable.—*The same*, Mar. 8, 1867.

11.—The contents of *The Historical Magazine* for March will interest and "stir up" as many people as its issue usually does. * * * The Magazine shows continued industry.—*The same*, Mar. 26, 1867.

12.—Its Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America are always interesting and valuable for future reference, and show a large amount of able and patient research.—*Daily Courant* (Republican), Hartford, November 24, 1866.

VI.—*From* THE PRESS *of New York.*

1—*The Historical Magazine*, under its new Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson, shows unwonted vitality. The August number, which has just appeared, is especially interesting and valuable.—*N. Y. Daily Tribune* (Radical), Sept. 18, 1866.

2.—*The Historical Magazine* for July contains numerous articles of antiquarian and historical interest, combined with frequent incidental political discussions and allusions, strongly reflecting the personality of the Editor, who is a zealous advocate of the theory of State Sovereignty.*—*The same paper*, Aug. 24, 1867.

3.—Full of matter that will be regarded as valuable by antiquarians and historical students.—*Evening Post* (Republican), New York, Sept. 18, 1866.

4.—*The Historical Magazine* has for its second title "Notes "and Queries," but in its general character has more merits than the English journal of that name, dealing less in trivial matters, and giving better considered and more important papers. It is an excellent Magazine, and is necessary to the student of history.—*Day Book* [Ultra-Democratic], New York. Oct. 6, 1866.

5.—*The Historical Magazine* is a serial of much value and little pretence, and is an absolute necessity for the literary table.—*The same*, Dec. 22, 1866.

6.—The January number is beyond doubt a "golden num-"ber."

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Following Brodhead's article, we have a reply by the Editor to some strictures of *The Boston Transcript*, which is less a dissection than a flaying of the subject—a flaying in which a considerable portion of the flesh is taken from the bones of the victim, leaving him writhing *in terrorem*.—*The same*. Mar. 23, 1867.

7.—Mr. Dawson's Magazine is worthy of the support and confidence of students of American history. There is no substitute for it.—*The same*, June 15, 1867.

8.—A more useful, interesting, and truly valuable Magazine is not to be found either in Europe or America. Its editor is Henry B. Dawson, Esq. so long, well, and favorably known to his fellow-citizens of this town and to the public at large, as a gentleman and scholar. * * *We cordially recommend it so the patronage of an enlightened and discriminating public.—*Westchester Journal* [Democratic], Morrisania, Feb. 16th 1867.

9.—Mr. Dawson is an indefatigable worker in the department of history to which he has devoted so large a share of his life; and we cannot doubt the readers of the early history of our country—and all should be readers and students of it—will find this Magazine a mine of most valuable information.—*Peekskill Messenger* [Republican], Feb. 2d, 1867.

10.—The *Boston Transcript* is not pleased with Mr. Dawson's *Historical Magazine*. * * * The trouble with the Magazine seems to be that it has mistaken the object of history, and conceived it to be to throw dirt at Massachusetts—a Commonwealth that can stand the operation BETTER THAN ANY OTHER STATE ON THE GLOBE, and much better than the Editor of the Magazine.—*Daily Union* [Radical], Brooklyn, Feb. 25th, 1867.

11.—The *Historical Magazine*, under the editorial direction of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, is filling an important place in periodical literature.—*Daily Eagle* [Democratic], Brooklyn, July 16th, 1867.

12.—Its great *forte* is the correction of History and the furnishing of Documentary evidence elucidating historical statements. Mr. Dawson is a careful writer, and is well "post-"ed," as the phrase goes, in American History.—*Daily City Press*, Newburgh, Aug. 7, 1866.

13.—It contains matter very important to all who would have correct knowledge of the History of our Country.—*Troy Press*, Aug. 11, 1866.

14.—We advise all who are interested in Antiquities to take it.—*Journal*, Fishkill, Oct. 18, 1866.

15.—*The Historical Magazine*, under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, increases in interest with every number. Mr. Dawson is perfectly at home in historical matters, and considers anything in that line as a labor of love. He could not fail, therefore, to infuse new life into *The Historical Magazine*. The first number issued under his superintendence evinced the presence of a new and experienced hand in the chair editorial, and in each succeeding number the interest has been kept up. *The Historical Magazine* should have a place in every library.—*Yonkers Gazette* [Democratic], Nov. 3, 1866.

16.—This Magazine is now edited by Mr. Henry B. Dawson, who has made this particular line of literature his study for years, and has gained a high reputation for his historical researches. * * The Magazine deserves success, and should be in every scholar's library.—*Yonkers Statesman* [Republican], Nov. 22, 1866.

17.—It shows the industry and research for which the Editor is remarkable. * * The number altogether recommends itself to the student of American History.—*The same*, Jan. 31, 1867,

18.—There are few if any persons living better qualified in every way for the compilation and editorship of such a magazine, than is Mr. Dawson. The subject of History has been his study for years, and he has consequently become perfectly conversant with everything in connection therewith. In his own article he fearlessly tells the truth about men and their acts, though to do so may to some seem irreverent.

The Magazine itself is worthy the support of all lovers of History; and we believe that none of this numerous class would be without it if they could peruse the number before us.—*Westchester Times* (Republican), Morrisania, Feb. 16, 1867.

19.—No student of History should be without this work. Its researches are truly wonderful.—*The same*, Aug. 23, 1867,

20.—From the appearance and contents of the July number, which is before us, we have formed a high opinion of its character and value.—*Christian Enquirer* (Unitarian), New York, Sept. 6th, 1866,

21.—This Magazine contains a great deal of curious, valuable, and interesting matter; and in the rich but almost neglected field of American Antiquities is a gleaner whose monthly sheaf is more than welcome.—*The same*, Sept. 20th, 1866.

22.—The *Historical Magazine* is now under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, than whom no one is more competent for such a task. It appears in the handsomest typography, and its contents, which are exactly the sort for which their is never any place in a daily newspaper, are in their kind, fresh and interesting to a degree never reached in former numbers of that old and valuable periodical.—*Daily World* (Democratic), New York Nov. 3d. 1866.

23.—Bancroft is skinned alive and likewise grilled in the June number of *The Historical Magazine*, which periodical Mr. Dawson makes as readable as a daily newspaper, by

* Vide *Revised Statutes*, Part I, Chap. I, Title II, Sec. 1, 2, 3—Fourth Edition, 1 77.—Ed. HIST. MAG.